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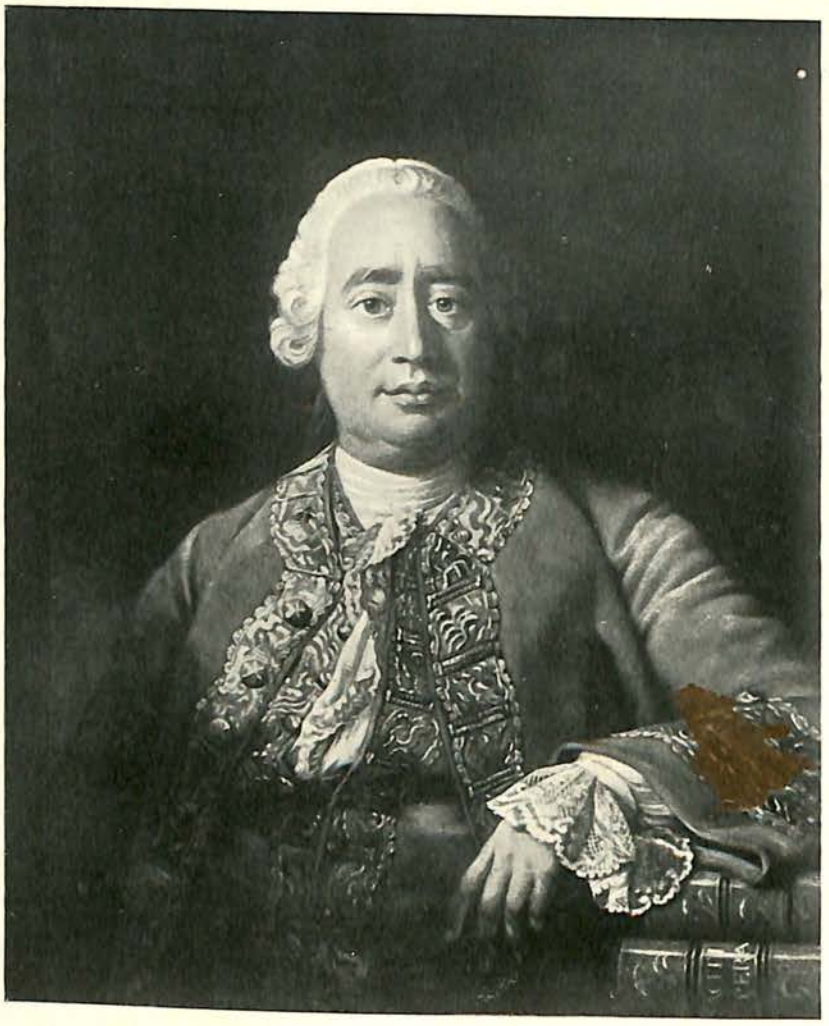
THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD



DAVID HUME

THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD . . .

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A COMPREHENSIVE NARRATIVE OF THE RISE AND DEVELOPMENT OF NATIONS AS RECORDED BY THE GREAT WRITERS OF ALL AGES

EDITED BY HENRY SMITH WILLIAMS, LL.D.

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IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES—VOL. XIX

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TOGETHER WITH

A PREFATORY CHARACTERISATION OF THE PERIOD

BY

JAMES GAIRDNER

WITH ADDITIONAL CITATIONS FROM

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BOOK II

TUDOR AND STUART

A CHARACTERISATION OF THE TUDOR AND STUART PERIODS

By JAMES GAIRDNER, C.B., LL.D.

It is not my purpose, nor will it, I presume, be expected of me, within the space of a few pages to attempt anything like a general survey of the course of English history during a very momentous period of two hundred years. That history is here treated by others in detail, and a condensed account of events at the outset is not wanted. But it is always profitable to examine tendencies in the great drama of events, and to mark the currents of feeling in connection with abiding or transitory conditions, the necessities which the past continually imposes on the present, and the causes, generally speaking, which have shaped the destinies of nations. To look at these on the great scale is to realise the unity of history and to harmonise the results of much laborious study.

Assuredly no period of equal length in the life of a great nation ever begot such potent movements to affect the future condition of the world as the two hundred and three years from the accession of the house of Tudor in England to the expulsion of the last Stuart king. Not even the two centuries and more which have since succeeded, wonderful as have been their results for human progress, afford so profitable a study in historical causation. For in truth the two succeeding centuries have but developed the fruits of that social and political order for which the foundations were being gradually laid in many a painful struggle through the period of the Tudors and the Stuarts. Those two centuries lie between us and the Middle Ages, between a feudal England, which, bereft of its old continental possessions, was still incessantly at war with its northern neighbour, and a united kingdom with a settled constitution and with colonies and dependencies over all the globe.

For, strange to say, during the whole range of those two centuries constitutional government, in the modern sense of that expression, did not really exist. One might have formed other expectations of the country in which, so far back as the days of the Plantagenets, Fortescue wrote in praise of the laws of England, and declared the superiority of his own country to France in the fact that, while the latter was a mere *dominium regale*, or, as we

should call it, absolute monarchy, the former was a *dominium politicum et regale*, or, in modern language, a limited monarchy. A limited monarchy, no doubt, England continued to be as far as regards taxation; which the sovereign could never, strictly speaking, impose by his own sole authority, as French kings had done in the days when Fortescue wrote. But as regards personal freedom in the reign of Henry VIII it might almost be doubted whether a prominent Englishman was better off than a Frenchman. Certain it is that legislation was not the work of parliaments freely elected and freely expressing their own sense of what was desirable. On the contrary, some of the most important enactments can be distinctly shown to have been dictated by the court and passed against the will of the people; and the same influence no less clearly gave rise to acts of cruelty and injustice under judicial forms to which it is vain to seek a parallel for number and atrocity in any other reign. The despotism of Henry VIII was indeed extraordinary, and, happily, there has been nothing at all like it since. But Tudor government was despotic to the last, and great as the changes were under the Stuarts and under Cromwell, they never once led to healthy relations between the ruler and the ruled.

It must not be supposed that the Tudors distinctly violated the principles of the constitution. If they did, it was only in matters that were not likely to excite much comment. The forms of the constitution, at least, they were generally careful to observe, even with scrupulous care, however much they might violate its spirit. And in truth it was under the shelter of those constitutional forms that their despotism, especially that of Henry VIII, succeeded. Of all parts of the English constitution the most important is the monarchy; on it all else depends; and the necessity for its existence was never shown so clearly as when the attempt was made to do without it. The name of king was no doubt repudiated and the crown refused by Oliver Cromwell himself; but when a commonwealth was set up in the place of the ancient monarchy, a real king was created as well, whose special merit it was to be far more resolute and really despotic than the king whom he had displaced. A king who knew his own mind and had ample power to enforce it might not be altogether the sort of sovereign the nation would have preferred; but he was infinitely better, as a mere governing power, than a king who was never able to measure the forces with which he came in conflict, who made concessions against the grain and continually endeavoured to recall them, and who sacrificed his best friends to clamour without being able to conciliate his enemies.

The character of the monarchy, in fact, is all through this period the one chief subject of consideration; and the change which Tudor government effected on the ideal of the Middle Ages first claims our attention. As we have said, the Tudors were really great observers of the forms of the constitution; and, indeed, however strong their acts might be, they always sought to cover them with a show of legality. Far from outraging the principles of Judge Fortescue, it was by those very principles that they became so strong. Parliamentary government was not the thing about which in the fifteenth century either Judge Fortescue or the nation was most highly concerned. Judge Fortescue rather desired to emancipate the crown from the fear of over-mighty noblemen, and the nation could have done very well without frequent meetings of parliament if it would have led to less taxation. That the king should be able to live "of his own" without aids and subsidies, and that his wealth should be such as to control the insubordination of overgrown subjects—this was the ideal that seemed to be in the minds both of Fortescue and of the nation.

Now, the accession of the Tudor dynasty was in itself a part fulfilment of this programme. As the titles of the Red and White Roses were blended, so the titles of great estates were united in the hands of the sovereign. The first Tudor king, indeed, had an arduous task, wearing out mind and body, to secure himself in a position which neither Yorkist nor Lancastrian sovereign had found stable just before him. But he kept a vigilant eye on his nobility, amassed wealth, and made rebellion, and even war, when he was driven to it, pay their own expenses; the former by heavy fines, and the latter by taxation of his own subjects for equipment and by pensions from an enemy who was glad to buy him off even before blood was shed. He was the wealthiest prince in Christendom when he died; and no king had ever mounted the English throne better able to "live of his own" with a perfectly secure title than his son and successor.

It would appear, moreover, that for a few years Henry VIII really did so, with but moderate aid from parliamentary subsidies; but his tastes were extravagant, and his wars with France required a degree of taxation of which his great minister Wolsey had to bear the unpopularity. Not only was the parliamentary taxation severe, but a forced loan and a so-called "amicable grant" were extorted from the people, notwithstanding the act of Richard III which abolished "benevolences." And these were but the beginnings of further extortions of the like kind later in the reign; for in addition to his extravagant tastes and his actual wars, the policy which he pursued at and after his divorce from Katharine of Aragon was such as to raise up for him countless perils, which he only met by his own watchfulness and by acts for which none could call him to account. Yet while the nation groaned under his taxation, parliament twice absolved him from repayment of a forced loan, and all the rich spoil of the monasteries poured into his exchequer was swallowed up by greedy courtiers and place-hunters whom it was necessary to conciliate, even to give stability to the new social order.

Of course the great revolution of Henry's reign was what is called the Reformation. Of the theological aspects of this great movement it would be out of place here to speak. But of the Reformation as affecting the constitution it is incumbent on me to say something, especially as this is precisely the aspect of it which is never sufficiently regarded. The Reformation assuredly dominates the whole constitutional history of the period under review, and as a new constitutional departure we must treat it at the outset.

The unity of the Church of Christ in England and in other lands had been always a governing principle in religion, and it was believed to be a social and political necessity to uphold it. Hence the severe punishment of heretics by burning, and the anxiety of princes to terminate the Great Schism in the papacy. The central authority of the Church was at Rome, to which all matters of dispute could ultimately be referred. But the Church had its own jurisdiction in every kingdom, determining not only cases of heresy, but also of matrimony, of testamentary dispositions and of other things, which the common law of the country left entirely to the ecclesiastical tribunals. No king of England before Henry VIII had complained of this double jurisdiction within his own realm; on the contrary, even he had strongly desired to uphold it, regarding the Church as a sacred authority which gave real stability to his throne. But when he lost hope of obtaining from Rome a divorce from Katharine of Aragon, he began insidiously to take steps for the abolition of papal jurisdiction in England. He forced from the clergy a reluctant and qualified admission that he was supreme Head of the Church in England, and then got the title confirmed without qualification by statute.

He decreed that the pope should no longer be called pope, but only "bishop of Rome," and his parliament made it treason to recognise the pontiff's authority. The royal supremacy over the Church was vindicated by cruel executions, and at length was submitted to as a thing which could not practically be contested. For although the pope, in the exercise of a power which was supposed to belong to him, would have deprived the heretical sovereign of his kingdom, he could only do so by the aid of temporal princes; and practically there were but the two princes to whom he could appeal, neither of whom dared to make war on England, lest England should ally itself with a powerful rival against him.

Royal supremacy thus asserted was repulsive enough, but it was an established fact that could not be undone. How strong it showed itself is all the more marvellous when we consider how much it conflicted at first with the views of all civilised countries. Henry VIII himself only maintained it, though fortified by statutes of his own procuring, by constant watchfulness and relentless executions. Yet, strange to say, during the minority of his son, when government was a prey to conspiracy and faction, royal supremacy seemed a stronger principle than before, and the boy-king Edward's authority over the Church was used to sanction changes never contemplated by his father. Under Queen Mary there was a return to Rome, but even that was effected by royal supremacy; and how it had to be maintained is a painful and well-known story. Under Elizabeth the same principle reappeared in somewhat more decorous form. She would not be designated "Supreme Head," but "Supreme Governor," of the Church of England, and there was no longer any objection to calling the Roman pontiff pope. But there was to be no foreign control over the English Church, any more than in the days of her father and her brother, and a new religious settlement, half formed under Edward VI, was restored and completed under her.

The reign of Elizabeth, indeed, in this and other aspects, is a political and moral wonder. Her claim to the crown was weak according to any theory of legitimacy, unless we consider that it rested on parliamentary enactments giving the effect of law to her father's will. This very fact, no doubt, secured for her the support of those hitherto reputed heretics who were interested in maintaining the validity of her father's marriage to her mother. But it exposed her to danger from the pope and the Catholic powers of Europe, who, if they could only have combined against her, might easily have dethroned her, and even perhaps have set up a sovereign more acceptable to the majority of her own subjects. Moreover, there was a still further danger: for since her father's revolt from Rome and the like attitude assumed by the German Protestants, the order of the Jesuits had been founded to fight the battles of the church by men under a kind of discipline like that of soldiers who cannot question a superior officer's command. Such an order became naturally a political force, far more subtle and dangerous than any avowed hostile nationalities, for its movements were directed unseen by the most astute generalship. Yet over all these perils Elizabeth rose triumphant. Fortunately for her, the Catholic powers of Europe had incompatible interests. Philip II was as much concerned as herself to prevent Mary Stuart uniting both France and England against him. She could also hamper France by encouraging the Huguenots. She effectually counteracted the Guises in Scotland by the treaty of Edinburgh, and stirred up trouble for Mary Stuart within her own realm by encouraging religious factions there. In this, indeed, her crooked policy ultimately recoiled upon herself, when Mary, driven out of Scotland, sought an asylum in her kingdom; for if a rival across the border was dangerous,

how much more so was that same rival living within England itself. Of the tragedy by which the difficulty was ultimately solved we need say nothing here. But the success which attended Elizabeth was remarkable. As new dangers arose new help was always at hand. She made Philip II her enemy by assisting the revolted Netherlands, but the proud Armada was dispersed and the tranquillity of England remained unbroken. And when a final effort was made under Philip III to give effect to papal excommunication by a Spanish fleet and army in aid of Tyrone's rebellion, it was no less completely frustrated, and Ireland was brought into complete subjection by Mountjoy.

Even the sex of Queen Elizabeth had seemed a serious obstacle to a prosperous reign, and, from the first, men believed that she must strengthen herself upon an uneasy throne by marrying some powerful prince or very capable subject. She herself knew better and avoided all along—or succeeded in avoiding, if at one time she felt rather tempted—what would undoubtedly have been a very serious political blunder. But since men would believe that she must marry, she allowed speculation pretty free play; it was good policy, in fact, not to discourage it; and she even did some things to promote it. Her doings were mysterious in many things besides, and she kept her own counsel in matters of much moment even from those sagacious advisers whom she showed her wisdom in selecting as her ministers. But year by year she grew in popularity, and her sex, instead of being a source of weakness, evoked in her subjects a new sense of chivalry which warmed into an enthusiastic loyalty when men learned that she stood in danger from foreign confederacies or the possibility of domestic treason.

Her rule was wonderfully prosperous, as many wise measures for her people's good deservedly made it. Early in her reign she corrected by a great effort the debased currency which her father had introduced and her brother continued. Trade and industry began to revive. The country enjoyed internal tranquillity, and noblemen, ceasing to live in castles, "builded abroad pleasant houses"; while her adventurous and not over-scrupulous seamen preyed upon Spanish commerce. A golden age began in English literature, when genial rule at home and wonderful tales from distant seas and continents excited the imaginations of men. The English drama took classical form and attained its highest glory under the greatest of all dramatists. Poetry found a voice in Spenser to describe in matchless allegory the deep spiritual facts of the Reformation. And before the end of the reign Francis Bacon had begun to write philosophical essays.

The whole reign of the Tudors was a reign of kings and queens who, for the most part with great sagacity, personally controlled their own government. Such a state of matters in England has never been since and will never be again. But the traditions of a system of government cannot but remain after such government is no longer possible; and this was the real rock on which the ship of state foundered in the days of the Stuarts. It is easy to blame the weakness of James I, the duplicity of Charles I, the easy-going sensualism of Charles II, and the perverse obstinacy of James II. But no kings could have repeated successfully the Tudor programme of personal government, and no provision had as yet been made for any other. The king was expected still to govern, and if he could not, there was no one to take his place. That he should have advisers of his own choosing was part of his prerogative; that he should be ruled by parliament was a reversal of all accepted principles. Parliament was only summoned at his bidding as the state of affairs in his opinion required it. Nay, there were theorists who maintained that England was an absolute monarchy, and that though it was

desirable to consult with parliament in the making of laws, the king might, if he pleased, make laws without any parliament at all. But not only did the commons take alarm at this suggestion; King James himself, who had no desire to be an autocrat, was exceedingly displeased with it.

Nevertheless, two contrasted political theories began to form themselves from the moment the Stuarts came to the throne; the one was the theory of divine right, the other that of parliamentary government. And there was some foundation for each in previous history. The nation, doubtless, had no such idea as divine right distinctly in view when it welcomed James I to the throne; but no other theory could truly justify his succession; for his title rested on simple inheritance in opposition to existing acts of parliament, and unless it was superior to acts of parliament he was not king at all. So the rule of the sovereign now came to be invested with a religious sanction different in kind from that conferred upon him by the act of coronation; and a theory had already taken root which was afterwards pushed to extravagance.

So also with the idea of parliamentary government, that is to say that parliament ought to govern. Though parliament was of growing importance, we hardly find any distinct enunciation of such a principle even in the days of James I. It took form out of the remonstrances of Eliot against the too great exaltation of the royal authority put forth by Laud and others; and it gained for the first time a secure basis for further development by the Petition of Right. But when it came to this, that parliament, to which even King James denied, in the abstract, any right to meddle with the *arcana imperii*, claimed, like an independent power, to limit the king's prerogative and to divest him of powers which he considered necessary for the safety of the state, it is obvious that a very real revolution had begun, and not at all wonderful that the ultimate issue was civil war.

We must go back, however, to the accession of the Stuart dynasty. The mere fact that a Scotch king had ascended the English throne brought with it momentous results, internal and external. It put an end to border wars; it brought Ireland into more complete subjection; it put an end to all possibility of a foreign power seeking to set the one country against the other. But the kingdoms were two though there was only one king, and the problem of governing these two kingdoms in harmony was very much greater than that of governing only one by itself. Too often it had been the policy of English sovereigns to promote trouble in Scotland, as if their own country was strengthened by the weakness of its neighbour; and it was really much on the same principle that Elizabeth had encouraged in Scotland the Puritanism which she repressed in England. The result was certainly to make Scotland even by itself a most uncomfortable country for any king to govern. The "kirk" became a democracy which held royal authority of small account. Preaching was disrespectful, and the king was at the mercy of a power which actually drove him to civil war to expel his Catholic nobility. James disliked intolerance. He felt, as Elizabeth felt, that the growth of Puritanism was a real danger to the crown. He was glad to find that it was not so strong in England, and he spoke from the bottom of his heart when he said at the Hampton Court conference, "No bishop, no king." Indeed, it was only too true, as events were in time to show, that Puritanism, if it became strong, would put down both king and bishops.

On the other hand, James' tolerance towards Roman Catholics at the beginning of his reign in England met with a rude check. Toleration in government was certainly much to be desired; but Protestants must own with

regret that the abolition of the pope's spiritual jurisdiction in England was the work originally of a cruel despotism. Moreover, if that jurisdiction was still to be kept out, it must be kept out by measures of more or less severity till it was practically extinct. Under Henry VIII men were beheaded for acknowledging the pope. Under Elizabeth priests saying mass were put to death as traitors, but laymen were only fined £20 a month for not attending service in the parish churches. Even this, however, was absolutely intolerable. The laws could not be put fully into execution; the fines could not be fully levied, and the government farmed the revenues that they expected to raise from them to hangers-on of the court. Of course this created just the utmost amount of practicable oppression, tempered by the utmost possible corruption and demoralisation. James was right in desiring to relieve the Romanists altogether; but he was soon compelled by public feeling to change his policy, and the Gunpowder Plot, which is supposed to have been due to resentment at that change, added new intensity to the general dislike of Romanism.

Without touching on the doubts which have been lately raised as to the reality of that nefarious conspiracy, it is certain that the discovery, as officially announced, frightened both king and public and added fuel to the flames of bigotry for several generations. Hatred of Rome, hitherto a sectarian feeling in the main, became hardened into a national sentiment, on which scoundrels like Titus Oates traded more than seventy years later. With it naturally revived an intense dislike of Jesuits, who, indeed, had been intriguing under Elizabeth to prevent the succession of the Stuart dynasty. Belief in the easy condonation of crime by Romish priests had much to do with the Puritan revolution under Cromwell, and the later revolution under William of Orange. Finally, the memory of the hellish plot was kept up by a special service in the Church of England till the middle of the nineteenth century.

But we must consider the story of religion abroad as well as at home, and go back once more to the beginning. The Reformation movement in other countries took form in very different ways from what it did in England. In Germany its origin was really theological. In France it was generally an aristocratic movement inspired by the scholastic principles of Calvin. In England, so far as it was a popular movement, it was neither aristocratic nor highly intellectual, but was merely a flood of long-suppressed Lollardy, half liberated, half confined, by the assertion of royal supremacy. But from one cause or another it was clear that Rome could no longer hold the world within her spiritual grasp; and the Jesuits sought too late to restore discipline in the Church, if indeed ecclesiastical discipline could ever have kept secular princes within limits. Such control was now impossible. Both potentates who wished to quarrel with Rome, and factions which desired to keep up the quarrel, had already a great ally in an unlicensed printing press, and trading communities both in England and Flanders propagated and exported a biblical and heretical literature, which bishops, even when they had royal authority to back them, could do little to repress.

Thus even the interests of trade were enlisted in opposition to a once universal Church; and they naturally added strength both to English sympathy with the Low Countries and to English antagonism to Philip of Spain. The free spirit of navigation, too, tended in the same direction; for what right had the pope, as if lord of all the earth, to hand over the whole of a newly discovered world, with lands and streams the extent of which could not yet be estimated, to the sole dominion of the Spanish king? The importance of Spain with these new acquisitions, in addition to the territories

Philip also held in the north and south of Italy, was a danger to the rest of Europe, and drew France and England together for a time. But the papacy leaned on that secular power which seemed in a fair way to dominate the world.

Eight years before the Armada Philip II's greatness had become still more imposing by his acquisition of the crown of Portugal, which united in his days the whole peninsula under one king, and placed at his command the resources of a nation specially distinguished for maritime enterprise and colonisation. France had meanwhile been torn asunder by a succession of civil wars about religion. The crown was weak, now seeking to strengthen itself by an alliance with the Huguenots and with Queen Elizabeth, anon driven to the wild insanity of the massacre of St. Bartholomew. Philip was head of the great Catholic League, and was expected to reduce the Netherlands to submission and to turn Elizabeth off the throne. But he had an uncomfortable neighbour in Henry, king of Navarre, who headed the Protestants in France until on the failure of the line of Valois he became king of France himself as Henry IV. Under him began a new policy; for although, even to secure his possession of the throne, he became reconciled to the church, yet he made the best terms he could for the Huguenots, whose communion he had left, and accorded them religious toleration by the Edict of Nantes. Some practical settlement to put an end to civil war had long been the aim of those French statesmen who were called *Politiques*, and though the recognition of two separate communions was entirely opposed to traditional ideas of government, it was acquiesced in as a necessity for nearly ninety years.

The toleration granted, indeed, was but a limited toleration after all. The Huguenot gentry were allowed to worship in their own way within their own country houses and in most of the towns; they were made capable of holding important offices, and were allowed a share in the administration of justice. But it was only a local, not a general toleration, and could not give permanent satisfaction. It was, however, the first instance of such a policy being adopted in any country. Heretics in every land had been treated as public enemies, even where the pope's authority had been set aside. The political and social system everywhere was so bound up with a religious system, that disrespect to the local religion could only be treated as dangerous; and neither Germany nor England had learned the lesson which the French *Politiques* had already learned from a dreary civil war until each of these countries had itself gone through a like experience.

A generation after the Edict of Nantes the restlessness of the Huguenots again made itself dangerous to French nationality and had to be repressed by Richelieu when it sought help from England at Rochelle. But Richelieu was conciliatory to the vanquished, seeking above all things peace and order for France, in complete subjection to its king. Under him France was again rising to take the place of Spain as the leading power in Europe. Spanish greatness had already declined since the death of Philip II, and Catholic ascendancy in Europe was passing away likewise. But the dreams of the house of Austria were not yet dissipated, that between its two separate branches in Spain and Germany it could yet rule the world, and France might have been in serious danger from fires on either side of her, but for the great domestic fire in Germany of the Thirty Years' War, which was far more serious to her rivals.

It was the sad misfortune of Germany that it had no real sovereign, as France and England had, and from the day of the great Bohemian revolt in 1618 every element of power and every element of discord in Europe rushed

in to harass and oppress the unhappy people. There was Romanism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, Bohemian nationality, the rights of German princes, the rights of the empire, the rights of the house of Austria, the interference of Gustavus Adolphus, and the policy of a Protestant union to meet a Catholic league. What a multitude of discordant interests preying on the very heart of central Europe! What a painfully long drawn-out struggle, in which the horrors of war, augmented by a licentious soldiery, left to pay themselves by rapine, have never been exceeded for atrocity! Germany, even as far south as Munich, welcomed with open arms the Protestant king of Sweden, who kept his troops in order and really felt for the people. But with all the shiftings and changings, nothing seemed ever to be settled; and when at last the peace of Westphalia gave rest to poor desolated Germany, it gave no religious toleration to individuals, but recognised the religion of each separate prince as that of the territory which he ruled. All that Germany gained by that peace was a much-needed rest. But France gained Alsace and Lorraine, which had been the highway for Spanish troops to the Palatinate, and the Netherlands and Switzerland gained recognition as nationalities. The dreams of the house of Austria were dissipated, and France was becoming greater every day. Her war with Spain, however, continued for eleven years longer, during which France was invariably successful, till, in the end, she had clearly become the great military power in Europe under the "Grand Monarque," Louis XIV.

Concurrent with the Thirty Years' War in Germany were the great parliamentary struggle and the civil war in England. For the question between king and parliament began even under James I, and was terminated by the execution of Charles I the year after the peace of Westphalia. It was certainly unfortunate for the Stuarts, when they inherited Tudor traditions of government, that they had not the Tudor gift of choosing wise counsellors or appreciating good advice. This was the more to be regretted as their responsibilities were greater. It was impossible that kings with families and foreign connections, having, besides, three kingdoms to rule instead of two, could live on the same economical scale as Queen Elizabeth, and their needs made it all the more advisable that there should be a perfect understanding between them and their parliaments. Despotic as the Tudors undoubtedly were, they had always shown great respect for the house of commons. It was their policy, in fact, to raise its importance as a counterpoise to the house of lords; and when near the close of Queen Elizabeth's reign that house remonstrated with her against monopolies, she yielded in a manner which was graciousness itself. "Mr. Speaker," she said, "I have more cause to thank you all than you me; for had I not received a knowledge from you I might have fallen into the lap of error, only for lack of information."

Treated in this manner as real advisers of the crown, who might be assured that the sovereign was seeking the good of his people and not merely his own, parliament would have been far less disposed to question the royal prerogative or attempt to limit its exercise. Unfortunately, the Stuarts failed to inspire confidence that the nation's interests were theirs. They fell "into the lap of error," and the ministers in whom they unfortunately trusted were not the men to extricate them from false positions. The true sphere of the house of commons was as yet a limited one; but sound finance and some effort to control corruption were objects which were felt to be important. And much was done, undoubtedly, when the commons condemned monopolies, and the great lord Bacon fell tainted with the too prevalent corruption of courtiers and of judges.

Here, however, we see that even in the days of James I a sense of alienation had begun between parliament and the court. And, apart altogether from the causes of difference, this was essentially unwholesome; for according to the constitutional theory the king is an essential part of parliament and no real parliament can exist without him. Parliament is a conference for the public good between the three great powers in the nation, king, lords, and commons; and apart from parliament the constitutional theory in England, as in France, would have been summed up in the aphorism of Louis XIV, "L'Etat c'est moi." For while parliament cannot exist without the king, the king may undoubtedly exist without parliament, and does so, even at this day, for a considerable portion of the year, his acts being determined, of course, by responsible ministers. It was merely this question of ministerial responsibility which was not settled in the early part of the seventeenth century; and matters were clearly becoming dangerous when the king wanted money to carry out a policy on which he could not take his commons fully into his confidence.

The Protestant fervour of the nation did not seriously inconvenience an unmarried sovereign like Elizabeth. But James required a suitable match for his son, and to find a princess abroad who was not a Catholic was an impossibility. His daughter Elizabeth was already married to the elector palatine, whose unhappy acceptance of the crown of Bohemia had caused him to lose both that kingdom and the palatinate. And both with James I and with Charles I the recovery of the palatinate for the husband, and afterwards for the son of this Elizabeth, was the one leading motive in foreign policy. When there was no hope of assistance from parliament James turned to Spain as an ally for help in this great object, and even entertained the idea of matching his son with the infanta. Then after being repulsed by Spain, England fell into the arms of France, and Charles actually married Henrietta Maria just after his accession. But the recovery of the palatinate proved altogether a hopeless object; all the more so because parliament at home was not treated with due consideration. Indeed, both James and Charles were weak enough to give a pledge to parliament before the marriage that no religious liberty should be extended to English Roman Catholics on account of the queen being of that religion; while on the other hand, yielding to pressure, they promised the French government that their own Roman Catholic subjects should have that toleration which parliament declined to give them.

Charles I declared that parliament was for counsel, not for control; a king, he considered, was accountable to God only. Nor were the Stuarts the first kings of England who held such views. High churchmen, moreover, maintained the royal power and declared it to be the duty of loyal subjects even to pay a forced loan. That some got church preferment for this is no argument that they were insincere. But Calvinism was strong in the house of commons and in a considerable section of the clergy. Pamphlets flew about urging the house of commons to step in and preserve the faith, and the house of commons, unfortunately, took this for the most important part of its business. On the other hand the king, not getting "counsel" such as he liked from parliament, became all the more absolute in theory; and by the Star Chamber and the Court of High Commission the bishops were most objectionably placed in the position of judges of offences against themselves. But brutal as some of the sentences were, cruel punishments had been so long the rule that little complaint was made of them. Much more serious in the public eye was the influence of Archbishop Laud in promoting cere-

monial religion and insisting on uniformity. His rigour was not the right kind of rigour to satisfy the Calvinists; in fact, part of his offence in their eyes was that he promoted too much freedom, as when, at the beginning of his archiepiscopal rule, he encouraged the king to reissue his father's *Book of Sports*, and ordered the clergy to read openly throughout the land the permission of Sunday amusements.

Sharp divisions now reigned in things political and religious, and theory was pitted against theory. Puritanism was undoubtedly anxious to purify the moral atmosphere, but was strangely vehement about things indifferent. Prynne lost his ears for intemperate zeal; but it was the revolt of Scotland against episcopacy that brought on the real crisis. The attempts of Charles to govern without a parliament, and the levying of ship-money, however he may have thought himself within his rights and been countenanced at first by his judges, exasperated public feeling and created sympathy and alliance with the Presbyterian Scots. At length when the Long Parliament met, it began a course of injustice by the attainder of Strafford, which the king, fearing for his consort's safety, felt too weak to oppose; and by giving his assent to the bill he sent his most devoted servant to the block. No wonder the commons grew bolder, and the king's unhappy attempt to arrest the five members made them all the more so. Their demand for the control of the militia naturally brought on the civil war, which was simply bound to end in the way it did, notwithstanding the devotion and self-denial of many fervid royalists.

In the very midst of this struggle the celebrated Assembly of Divines sat at Westminster and framed a constitution for a Presbyterian church; which parliament, having adopted, made a political and religious alliance with the Scots by the Solemn League and Covenant. But a new religious system to be forced on the nation by a house of commons with an army at its command could hardly have higher spiritual credentials than episcopacy and royal supremacy. A national church with an old historic foundation had, in fact, better claims in the way of authority, and the ideal of freedom at which Puritanism aimed found more ardent followers in the growing sect of Independents. Parliament, however, soon found that instead of having the army at its command, it was itself in the power of the army. Indeed, it was just after the Scots had surrendered the king to the parliamentary commissioners because he would not establish Presbyterianism in the place of Episcopacy, that the deputies of the two houses went to Hounslow Heath to seek the protection of the army and put themselves under a bondage that they were never to be able to shake off.

There is no divine right so incontestable as the divine right of force, and when a kingdom gets into complete disorder that is the final arbiter. After the execution of the king there was nothing but organised force to save the country from destruction. And Cromwell did much more than save her. He restored peace and prosperity within her borders, and with the aid of Admiral Blake won for England a supremacy at sea, which gave her a foremost position among all the powers of Europe. He even laid the foundations of a great empire. Yet with how much effort did he strive to maintain himself in a position which was really unsound from the very first. He had to hammer three kingdoms into a kind of necessary unity, and would fain have brought back as far as could be the old traditions of the constitution. But the task was beyond his power. The hammering, indeed, was very efficacious. In England, and even in Scotland, a sense of political and religious order made itself felt. In unhappy Ireland, subdued by merciless

Puritanical force, there was only submission under a sense of deeper and more cruel wrongs than she had suffered before. A religious despot is the cruellest kind of tyrant; for, unhappily, no man's religion is accompanied by perfect clearness of view, and zeal only makes error worse. This in truth was the case with Charles I, though it is absurd to call him a tyrant who was continually coerced by others. His principles of government were mistaken, but he did far more mischief by yielding against his principles than by anything he did to carry them out. Cromwell was a religious despot, too, but of a very different type, and while strongly governed by the feeling that he was accountable only to God in his highest acts, his resolutions were always based on practical considerations. Hence, though raised to power by what was quite as much a religious as a political revolution, he in practice broke through the exclusiveness and intolerance to which the saints of his party would have bound him. Himself an Independent, he would not allow Presbyterianism to have its way in all things; he would tolerate even Jews, Anabaptists, and Quakers. The only religions proscribed were Roman Catholicism and the Church of England. But the change was serious enough, when even the observance of Christmas Day was forcibly put down, and when marriage itself was made a civil ceremony which it was illegal to grace with any religious office.

The nation was soon tired of the severities of Puritanism, and even the political system depended for its maintenance too much upon one man. Within two years of Cromwell's death the commonwealth collapsed. The army under Monk resuscitated for a brief time the remains of the Long Parliament, restored Charles II, and disbanded itself "without one bloody nose," as Baxter observed at the time. The king and the Church of England came by their own again. But the English monarchy was no longer what it had been, nor the church either. The church, indeed, purified by trial and no longer made oppressive by objectionable tribunals, was in some sense stronger than before; but it had ceased to be a religion to which all must conform. After one great effort at comprehension it was obliged to let seceders go their ways. As for monarchy, it was impossible that it could rest secure after such convulsions as the country had passed through. But the new king's experience had taught him to understand men thoroughly, and he knew how to keep his seat. His father's fate was a warning against being too much in earnest, and no king was more cautious to avoid the least appearance of personal interference in affairs of state. Inglorious as his reign was and profligate as was his life, we cannot wonder at such results from the lessons of the past.

His brother, James II, took a more serious view of things, and by his extraordinary indiscretions played into the hands of enemies who had long caballed against him. A new revolution was only the natural consequence. Its strength, of course, lay in opposition to a king who not only was an avowed convert to Rome, but who seemed utterly heedless of the danger of straining the prerogative as his father had done before him.

CHAPTER I

THE REIGN OF HENRY VII

[1485–1509 A.D.]

> NEVER was king so thoroughly disciplined by adversity before he came to the throne as was King Henry VII. Without a father even from his birth, driven abroad in his childhood owing to the attainder of his family, more than once nearly delivered up to his enemies, and owing life and liberty to his own and his friends' astuteness, his ultimate conquest of the crown was scarcely so much a triumph of ambition as the achievement of personal safety. He might, indeed, for anything we know to the contrary, have remained an exile and a refugee to the end of his days, had not the tyranny of Richard III drawn towards him the sympathies of Englishmen in a way they were not drawn towards him during Edward's reign.—JAMES GAIRDNER.[b]

"WE are apt to look on Henry VII as the founder of a dynasty, and on his reign as marking the beginning of a new era," says Freeman.[c] "Both views are true; but they must not be allowed to put out of sight the fact that, till quite the end of his reign, his throne was as insecure as that of any of his predecessors. The civil wars were not yet ended; in foreign lands Henry was looked on as a mere adventurer, who had won the crown by the chances of one battle, and who was likely to lose what he had won by the chances of another. Hence he was, like Edward IV in the same case, specially anxious to establish his position among foreign princes. To obtain, as he did at last, an infanta for his son, even to give his daughter to the king of Scots, were in his view important objects of policy. But those objects were not attained till after he had strengthened his position at home by successfully withstanding more than one enemy."[c]

The long quarrel between the two houses of York and Lancaster had deluged England with blood; by a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, it was given

to Henry of Richmond, an exile and an adventurer, without means and without title, to unite the interests of the "two roses," and to bequeath to posterity the benefit of an undisputed succession. From the field of Bosworth he proceeded to Leicester. Victory had placed the crown on his temples, and the absence of a rival secured to him the present possession of the sovereignty. But a perplexing question occurred: on what title was he to ground his claim? On that of hereditary descent? The right of hereditary descent, even supposing it to be in the family of Lancaster, and not of York, could not be propagated through an illegitimate branch, which to prevent dispute had been originally cut off from the succession by an act of parliament. Should he then depend on his stipulated marriage with the princess Elizabeth? But his pride disdained to owe the sceptre to a wife, the representative of a rival and hated family. That would be to justify the dethronement of Henry VI, to acknowledge himself a king only by courtesy, and to exclude his issue by any succeeding marriage from all claim to the throne. There remained the right of conquest; but, though he might appeal to his late victory as an argument that Heaven approved of his pretensions,[1] he dared not mention the name of conquest, or he would have united his friends with his foes in a common league against him, [because it was taught that a conqueror might dispossess all men of their lands, since they held them of a prince that had been conquered.] The question became the subject of long and anxious deliberation; and it was at last resolved to follow a line of proceeding which, while it settled the crown on the king and his heirs general, should not bring either his right, or that of the princess, into discussion.

The reader has seen that Richard before his fall had named his nephew, John de la Pole, earl of Lincoln, to be his successor. Him and his pretensions Henry treated with contempt; but there was another prince, Edward Plantagenet, son of the late duke of Clarence, whom he viewed with peculiar jealousy. Even Richard, when his own son was dead, had at first assigned to him the honours of the heir-apparent; but afterwards, fearing that he might become a dangerous competitor, had confined him in the castle of Sheriff Hutton in Yorkshire. The first act of the new king at Leicester was to transfer the young prince, who had only reached his fifteenth year, from his prison in the north to a place of greater security, the Tower. The public commiserated the lot of the innocent victim, who thus, to satisfy the ambition of others, was condemned to perpetual imprisonment from his childhood; and the spot chosen for his confinement, a spot so lately stained with the blood of princes, was considered an omen of his subsequent destiny. The princess Elizabeth had been his fellow captive at Sheriff Hutton. Richard had sent her there as soon as he heard of the invasion; Henry ordered her to be conducted by several noblemen to the house of her mother in London.

The fall of the usurper excited little regret. No man could pity his death who had pitied the fate of his unoffending nephews. When the conqueror entered the capital, August 28th, 1485, he was received with unequivocal demon-

[1 Many historians have denied the legitimacy of Henry's succession. His grandfather, the Welshman Owen Tudor, had married Catharine, the widow of Henry V. This gave the descendants no royal claim, but Owen's son Edmund Tudor, earl of Richmond, married a descendant of John of Gaunt by his third wife Catharine Swynford. It was said that Richard II legitimised this irregular union only on condition that the issue should make no pretensions to the succession, and in proof a printed patent was shown. But it is now known that the original document in the Rolls of Parliament has no such limitation, and while a duplicate among the Patent Rolls shows it, it is plainly the interpolation of a later hand—probably of the time of Henry IV, who objected to the legitimisation of his half-brothers. Von Ranke,[d] adducing these facts, believes Henry VII's claims fully legal.]

[1485 A.D.]

strations of joy. As he passed through the streets the crowd obstructed his way, that they might behold and greet the deliverer of his country.[1] Before him were borne the ensigns of his triumph, the three standards which had led his small army to victory, and these he devoutly offered on the high altar of St. Paul's. But his coronation was delayed, and the joy of the public was damped, by the sudden spread of a disease which acquired from its predominant symptoms the appellation of the sweating sickness. It generally extinguished life within the course of twenty-four hours; and some idea may be formed of its ravages, when it is known that within eight days it proved fatal to two successive lord mayors and six of the aldermen of London. At the end of the month, whether it were owing to the greater experience of the physicians, or the coldness of the season, its violence began to abate, and on October 30th the new king received the rite of coronation from the hands of the cardinal archbishop of Canterbury.

On that occasion twelve knights bannerets were created, and the king's uncle, the earl of Pembroke, was raised to the dignity of duke of Bedford, the lord Stanley to that of earl of Derby, and Sir Edward Courtenay to that of earl of Devon. At the same time he appointed a body of select archers, amounting to fifty men, to attend on him, under the appellation of "yeomen of the guard." The institution excited surprise; but Henry justified it on the ground that by foreign princes a guard was considered a necessary appendage to the regal dignity.[h]

THE KING AND PARLIAMENT

As a new historical era had commenced with the new dynasty, it will be sufficient in this place to point out the principal circumstances in the polity of England at the accession of Henry VII.

The essential checks upon the royal authority were five in number: 1. The king could levy no sort of new tax on his people, except by the grant of his parliament, consisting as well of bishops and mitred abbots or lords spiritual, and of hereditary peers or temporal lords, who sat and voted promiscuously in the same chamber, as of representatives from the freeholders of each county, and from the burgesses of many towns and less considerable places, forming the lower or commons' house. 2. The previous assent and authority of the same assembly was necessary for every new law, whether of a general or temporary nature. 3. No man could be committed to prison but by a legal warrant specifying his offence; and by an usage nearly tantamount to constitutional right, he must be speedily brought to trial, by means of regular sessions of jail delivery. 4. The fact of guilt or innocence on a criminal charge was determined in a public court, and in the county where the offence was alleged to have occurred, by a jury of twelve men, from whose unanimous verdict no appeal could be made. Civil rights, so far as they depended on matters of fact, were subject to the same decision. 5. The officers and servants of the crown, violating the personal liberty or other right of the subject, might be sued in an action for damages, to be assessed by a jury, or, in some cases, were liable to a criminal process; nor could they plead any warrant or command in their justification, not even the direct order of the king.

[1 Gairdner *b* has pointed out a curious error in all the histories. They state that Richmond entered London "in a close carriage." The error was due to Speed,*e* who, misreading the words of André *f*—*lætanter* (joyfully) as *latenter* (secretly)—hazarded the guess "belike in a horse litter or close chariot," a guess soberly accepted by Bacon *g* and accepted since without question.]

These securities, though it would be easy to prove that they were all recognised in law, differed much in the degree of their effective operation. It may be said of the first, that it was now completely established. After a long contention, the kings of England had desisted for nearly one hundred years from every attempt to impose taxes without consent of parliament; and their recent device of demanding benevolences, or half-compulsory gifts, though very oppressive, and on that account just abolished by an act of the late usurper, Richard, was in effect a recognition of the general principle which it sought to elude rather than transgress.*i*

Soon after the coronation the king met his parliament, November 7th, 1485, and when the commons presented to him their speaker, was careful to inform them that "he had come to the throne by just title of inheritance, and by the sure judgment of God, who had given him the victory over his enemy in the field"; but, lest they should be alarmed by the last words, he added that every man should continue "to enjoy his rights and hereditaments, with the exception of such persons as in the present parliament should be punished for their offences against his royal majesty."

When the commons returned to their own house, an unexpected difficulty arose. A large proportion of the members had been outlawed by the last monarch. Could they sit there in quality of lawgivers? Even the king, who had summoned them together, had been attainted. Was that attainder to continue unrepealed? Henry was displeased with the boldness of these questions; but dissembling his resentment, he consulted the judges, who replied that as far as regarded the king himself, the crown had cleared away all legal corruption of blood; but that the members attainted by course of law must forbear to sit till their attainder had been reversed by equal authority. The advice was followed; all who had been disinherited by Richard were by one act restored to their former rights; and separate bills were passed in favour of the king's mother, the dukes of Bedford, Buckingham, and Somerset, the marquis of Dorset, the earl of Oxford, the lords Beaumont, Wells, Clifford, Hungerford, De Roos, and several others. The whole number of those who profited by this measure amounted to one hundred and seven.[1] The transactions which followed were important and interesting.

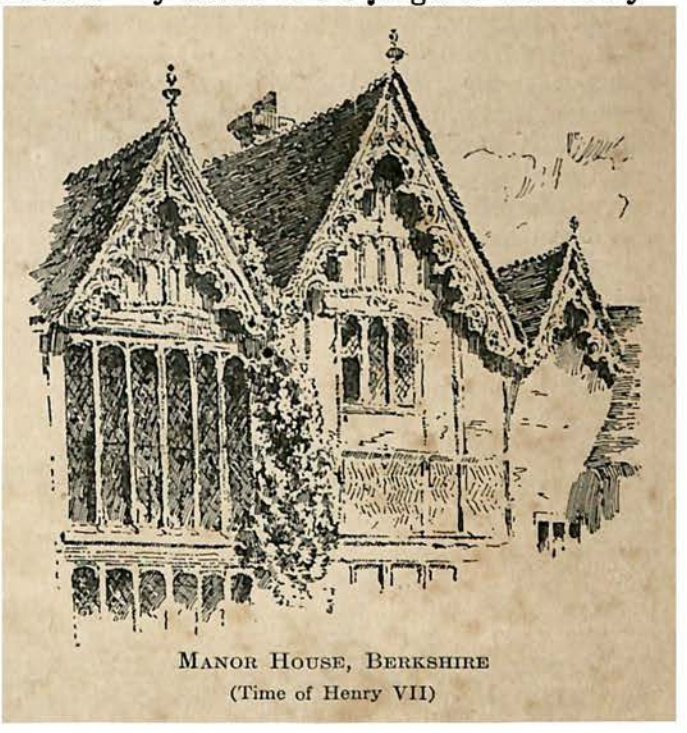
In the settlement of the crown by legislative enactment, Henry proceeded with cautious and measured steps. Jealous as he was of the pretended right of the house of Lancaster, he was equally sensible that the claim of the princess Elizabeth would prove the firmest support of his throne. Hence he watched all the proceedings with the most scrupulous solicitude. To weaken her claim would be to undermine his own interest; to confirm it would encourage a suspicion that he was conscious of a defect in his own title. In

[1 The ministers whom Henry most trusted and favoured were not chosen from among the nobility, or even from among the laity. John Morton and Richard Foxe, two clergymen, persons of industry, vigilance, and capacity, were the men to whom he chiefly confided his affairs and secret counsels. They had shared with him all his former dangers and distresses, and he now took care to make them participate in his good fortune. They were both called to the privy council; Morton was restored to the bishopric of Ely, Foxe was created bishop of Exeter. The former soon after, upon the death of Bouchier, was raised to the see of Canterbury; the latter was made privy seal, and successively bishop of Bath and Wells, Durham and Winchester. For Henry, as Lord Bacon observes, loved to employ and advance prelates, because, having rich bishoprics to bestow, it was easy for him to reward their services. And it was his maxim to raise them by slow steps, and make them first pass through the inferior sees. He probably expected that, as they were naturally more dependent on him than the nobility, who during that age enjoyed possessions and jurisdictions dangerous to royal authority, so the prospect of further elevation would render them still more active in his service and more obsequious to his commands.—HUME.*j*]

[1485 A.D.]

his own favour he commanded that all records containing any mention of his attainder should be cancelled and taken off the file; in favour of his Lancastrian predecessors, he annulled the act of Edward IV which had pronounced Henry IV and Henry V usurpers, Henry VI an usurper and traitor, Margaret and Edward, the wife and son of that monarch, traitors, and all the heirs of the body of Henry of Derby incapable of holding or inheriting any estate, dignity, pre-eminence, hereditament, or possession within the realm; and in favour of Elizabeth he repealed the act of the 1st of Richard III, by which that princess had been pronounced a bastard, in common with the rest of her father's children by Elizabeth Grey.

Out of respect for her who was to be queen, neither the title nor the body of the act was read in either house. By advice of the judges it was merely designated by the first words; the original was then ordered to be burned, and all persons possessed of copies were commanded to deliver them to the chancellor before Easter, under the penalty of fine and imprisonment. In the act of settlement itself no mention was made of Elizabeth or her heirs; even Henry's own claim, which he so ostentatiously brought forward in his speech to the commons, "of his just right of inheritance, and the sure judgment of God," was studiously omitted; and it was merely enacted that "the inheritance of the crown should be, rest, remain, and abide in the most royal person of the then sovereign lord, King Henry VII, and the heirs of his body lawfully coming, perpetually with the grace of God so to endure, and in none other."



MANOR HOUSE, BERKSHIRE
(Time of Henry VII)

But this cautious policy, and in particular this silence with respect to the princess, seems to have alarmed not only the partisans of the house of York, but even Henry's own friends, who had trusted that under the union of the Red and White Roses domestic peace would succeed to war and dissension. When the commons presented to the king the usual grant of tonnage and poundage for life, they coupled with it a petition that he would be pleased to "take to wife and consort the princess Elizabeth, which marriage they hoped God would bless with a progeny of the race of kings"; the lords spiritual and temporal, rising from their seats and bowing to the throne, signified their concurrence; and Henry graciously answered that he was willing to comply with their request.[h]

Henry in reason ought to have been satisfied with the declaration which effaced all former blemishes and deficiencies, and made him a good and lawful king from the time he assumed the crown, which was on the field of battle; but he resolved to be a king even before that time, in order to punish men for

treason which had never been committed, unless he could antedate his royal existence. This antedating involved some very curious points: if he claimed the crown by right of his descent from the house of Lancaster, he might have been expected to date from his boyhood or from the murder of Henry VI; if people looked to the rights he would derive from his marriage with the princess Elizabeth of the house of York, though they could not help knowing that this marriage had not even yet been celebrated, they might have allowed him the latitude of dating from the murder of Elizabeth's brothers in the Tower; but Henry took a very different course, and with characteristic nicety, as if so small a theft from time were no theft at all, he only antedated by a single day, making his reign begin on the 21st of August, the eve of the battle of Bosworth, when the crown was on the head of Richard, and he, Henry, was nothing but earl of Richmond.

In this manner the marches and counter-marches, and all the long preparations of the friends of Richard to meet the invader were overlooked, and they were accused of nothing treasonable before that day. In the preamble of the bill which he caused to be introduced in parliament, after a recital of the unnatural, mischievous, and great perjuries, treasons, homicides, and murders "in shedding of infants' blood," with many other wrongs, odious offences, and abominations against God and man, committed by Richard, late duke of Gloucester, it was shown how Norfolk, Surrey, Lovell, Zouch, Ratcliffe, Catesby, and others had, "on the 21st day of August, the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord, assembled to them at Leicester, in the county of Leicester, a great host, traitorously intending, imagining, and conspiring the destruction of the king's royal person, our sovereign liege lord," etc.

The absurdity of this antedating by a day was too manifest to escape observation, and the whole tendency was startling. It was asked how Richard, and Norfolk, and Surrey, and the other adherents of the late king, could have committed treason against Henry, then only earl of Richmond, and at a time when he had never publicly laid claim to the crown.

All constitutional and legal objections were, however, overruled, and, in spite of a faint opposition within doors and a louder outcry without, the subservient parliament passed the bill as required, and attainted the late king, the duke of Norfolk, his son the earl of Surrey, Lord Lovell, Lord Ferrers, and twenty-five other noblemen and gentlemen. Henry thus obtained what he much wanted—an immediate supply of money; some of the confiscated estates, the largest and finest in the kingdom, he kept to himself, and others he distributed among his needy followers. Of the thirty persons thus attainted, some had fallen with Richard and the duke of Norfolk at Bosworth; some, like Lord Lovell, had taken sanctuary, and some had fled beyond sea. The new king was only fond of executions on great state occasions, and the only blood which was shed at this revolution was that of Richard's confidential adviser, Catesby, and of two persons named Brecher, who were put to death immediately after the battle.[k]

The act of resumption which followed was less invidious, and equally politic. Treading in the footsteps of former monarchs, the king revoked all grants made by the crown since the 34th of Henry VI, and as the grantees were chiefly the partisans of the house of York, they were all placed at the mercy of the king, who, according to his judgment or caprice, had it in his power to take from them, or to confirm to them, the possession of their property. Before he dissolved the parliament he granted a general pardon to the adherents of Richard; but that he might monopolise the whole merit of the measure, he would not allow it to originate at the intercession, or to be issued with the concurrence, of the two houses.

THE MARRIAGE OF THE ROSES, 1486.

During the recess after Christmas he married Elizabeth, January 18, 1486. It was believed that the delay arose from a desire to prevent her name from being inserted in the act of settlement. When that point had been obtained, he hastened to gratify the wishes of his people and parliament. If the ambition of the princess was flattered by this union, we are told that she had little reason to congratulate herself on the score of domestic happiness; that Henry treated her with harshness and, with neglect; and that in his estimation neither the beauty of her person nor the sweetness of her disposition could atone for the deadly crime of being a descendant of the house of York.[1]

WICKHAM COURT, KENT
(Time of Henry VII)

As the king and queen were relatives, a dispensation had been granted previously to the marriage by the bishop of Imola, the legate of Innocent VIII. But Henry applied for another to the pontiff himself, avowedly for the purpose of removing every doubt respecting the validity of the marriage, but in reality that by introducing into it the meaning which he affixed to the act of settlement, that meaning might have the sanction of the papal authority. The pontiff, therefore, at the prayer of the king, and to preserve the tranquillity of the realm, confirms the dispensation which has already been granted, and the act of settlement passed by the parliament; and concludes by excommunicating all those who may hereafter attempt to disturb him or his posterity in the possession of their rights. The existence of this extraordinary instrument betrays the king's uneasiness with respect to the insufficiency of his own claim.*h*

LORD BACON'S ACCOUNT OF THE ROYAL PROGRESS

Towards the middle of the spring the king, full of confidence and assurance, as a prince that had been victorious in battle, and had prevailed with his parliament in all that he desired, and had the ring of acclamations fresh in his ears, thought the rest of his reign should be but play and the enjoying of a kingdom. Yet, as a wise and watchful king, he would not neglect anything for his safety, thinking nevertheless to perform all things now rather as an exercise than as a labour. So he being truly informed that the northern

[1 Gairdner*b* believes that these charges are overdrawn; and we shall see later that on the death of their son a relation of much tenderness plainly subsisted between them.]

parts were not only affectionate to the house of York, but particularly had been devoted to King Richard III, thought it would be a summer well spent to visit those parts, and by his presence and application of himself to reclaim and rectify those humours. But the king, in his account of peace and calms, did much overcast his fortunes; which proved for many years together full of broken seas, tides, and tempests. For he was no sooner come to Lincoln, where he kept his Easter, but he received news that the lord Lovell, Humphrey Stafford, and Thomas Stafford, who had formerly taken sanctuary at Colchester, were departed out of sanctuary, but to what place no man could tell. Which advertisement the king despised, and continued his journey to York.

At York there came fresh and more certain advertisement that the lord Lovell was at hand with a great power of men, and that the Staffords were in arms in Worcestershire, and had made their approaches to the city of Worcester to assail it. The king, as a prince of great and profound judgment, was not much moved with it; for that he thought it was but a rag or remnant of Bosworth Field, and had nothing in it of the main party of the house of York. But he was more doubtful of the raising of forces to resist the rebels, than of the resistance itself; for that he was in a core of people whose affections he suspected. But the action enduring no delay, he did speedily levy and send against the lord Lovell to the number of three thousand men, ill armed but well assured (being taken few out of his own train, and the rest out of the tenants and followers of such as were safe to be trusted), under the conduct of the duke of Bedford. And as his manner was to send his pardons rather before the sword than after, he gave commission to the duke to proclaim pardon to all that would come in; which the duke, upon his approach to the lord Lovell's camp, did perform.

And it fell out as the king expected; the heralds were the great ordnance. For the lord Lovell, upon his proclamation of pardon, mistrusting his men, fled into Lancashire, and lurking for a time with Sir Thomas Broughton, after sailed over into Flanders to the lady Margaret. And his men, forsaken of their captain, did presently submit themselves to the duke. The Staffords likewise, and their forces, hearing what had happened to the lord Lovell (in whose success their chief trust was), despaired and dispersed; the two brothers taking sanctuary at Colnham, a village near Abingdon; which place, upon view of their privilege in the king's bench, being judged no sufficient sanctuary for traitors, Humphrey was executed at Tyburn; and Thomas, as being led by his elder brother, was pardoned. So this rebellion proved but a blast, and the king by his journey purged a little the dregs and leaven of the northern people, that were before in no good affection towards him.*g*

RELATIONS WITH SCOTLAND

The king made his entry into York with royal magnificence.[1] He spent three weeks in that city, dispensing favours, conferring honours, and redressing grievances; a conduct, the policy of which was proved by the loyalty of the country during the invasion of the following year. Thence he returned to London, to receive a numerous and splendid embassy sent by James, king of Scotland. Fortunately, James had long cherished a strong partiality for the English; a partiality so marked, that it formed the principal of the charges alleged against him by the rebels, who afterwards deprived him of life. As

[1] The people, according to Leland,*l* cried, "King Henry! King Henry! our Lord preserve that sweet and well-savoured face."

[1486 A.D.]

the former truce between the two crowns was supposed to have expired at the death of Richard, both kings readily consented to its renewal, and a matrimonial alliance between the royal families of England and Scotland.

It might have been expected that the king would take his queen with him during his progress, to gratify the partisans of the house of York; it was supposed that he refused through his jealousy of her influence, and his unwillingness to seem indebted to her for his crown. She kept her court at Winchester, and in her eighth month (September 20th, 1486) was safely delivered of a son, whose birth gave equal joy to the king and the nation. He was christened with extraordinary parade in the cathedral, and at the font received the name of Arthur, in memory of the celebrated king of the Britons, from whom Henry wished it to be thought that he was himself descended.

THE REBELLION OF LAMBERT SIMNEL, THE IMPOSTOR

Hitherto the king's enemies had given him little uneasiness; but the birth of his son, which threatened to perpetuate the crown in his family, urged them to one of the most extraordinary attempts recorded in history. First a report was spread that the young earl of Warwick had perished in the Tower; soon afterwards one Richard Simon, a priest of Oxford, entirely unknown in Ireland, landed at Dublin with a boy about fifteen years of age, presented his ward to the earl of Kildare, the lord deputy, under the name of Edward Plantagenet, the very earl so lately reported to have been murdered; and implored the protection of that nobleman for a young and innocent prince, who, by escaping from the Tower, had avoided the fate similar to that of his unfortunate cousins, the sons of Edward IV.

The boy—he was the son of Thomas Simnel, a joiner at Oxford—had been well instructed in the part which he had to perform. His person was handsome; his address had something in it which seemed to bespeak nobility of descent; and he could relate with apparent accuracy his adventures at Sheriff Hutton, in the Tower, and during his escape. But why he should be seduced to personate a prince who was still living, and who might any day be confronted with him, is a mystery difficult to unravel. Of the reasons which have been assigned, the least improbable is that which supposes that the framers of the plot designed, if it succeeded, to place the real Warwick on the throne; but that, sensible how much they should endanger his life if they were to proclaim him while he was in the Tower, they set up a counterfeit Warwick, and by this contrivance made it the interest of Henry to preserve the true one.

The Butlers, the bishops of Cashel, Tuam, Clogher, and Ossory, and the citizens of Waterford, remained steady in their allegiance; the rest of the population, relying on the acquiescence or authority of Kildare, admitted the title of the new Plantagenet, without doubt or investigation; and the adventurer was proclaimed by the style of Edward VI, king of England and France, and lord of Ireland.

When the intelligence reached Henry he was alarmed, not so much at what had happened, as from his ignorance of what might follow. He assembled a great council of peers and prelates, and by their advice consented to do what he ought to have done long before. The pardon which he had issued in favour of his opponents had been not only clogged with restrictions, but frequently violated. He now published a pardon which was full, without exceptions, and extended to every species of treason. He conducted the real earl of Warwick from the Tower to St. Paul's, that he might be publicly

recognised by the citizens; and took him with him to the palace of Sheen, where the young prince conversed daily with the noblemen and others who visited the court. This prudent measure satisfied the people of England. They laughed at the imposture in Ireland, while the Irish maintained that theirs was the real, and that the boy at Sheen was the pretended Plantagenet.

But the next measure created surprise. The reader has witnessed the honourable manner in which the queen dowager lived at court. Suddenly, if we may believe several writers, she was arrested, despoiled of her goods, and committed to the custody of the monks of Bermondsey. The reason assigned for this harsh treatment was, that after having, in the last reign, promised her daughter to Henry, she had delivered her into the hands of the usurper. But the pretext was too improbable to obtain credit. It was suspected that she had been concerned in the present plot. Yet where could be her inducement? If Henry were dethroned, her daughter must share the fate of her husband. If the real or pretended Warwick should obtain the crown, all her children would of course be disinherited. At every step of this affair we meet with new mysteries.[1]

It will be recollected that the earl of Lincoln had been treated by Richard as heir-apparent. Though he viewed the new king as an usurper, he had carefully suppressed his feelings, and had been summoned to the last council as one in whom Henry placed confidence. Yet the moment it was dissolved he repaired to the court of his aunt, Margaret,[2] duchess of Burgundy, consulted with her and Lord Lovell, and receiving an aid of two thousand veterans under Martin Swart, an experienced officer, sailed to Ireland and landed at Dublin, March 19th, 1487. His arrival gave new importance to the cause of the counterfeit Warwick. Though Lincoln had frequently conversed with the real prince at Sheen, he advised that the impostor should be crowned.

The ceremony of his coronation was performed by the bishop of Meath, May 24th, 1487, with a diadem taken from the statue of the Virgin Mary; and the new king was carried, after the Irish manner, from the church to the castle, on the shoulders of an English chieftain of the name of Darcy. Writs were even issued in his name; a parliament was convoked; and legal penalties were enacted against his principal opponents, Thomas and William Butler, and the citizens of Waterford. But what could be Lincoln's object in contributing to this farce? Even the real earl of Warwick could not be heir to the crown as long as any of the posterity of Edward IV were alive. If it be said that they had been declared illegitimate, so had Clarence, the father of Warwick, been attainted. In that case Lincoln himself had a better claim than the prince in whose right he pretended to draw the sword.

When Henry first heard of the departure of Lincoln, he made a progress through the counties of Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk, in which the earl possessed considerable interest; and thence proceeded through Northampton and Coventry to his castle of Kenilworth, which he had appointed for the residence of his queen and his mother. There intelligence was received that Lincoln, with his German auxiliaries and a body of Irish associates, had landed at the pile of Foudray, in the southern extremity of Furness, and was actually on his march through the county of York. The king soon found himself sur-

[1 Gairdner *b* thinks that, while she could hardly have been implicated in the plot, her unsteady and indiscreet behaviour might have served the enemy better than active support.]

[2 The widow of Charles the Bold and sister of Edward IV, therefore eager for the restoration of the house of York and active in stirring up plots against Henry; she was called "Henry's Juno." See also the history of the Netherlands, vol. xiii.]

[1487 A.D.]

rounded by his friends with their retainers, and orders were published by his authority for "the goode rule of his hooste." To steal, rob, or ravish; to take provisions without paying the price affixed by the clerk of the market; and to arrest or imprison any man on the pretext of delinquency but without special orders, were made crimes punishable with death.

The two armies, as if by mutual compact, hastened towards Newark. It was in vain that the earl, as he advanced, tempted the loyalty of the inhabitants by proclaiming Edward VI the head of the house of York. The real partisans of that family were restrained by their fears or their incredulity; and the few who joined the standard of the adventurer were outlaws or men of desperate fortunes. Disappointed but undismayed, Lincoln resolved to stake his life on the event of a battle, and precipitated his march, that he might find the king unprepared. The royalists had moved from Kenilworth by Coventry, Leicester, and Nottingham; their numbers daily increased. But, what will excite the surprise of the reader, the whole army lost its way between Nottingham and Newark. Five guides were at length procured from the village of Ratcliffe, and soon afterwards the vanguard, under the earl of Oxford, was attacked at Stoke, June 16th, by the insurgents, amounting to eight thousand men.

The action was short but sanguinary. The Germans fought and perished with the resolution of veterans; the adventurers from Ireland displayed their characteristic bravery, but with their darts and skeans (for the English settlers had adopted the arms of the natives) they were no match for the heavy cavalry; and though a portion only of the royalists was engaged, the victory was won with the slaughter of one-half of their opponents. Of the leaders, the insurgents, the earl of Lincoln, the lords Thomas and Maurice Fitz-Gerald, Sir Thomas Broughton, and Martin Swart, remained on the field of battle; Lord Lovell was seen to escape from his pursuers; but whether he perished in crossing the Trent, or contrived to secrete himself from the notice of his friends and foes, is uncertain. He was never seen or heard of after that day.[1] Simon and his pupil surrendered to Robert Bellingham, one of the king's esquires. The priest was made to confess the imposture before the convocation, and then thrown into a prison, in which he perished. But the pretended Edward VI obtained his pardon, resumed his real name of Lambert Simnel, was made a scullion in the royal kitchen, and afterwards, in reward of his good conduct, was raised to the more honourable office of falconer.

From this insurrection the king learned an important lesson, that it was not his interest to wound the feelings of those whose principles had attached them to the house of York. His behaviour to the queen had created great discontent. Why, it was asked, was she not crowned? Why was she, the rightful heir to the crown, refused the usual honours of royalty? Other kings had been eager to crown their consorts; but Elizabeth had now been married a year and a half; she had borne the king a son to succeed to the throne; and yet she was kept in obscurity, as if she were unworthy of her station. Henry resolved to silence these murmurs, and from Warwick issued the requisite orders for her coronation. The ceremony was performed during the session

[1] On account of his disappearance several writers have supposed that he perished in the battle. But the journal of the herald who was present evidently proves that he escaped. Towards the close of the seventeenth century, at his seat at Minster Lovell, in Oxfordshire, was accidentally discovered a chamber under the ground in which was the skeleton of a man seated in a chair, with his head reclining on a table. Hence it is supposed that the fugitive had found an asylum in this subterraneous chamber, where he was perhaps starved to death through neglect.

of parliament, November 25th, 1487; an ample provision was made for her maintenance; and from that period Elizabeth was brought forward on all occasions of parade, and seemed to enjoy the same consideration as former queens.[1]

THE INSTITUTION OF THE STAR CHAMBER, 1487

The first care of the parliament was to supply the wants of the conqueror by a grant of money, and a bill of attainder, which included almost every man of property engaged in the late insurrection. Next the king required their aid to put down the dangerous and unlawful practice of "maintenance." The reader will recollect that by "maintenance" was understood an association of individuals under a chief, whose livery they wore, and to whom they bound themselves by oaths and promises, for the purpose of maintaining by force the private quarrels of the chief and the members. Hence the course of justice was obstructed, jurors were intimidated, and offenders escaped with impunity. Hence also (and this it was that chiefly provoked the hostility of the king) powerful noblemen were furnished with the means of raising forces at a short warning to oppose the reigning prince, or to assist a new claimant.

In the preceding parliament an oath had been required from the lords, and was ordered to be taken by the commons in each county, that they would not keep in their service men openly cursed, or murderers, or felons, or outlaws; that they would not retain persons by indentures, or give liveries contrary to law; and that they would not make riots or maintenances, nor oppose the due execution of the king's writs. In the present it was enacted that the chancellor, treasurer, and keeper of the privy seal, or two of them, with one bishop, one temporal peer, and the chief judges of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, should have authority to call before them persons accused of having offended in any of these points, and to punish the guilty, as if they had been convicted by the ordinary course of justice.

It appears from the acts of the council that in cases of breach of the peace committed, or of combinations likely to lead to such breach, formed by persons whose rank and power screened them from the ordinary pursuit of justice, it had been the custom for the king to call such individuals before the council, where contending parties were reconciled, the guilty punished, and the suspected compelled to give security for their good behaviour. This, which might be called the criminal jurisdiction of the council, was transferred to the new court now erected; which, however useful it may have proved at its origin, was gradually converted into an engine of intolerable oppression. Other privy counsellors besides those named in the act, even peers not privy counsellors, were called in to sit as judges; the limits of their jurisdiction, as fixed by statute, were extended till they included libels, misdemeanours,

[1] On the Friday before the coronation fourteen gentlemen were created knights of the Bath. On the Saturday the queen went in procession from the Tower to Westminster. She was dressed, according to Leland,[l] in white cloth of gold of damask, with a mantle of the same furred with ermine. "Her faire yelow hair hung downe pleyne byhynd her bak, with a calle of pipes over it." On her head was a circle of gold ornamented with precious stones. In this dress she was borne through the city reclining in a litter, with a canopy of cloth of gold carried over her by four knights of the body. Several carriages, and four baronesses on gray palfreys followed. On the Sunday she was crowned, and afterwards dined in the hall. "The lady Catharine Grey and Mistress Ditton went under the table, and sate at her feet, while the countesses of Oxford and Rivers knelt on each side, and at certeyne tymys helde a kerchief byfor her grace." The king viewed both the coronation and the dinner from behind a lattice.

[1487-1488 A.D.]

and contempts; and the power of pronouncing that judgment on delinquents to which they would have been liable if they had been convicted "after the due course of law," grew in practice into a power of punishing at discretion, and with a severity which provoked the curses and hatred of all classes of men. This court was called the court of the Star Chamber, from the accidental decorations of the room in which it usually sat.

Henry was careful to cultivate the friendship which subsisted between him and the king of Scots. To cement it the more firmly, Foxe, bishop of Durham, had been sent during the summer to Edinburgh; and a mutual agreement had been made that James, who had lost his consort, the daughter of the king of Denmark, should marry Elizabeth, the queen dowager of England, and that his two sons should also marry two of her daughters. Days were even appointed for the meeting of ambassadors to fix the marriage settlements; but the project was interrupted by the rebellion of the Scottish lords, and finally defeated by the death of James, who, after losing the battle of Canglor, in June, 1488, was murdered at Beaton Mill during his flight. Though Henry grieved for the death of his friend, he was anxious to maintain the relations of amity with his successor, and therefore, as the truce might be said to have terminated at the death of James, he ratified it anew in the following month. Thus was peace continued between the two crowns for the space of eleven years—an unusual duration, preparative of that harmony which, after centuries of rapine and bloodshed, was at last happily established.[h]

WAR WITH FRANCE

The period had arrived when the foreign policy of England was to assume a very different character from that of the feudal times. It was no longer a question whether provinces of France should belong to the English crown, and costly wars be undertaken that English nobles should be lords in Normandy and Poitou. But England could not separate herself from the affairs of the Continent; and her internal administration had still an almost inevitable relation to foreign alliances and foreign quarrels. The principal European monarchies having become, to a great extent, consolidated, the policy of each government was conducted upon a broader scale than that of disturbing a nation by stimulating a revolt of petty princes against their suzerain. The contests for dominion were now to be between kingdom and kingdom.

The schemes of rival princes for accessions of territory, or preponderance of influence through intermarriages, were to raise up political combinations amongst other states, whose sovereigns, armed with the powers of war and peace, would carry on their diplomacy, chiefly according to their own personal views of what was necessary for aggrandisement or security. In England, where the ambition of the monarch was limited by the power of parliament to give or withhold supplies, the disposition to rush into distant quarrels was in some degree regulated and restrained. King Henry pursued a cautious and almost timid policy in his foreign relations. It was fortunate for the material progress of the country that, in the complicated questions of European supremacy which were arising, he followed the direction of his own subtlety, rather than the promptings of the national spirit. He taxed his people for the ostentation of war, and then put their subsidies into his own purse.

Henry VII had the strongest obligations of gratitude to the duke of Brittany, who had sheltered him in his period of exile and poverty. The duke

Francis was advanced in years. Charles VIII of France was in the flush of youth, with a sort of rash chivalrous spirit, which was mixed up with the same love of secret policies as belonged to his intriguing father. During the period of his tutelage under a regency, a quarrel had arisen between the governments of Brittany and France, and war was declared against Brittany. That country was distracted by rival parties, the chief object of contention being who should marry Anne, the rich heiress of Francis, and thus be ruler of the duchy after his death. There were several candidates for this prize. The French government thought it a favourable time to enter upon a war, for the real purpose of preventing the marriage of the Breton heiress to either of her suitors, and for the annexation of Brittany to France.

Henry VII was appealed to for assistance by both parties in the contest. The sympathies of England went with the weaker state in this struggle. Henry would declare for neither, but offered himself as a mediator. Charles VIII carried war into Brittany, and besieged the duke in his capital of Rennes. Henry, meanwhile, had been employed in his natural vocation of statecraft, promising assistance to the friend of his adversity, but never rendering it; asking his parliament for means to resist the dangerous aggrandisement of France; and, having obtained a grant of two-fifteenths, concluding an armistice with Charles. By the end of 1488, when Francis of Brittany had died, his country was overrun by the French.

Henry was now compelled to do something. He promised an English army to the orphan princess Anne, and at the same time he contrived to let Charles understand that if the English people compelled him into war, his troops should act only on the defensive. At the beginning of 1489 he again went to parliament, and demanded an aid of a hundred thousand pounds. Seventy-five thousand were granted to him. He raised a force of six thousand archers and sent them to Brittany, according to his engagement with Anne that this force should serve in her cause for six months. The French king knew precisely what this meant; avoided any engagement with the English, who as carefully kept out of his way; and at the end of six months the little army returned home.

Meanwhile the crafty king learned that it was somewhat unsafe to play these tricks of cunning with the English people; for a violent insurrection had broken out in the northern counties, to resist the payment of the tax raised for this mockery of war. "This, no doubt," says Bacon,[9] "proceeded not simply of any present necessity, but much by reason of the old humour of these countries, where the memory of King Richard was so strong that it lay like lees in the bottom of men's hearts, and if the vessel was but stirred it would come up." Henry Percy, earl of Northumberland, who had betrayed Richard on Bosworth Field, enforced the payment of the subsidy. "A harsh business was fallen into the hands of a harsh man," and the revolted people murdered him. As a general movement, the insurrection was soon suppressed by the earl of Surrey. The tax had not yielded what was expected, and in 1490, the king again went to parliament for further aid to carry on the pretended war.

He was again at his favourite work of diplomacy; entering into alliances with Ferdinand of Spain, and Maximilian, king of the Romans, for the alleged purpose of restraining the growing power of France, but each having a private and special object. Maximilian wanted the princess Anne and the duchy of Brittany; Ferdinand aimed at the restitution of Rousillon; all that Henry sought was to get money wherever he could, either as a bribe from France or as a repayment of expenses from Anne. Maximilian was the most open of

these royal schemers. He gave manful assistance to the oppressed Bretons, and the princess entered into a contract of marriage with him. Charles of France now put forward his pretensions to the hand of the lady. The contract was void, he said, because Brittany was a fief of France, and the lord could control the marriage of an heiress who was his vassal. This argument was supported by the emphatic presence of a French army; and the princess, who resisted till resistance was no longer possible, was forced into a marriage which she hated, and into the conclusion of a treaty which placed the province, so long independent, under the French dominion.

Whilst these events were ripening, Henry had been employing the pretence of war as a reason for extorting money under the system of "benevolences," which had been annulled by the parliament of Richard. In October, 1491, he proclaimed his intention of punishing the French king. He again obtained a large grant from his faithful lords and commons, and procured several laws to be passed which gave encouragement to the prosecution of a war which had become a national object. But, having got the money and encouraged many knights and nobles in raising men, he still delayed any active measures of apparent hostility through the spring, summer, and autumn of 1492.

At length, in October, he landed at Calais with a well-appointed army, and invested Boulogne with twenty-five thousand infantry and sixteen hundred cavalry. The old military spirit of England was again predominant. But, for three months previous to this costly parade, the wily king had been negotiating a peace with Charles of France, and it appears in the highest degree probable that the treaty was actually signed when the English forces landed. Henry called a council within a week after his landing, and laid before them a rough draft of a treaty [the treaty of Étaples] offered by France, which his subservient ministers advised him to sign. This was a public instrument, by which peace was concluded between the two crowns. There was another document, a private one, by which Charles was to pay a hundred and forty-nine thousand pounds [1] to the money-making king of England. The advisers of Henry were handsomely bribed, as well as their master. The half-ruined chiefs of the expedition had no course but that of venting useless execrations on their dissembling and rapacious sovereign, who, Bacon says, "did but traffic in that war to make his return in money."

Henry, however, had a motive for pacification, which was even more imperative than his avarice. Charles of France had a guest at his court, who, if the king of England were really to become an enemy in earnest, might be let loose to work more damage to the house of Tudor than any failure in open warfare. One who called himself Richard, duke of York, was in France acknowledged as the rightful heir to the English throne, and surrounded with a guard of honour and other demonstrations of confidence and respect. When Henry had concluded the pacification, the French king commanded this Richard to leave his dominions. The peace was welcome to both kings, says Bacon, "to Henry, for that it filled his coffers, and that he foresaw, at that time, a storm of inward troubles coming upon him, which presently after broke

[1 Gairdner [b] gives the sum as 620,000 crowns due from Anne for Henry's services plus two years' arrears of the pension due Edward IV from Louis XI—a total of 750,000 crowns, which Gairdner estimates as being equivalent to the present purchasing power of between three and four million pounds sterling. Gairdner gives Henry high praise for maintaining peace in spite of his subjects, for postponing war as long as possible, and, when first dragged into it and then deserted by his allies, for securing single-handed the highest tribute ever drawn from France by an English king. The result, however, was undoubtedly ill understood by his discontented people.]

forth." These "inward troubles" form the subject of one of the most curious and controverted passages of English history—the story commonly known as that of Perkin Warbeck.[m]

THE IMPOSTURE OF PERKIN WARBECK

About the time when Henry published his intention of making war against France a merchant vessel from Lisbon cast anchor in the cove of Cork. Among the passengers was a youth, whom no person knew, about twenty years of age, of handsome features and courtly deportment.[1] It was soon rumoured that he was Richard, duke of York, the second son of Edward IV; but how his birth was ascertained, or in what manner he accounted for his escape from the Tower when Edward V was murdered, or where he had lived during the last seven years, though questions which must have been asked, are secrets which have never been explained. To such inquiries, however, he gave answers which satisfied the credulity of his friends; and as the English settlers were warmly attached to the house of York, O'Water, the late mayor of Cork, easily induced the citizens to declare in his favour. An attempt was even made to secure the assistance of the earl of Kildare, and of his kinsman the earl of Desmond, formerly the great supporters of the White Rose. The latter declared in favour of Perkin; the former, who had lately been disgraced by Henry, returned an ambiguous but courteous answer.

The adventurer had yet no apparent reason to be displeased with his reception, when he suddenly accepted an invitation from the ministers of Charles VIII to visit France, and place himself under the protection of that monarch. He was received by the king as the real duke of York, and the rightful heir to the English throne. For his greater security a guard of honour was allotted to him under the command of the lord of Concressault; and the English exiles and outlaws, to the number of one hundred, offered him their services by their agent, Sir George Nevil. Henry was perplexed and alarmed.[2] He hastened to sign the peace with the French monarch, and Charles instantly ordered the adventurer to quit his dominions. This order betrays the real object of the countenance which had been given to his pretensions; perhaps it may explain why he made his appearance at that particular period. Leaving France, he solicited the protection of Margaret, the dowager duchess of Burgundy, who received him with joy, appointed him a guard of thirty halberdiers, and gave him the surname of "The White Rose of England." Her conduct revived the alarm of the king and the hopes of his enemies.[3] Could the aunt, it was asked, be deceived as to the identity of her nephew? Or would so virtuous a princess countenance an impostor?

Henry spared neither pains nor expense to unravel the mystery. His agents were distributed through the towns and villages of Flanders, and valuable rewards were offered for the slightest information. The Yorkists were equally active. Their secret agent, Sir Robert Clifford, was permitted to see "the White Rose," and to hear from the pretender and his aunt the history

[1] Bacon[a] has described him as of fine countenance and shape; "but more than that, he had such a crafty and bewitching fashion, both to move pity and to induce belief, as was like a kind of fascination or enchantment to those that saw him or heard him."

[2] Says Bacon, "The news came blazing and thundering over into England that the duke of York was sure alive."]

[3] It was claimed that it was she who taught him the intimate details of royal life by which he convinced many of his story. But Gairdner[b] points out that he played the part well before he visited her.]

[1493–1494 A.D.]

of his adventures. He assured his employers in England that the claim of the new duke of York was indisputable; while the royal emissaries reported that his real name was Perkin Warbeck; that he was born of respectable parents in the city of Tournay; that he had frequented the company of the English merchants in Flanders, and had some time before sailed from Middelburg to Lisbon in the service of Lady Brompton, the wife of one of the outlaws. With this clue Henry was satisfied, and July 13th, 1493, despatched Sir Edward Poynings and Dr. Warham as his ambassadors to the archduke Philip, the sovereign of Burgundy, to demand the surrender, or, if that could not be obtained, the expulsion of Warbeck. An answer was ultimately returned that Philip, through friendship for the king, would abstain from affording aid to his enemy, but that he could not control the duchess, who was absolute mistress within the lands of her dower. Henry, to manifest his displeasure, withdrew the mart of English cloth from Antwerp to Calais, and strictly prohibited all intercourse between the two countries.

Clifford, and Barley his associate, had gone to Flanders, as the envoys of the Yorkists; others, spies in the pay of Henry, repaired to Brussels under the pretence of testifying their attachment to the new duke of York. These, the moment they had wormed themselves into the confidence of the adventurer, betrayed to the king all his secrets, with the names of his partisans. The consequence was, that on the same day the lord Fitzwater, Sir Simon Mountford, Sir Thomas Thwaites, Robert Ratcliffe, William Daubeney, Thomas Cressemer, Thomas Atwood, and several clergymen, were apprehended on the charge of high treason. Their correspondence with the friends of the pretender in Flanders was considered a sufficient proof of their guilt, and all received judgment of death. Mountford, Thwaites, and Ratcliffe suffered immediately; Lord Fitzwater was imprisoned at Calais, where three years later he forfeited his life by an unsuccessful attempt to escape. The rest were pardoned; but this act of vigour astonished and dismayed the unknown friends of the adventurer, many of whom, conscious of their guilt, and sensible that their associates had been betrayed, fled for security to the different sanctuaries.

There remained, however, one who, while he flattered himself that he possessed a high place in the royal favour, had been secretly marked out for destruction. After the festivities of Christmas, Henry repaired with his court to the Tower. Clifford, whose fidelity had been corrupted by promises and presents, arrived from Flanders, was introduced to the king in council, and on his knees obtained a full pardon. Being exhorted to prove his repentance by discovering what he knew of the conspiracy, he accused the lord chamberlain, Sir William Stanley. The king refused to give credit to the charge. To Sir William he was indebted both for his crown and his life. At the battle of Bosworth, when he was on the point of sinking under the pressure of the enemy, that nobleman had rescued him from danger, and had secured to him the victory. But Clifford repeated the accusation with greater boldness, and the prisoner confessed the truth of the charge; on that confession he was arraigned and condemned at Westminster; and after a decent interval suffered the punishment of decapitation.

His death gave rise to contradictory reports. By some it was said that he had supplied the pretender with money; by others, according to Polydore Vergil,[n] that when he was solicited to declare for him, he had replied: "Were I sure that he was the son of Edward, I would never fight against him."[1] This

[1] André[f] says that he had not only sent money to the pretender, but *illum tutari et in regnum adducere promiserat.* The indictment charges him with having consented to the mis-

at least is probable, that unless he had been really entangled in the conspiracy, Henry would never have proceeded to the execution of a nobleman to whom he was under so many obligations; but the general opinion of the king's avarice provoked a suspicion that the enormous wealth of the prisoner was the chief obstacle to his pardon. By his death, plate and money to the value of forty thousand pounds, with lands to the amount of three thousand pounds a year, devolved to the crown. A reward of five hundred pounds had already been given to Clifford; but he was never afterwards trusted by Henry.

Three years had now elapsed since the pretender first set forth his claim; and yet, during that long interval, he had never made any attempt to establish it by legal proof, or to enforce it by an appeal to the sword. This protracted delay, the accounts which had been published of his country and parentage, the punishment of his friends in England, and the pacification of Ireland, made his cause appear desperate; and both the Flemish, whose commerce had been suspended on his account, and the archduke, whose treasury suffered from the deficiency of the customs, began to complain of the countenance which he had hitherto received from the duchess Margaret. In this emergency he sailed from the coast of Flanders with a few hundreds of adventurers attached to his fortunes, and, while Henry was on a visit to his mother at Latham, in Lancashire, made a descent, July 3rd, 1495, in the neighbourhood of Deal.

But the inhabitants, either believing him an impostor, or urged by the fear of incurring the royal displeasure, attacked the invaders, made one hundred and sixty-nine prisoners, and drove the remainder into their boats. All the captives were hanged by the order of Henry, some in London, and others in different parts of the coast. Warbeck, despairing of success in England, sailed to Ireland, and with the aid of the earl of Desmond laid siege to Waterford. Sir Edward Poynings was lord deputy for Henry, duke of York, the king's second son, only four years of age. He immediately raised the royal standard, hastened to Waterford, July 23rd, and compelled Perkin to flee with the loss of three of his ships. This second failure extinguished the hopes of the adventurer; it was some consolation to him that he had still the good fortune to regain his former asylum.

PARLIAMENTS IN ENGLAND AND IRELAND, 1495

Henry now thought it expedient to summon parliaments both in Ireland and England. In the Irish parliament statutes were enacted to free the lower classes of inhabitants from the grievous impositions of coyne and livery; to break the power of the great lords by the prohibition of maintenance; to preserve the English ascendancy within the pale by the revival of the statutes of Kilkenny[1] and to provide for the good government of the English domain by giving to all statutes "lately made in England, and belonging to the public weal of the same," the force of law in Ireland. As the people had been harassed by frequent parliaments, in which ordinances were repeatedly made for the sole profit of the chief governor, or of the party which he espoused, it was enacted that for the future no parliament should be holden till the king had been informed by the lieutenant and council of the necessity of the same,

sion of Clifford, and promised to receive and aid such persons as Clifford should send to him with a private sign.

[1] That forbidding the use of the Irish language was excepted; a proof that the English settlers had by this time generally adopted it.

and of the acts intended to be passed in it, and had previously given his license and approbation under the great seal. In these provisions the deputy appears to have had no other object than the welfare of the state; but he was thought to have been swayed by private considerations in the act of attainder which he procured against the earl of Kildare, his family, and adherents. Henry, however, whose object it was to strengthen his interest in the sister island, accepted the apology offered by Kildare and received him again to favour. The earl of Desmond, whose guilt was less ambiguous, had previously submitted, had given one of his sons as a hostage for his fidelity, and had taken a second time the oath of allegiance. A free pardon was afterwards granted to the rest of the natives, with the exception of Lord Barry and O'Water, and tranquillity was fully restored in the island.

FURTHER RESULTS OF WARBECK'S REPULSE

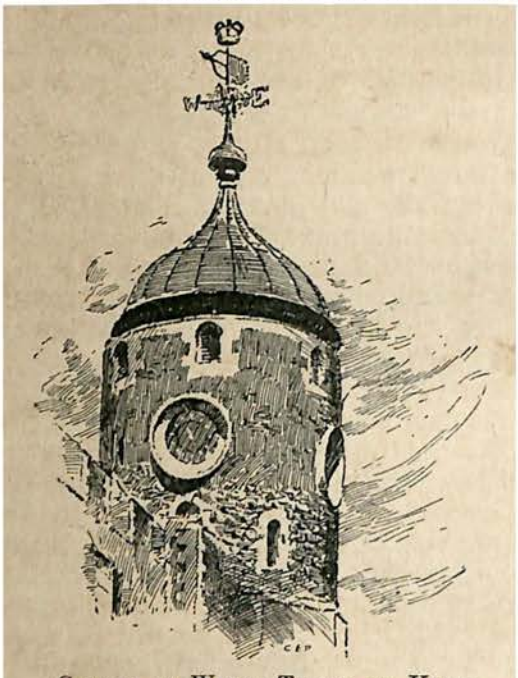
In the English parliament a bill of attainder was passed, at the king's request, against twenty-one gentlemen who had suffered, or had been condemned, for their adhesion to the pretender. The other acts of the session were to ratify the peace of Etaples, according to one of the articles of the treaty; and to enact the penalty of forfeiture against all persons holding fees, annuities, or offices from the crown (and to these were afterwards added all possessing lands, hereditaments, and honours by letters patent), who should neglect to attend in person the king in his wars. But the nation had now grown weary of civil dissension. The extinction or beggary of so many noble and opulent families had proved a useful lesson to the existing generation; and men betrayed a reluctance to engage in contests in which they knew from experience that they must either gain the ascendancy, or lose their lives or their fortunes. To obviate these disastrous consequences a statute was made, declaring that no one who should attend on the king and sovereign lord for the time being, to do him faithful service in the wars, should hereafter, on that account, whatever might be the fortune of battle, be attainted of treason or incur the penalty of forfeiture. That this act might be set aside by the avarice or the resentment of a successful competitor was indeed evident, yet it was perhaps the best remedy that could be devised for the evil; and a hope was cherished, both from the reasonableness of the measure, and from the benefits which it promised to all parties, that it would be generally respected.

THE GREAT INTERCOURSE

The repulse of Warbeck in his late expedition, and the complaint of the Flemish merchants, induced the archduke to solicit a reconcilation with Henry; and, after a few conferences between their respective envoys, February 24th, 1496, the "great treaty of commerce between England and the Netherlands" was signed. By it every facility was afforded to the trade of the two countries; but there was appended to it a provision, which from this period Henry inserted in every treaty with foreign sovereigns, that each of the contracting parties should banish from his dominions the known enemies of the other; and to preclude the possibility of evasion it was expressly stipulated that Philip should not permit the duchess to aid or harbour the king's rebels, but should deprive her of her domains if she acted in opposition to this engagement.

WARBECK'S INVASION AND THE CORNWALL UPRISING, 1496

Warbeck could no longer remain in Flanders. He sailed to Cork; but the Irish refused to venture their lives in his service. From Cork he passed to Scotland, and exhibited, it is said, to the king, recommendatory letters from Charles VIII and his friend the duchess of Burgundy. James received the adventurer with kindness, saying that whosoever he might be, he should not repent of his confidence in the king of Scotland. Afterwards by advice of his council he paid to him the honours due to the prince whose character he had assumed; and to evince the sincerity of his friendship, gave to him in marriage his near relation, the lady Catherine Gordon, daughter of the earl of Huntly.



CORNER OF WHITE TOWER OR KEEP
(The most ancient part of the Tower.)

This sudden improvement in the fortune of the adventurer renewed the jealousy and apprehensions of the king, who had good reason to suspect the enmity of James. That prince, fifteen years of age, had been placed on the throne by the murderers of his father, a faction hostile to the interests of England; and Henry had in consequence entered into engagements with a party of the Scottish nobles, their opponents, who undertook to seize the person of the young sovereign, and to conduct him to London. Now, however, Foxe, bishop of Durham, was commissioned to open a negotiation, and to tempt the fidelity of James with the offer of an English princess in marriage. But he listened rather to the suggestions of resentment or ambition, and demanded as the price of his forbearance terms to which the king refused his assent. Foxe was followed by Concressault, as ambassador from the French monarch, who proposed that all subjects of dispute between the two kings should be referred to the decision of his sovereign; and when that was refused, offered him one hundred thousand crowns for the person of the adventurer, to be sent a captive into France. The bribe was indignantly rejected by James, who coined his plate into money, obtained a small supply from the duchess of Burgundy, and engaged to place the pretender on the throne, on condition that he should receive as the reward of his services the town of Berwick, and the sum of fifty thousand marks in two years.

Warbeck had mustered under his standard fourteen hundred men, outlaws from all nations; to these James added all the forces it was in his power to raise; and the combined army crossed the borders in the depth of winter, and when no preparation had been made to oppose them. They were preceded by a proclamation, in which the adventurer styled himself Richard, by the grace of God king of England and France, lord of Ireland, and prince of Wales. It narrated in general terms his escape from the Tower, his wanderings in foreign countries, the usurpation of "Henry Tydder," the attempts

[1496-1497 A.D.]

to debauch the fidelity of his confidants, the execution and attainder of his friends in England, and the protection which he had received from the king of Scots. He was now in England, accompanied by that monarch, for the purpose of reclaiming his right; and James, whose only object was to assist him, had engaged to retire the moment that he should be joined by a competent number of natives. He therefore called on every true Englishman to arm in his cause; and promised to the man who should "take or distress Henry Tydder" a reward proportioned to his condition, "so as the most low and simplest of degree should have for his labour one thousand pounds in money, and lands to the yearly value of one hundred marks to him and his heirs forever." But the proclamation had no effect. The novelty of the thing had worn away, and not a sword was unsheathed in favour of the white rose. The Scots, to console their disappointment and to repay themselves for their trouble, pillaged the country without mercy, and returned, laden with spoil, to their homes.

As soon as the intelligence of this invasion reached Henry, he ordered Daubeney, the lord chamberlain, to raise forces, summoned a great council, February 13th, 1497, and afterwards a parliament, and obtained a grant of two-tenths and two-fifteenths. In most counties the tax was levied without opposition; in Cornwall the people, inflamed by the harangues of Flammock, an attorney, and of Joseph, a farrier, flew to arms; refused to pay their money for an object which, it was pretended, did not concern them, but the natives of the northern counties; and resolved, to the number of sixteen thousand men, to demand of the king the punishment of Archbishop Morton and Sir Reginald Grey, the supposed originators of this unjustifiable impost. The misguided multitude commenced their march; at Wells they were joined by the lord Audley, who placed himself at their head and conducted them through Salisbury and Winchester into Kent. Opposed by the gentlemen of the county, he turned towards London, and encamped on Blackheath in sight of the capital.

But Henry had by this time been joined by most of the southern nobility, and by the troops that had been previously raised against the Scots. On a Saturday (the king superstitiously believed that Saturday was his fortunate day) the lord chamberlain marched to attack the insurgents; while the earl of Oxford made a circuit to fall on their rear; and Henry, with the artillery, waited in St. George's Fields the event of the battle. The Cornish archers defended with obstinacy the bridge at Deptford Strand, June 24th, but the moment it was forced the insurgents fled in despair. Two thousand were killed: fifteen hundred were taken. Lord Audley lost his head; Flammock and Joseph were hanged;[1] the rest obtained a pardon from the king, and were allowed to compound for their liberty with their captors on the best terms in their power. This lenity, so unusual in Henry, was attributed by some to policy, and a desire to attach to his cause the men of Cornwall; by others, to gratitude for the life of the lord chamberlain, whom the insurgents had made prisoner at the commencement of the action, and had restored to liberty without ransom.

While the attention of the king was occupied by the Cornish insurgents, James again crossed the borders and laid siege to the castle of Norham, while his light troops scoured the country as far as the Tees. But the earl of Surrey, with twenty thousand men, was now hastening towards the north. The plunderers cautiously retired as he advanced; James abandoned the siege;

[1] Joseph, according to Polydore Vergil,[n] said he cared not, for his name would be immortal.

and Surrey retaliated on the Scottish borderers the injuries which they had inflicted on their English neighbours. The failure of this second expedition, with the news of the defeat of the Cornishmen, induced the king of Scots to listen to the suggestion of Don Pedro Ayala, the Spanish ambassador, who laboured with earnestness to reconcile the two monarchs. A truce was concluded, September 30th, for seven years, and subsequently prolonged by Ayala to the termination of one year after the death of the survivor of the two monarchs.

The enthusiasm which had been excited by the first appearance of Warbeck in Scotland had long been on the decline; and about the time of the meeting of the commissioners, whether it was that he saw the current of public opinion setting against him, or hoped to profit by the troubles in Cornwall, or had received a hint from his royal protector (for all these reasons have been assigned), he departed from Scotland with four ships and six score companions. He first touched at Cork, July 26th, and solicited in vain the aid of the earl of Desmond. From Cork he directed his course across the Channel to Whitsand Bay, and proceeding by land to Bodmin, September 7th, unfurled the standard of Richard IV. The men of Cornwall had not acquired wisdom from their recent defeat. Three thousand offered their services to the adventurer, and that number was doubled before he reached the city of Exeter. Here he formed his army into two divisions, with which he attempted to force his way by the only entrance into the city, the east and north gates. From one he was repulsed with considerable loss; the other he reduced to ashes. On the next morning Warbeck returned to the assault; but the loss of two hundred men, and the arrival of aid to the besieged from the country, induced him to solicit a suspension of hostilities, during which he withdrew his followers. Many of these now abandoned him; but the Cornish men advised him not to despair; and he had reached Taunton, when he was apprised of the approach of the royal army under the lord chamberlain, and Lord Brooke, the steward of the household.

On September 21st the adventurer, with great composure of countenance, made preparations for battle, but his heart failed him at the sight of the royal standard; and at midnight, leaving his followers to their fate, he rode away, with a guard of sixty men, to the sanctuary of Beaulieu, in Hampshire. In the morning the insurgents submitted to the royal mercy. The ringleaders were hanged; the crowd, on the arrival of Henry at Exeter, were led, bareheaded and with halters round their necks, into his presence, and discharged after a suitable admonition; and the inhabitants of the villages in which Warbeck had obtained either aid or refreshment were amerced in proportionate sums of money to the amount of ten thousand pounds.[1]

The pretender's wife, the lady Catherine Gordon, who had been left at Mount St. Michael, submitted at the first summons. When she was introduced to the king, according to André,[f] she blushed and burst into tears; but he relieved her apprehensions, and sent her to the queen, with whom she afterwards lived as an attendant, still retaining, on account of her beauty, the appellation of "the white rose," which she had originally derived from the pretensions of her husband.[2]

[1 Gairdner[b] speaks of this method as characteristic of Henry VII, who thus obtained large funds, and by allowing their payment in instalments kept the guilty men under bond for good behaviour.]

[2] "The white rose" was afterwards married to Sir Matthew Cradock, and was buried with him in the church of Swansea, in Wales, where their tomb and epitaph are still to be seen.

[1497-1498 A.D.]

In the sanctuary of Beaulieu the fugitive was repeatedly tempted to leave it by promises of pardon; and after a severe struggle, October 5th, resolved to throw himself on the mercy of the conqueror. The king did not violate his word, but refused to admit him into his presence. When he returned to London, November 27th, Warbeck rode in his suite, surrounded by multitudes, who gazed with wonder at the man whose claim and adventures had so long engaged their attention. He was conducted as a spectacle through the principal streets of the city; ordered to confine himself within the precincts of the palace; and repeatedly examined before a board of commissioners as to his parentage, his instructors, and his associates. Whatever disclosures he made were kept secret; but he grew weary of his confinement in the palace, and at the end of six months contrived, June 8, 1498, to elude the vigilance of his keepers. The alarm was instantly given; patrols watched every road to the coast; and the fugitive, in despair of success, surrendered himself to the prior of the monastery at Sheen. The monk encouraged him with the hopes of pardon, and by his solicitations extorted from the king a promise to spare the life of the suppliant.

But he was compelled to stand a whole day in the stocks at Westminster Hall, and the next in Cheapside, and on both occasions to read to the people a confession which he had signed with his own hand. In this barren and unsatisfactory document he acknowledged that he was a native of Tournay, the son of John Osbeck and Catherine di Faro; gave the names and professions of his relations, and of the persons with whom he had lived at Antwerp, Middelburg, and Lisbon; and stated that on his arrival at Cork he was taken first for Simnel, who had personated the earl of Warwick, then for an illegitimate son of Richard III, and lastly for the duke of York, the second son of Edward IV; that he was invited into France by Charles VIII; "from France he went into Ireland, from Ireland into Scotland, and so into England." It is plain that this confession was composed from the disclosures which he had previously made.[1]

It describes with minuteness his parentage and original occupation—points which Henry wished to impress on the minds of the people—but was silent on subjects which it might have been unpleasant or impolitic to disclose, his transactions with foreign princes, and the assurances of support which he had received from native subjects. After suffering his punishment he was committed to the Tower.

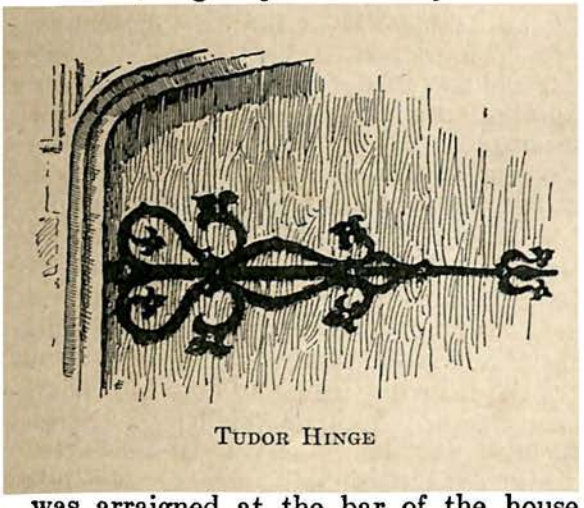
EXECUTION OF THE LAST OF THE PLANTAGENETS

This seems to have been the age of intrigue and imposture. From the capture of Simnel to the appearance of Warbeck, Henry had been kept in constant alarm by repeated attempts in favour of the earl of Warwick. Now that Warbeck was in prison, the rights of the earl were again brought forward, and a person of the name of Ralph Wilford undertook to personate the young prince. He was taught to act his part by Patrick, an Augustinian friar, and

[1 Not all historians have agreed that Perkin Warbeck was an impostor. Horace Walpole *o* asserts that he was truly the duke of York, and the historians Carte *p* and Henry *q* agree with him. Hallam,*r* in his *Middle Ages*, says that "a very strong conviction either way is not readily attainable." MacFarlane *k* believed "that Perkin was an impostor, but that Henry overdid his part, and never proved him one." But André,*f* Bacon,*g* Hume,*j* Madden,*s* Kirkup,*t* Gairdner,*b* and numberless others, are convinced of his dishonesty; and history is so full of such pretensions, that it will be safe to consign Perkin Warbeck to the limbo of Lambert Simnel, and the false Russian Dmitri.]

chose the county of Kent for the theatre in which he should make his first appearance. As a preparatory step, a report was circulated of the death of Warwick; after a short interval the pretender whispered in the ears of a few confidants that he was the earl, and soon afterwards his instructor published to the world the important secret in a sermon. It is difficult to conceive on what they could ground their hope of success. Both were immediately apprehended. The friar was condemned to perpetual imprisonment; Wilford, in March, 1499, paid with his life the forfeit of his temerity.

The real earl of Warwick, and the pretended duke of York, were now fellow-prisoners in the Tower. They soon contracted a mutual friendship, wept over their common misfortune, and, whether it originated with themselves or was suggested to them by others, adopted a plan for their escape. Four of the warders were gained over to murder the governor and conduct the captives to a place of security, where, if we may believe the records of their trials, Warbeck was to be again proclaimed by the title of Richard IV, and Warwick was to summon the retainers of his father to the standard of the new king.



TUDOR HINGE

Warbeck was indicted in Westminster Hall as a foreigner, guilty of acts of treason since his landing in England. He received sentence of death, and at the place of execution, November 16th, affirmed on the word of a dying man the truth of every particular contained in his original confession. With him suffered his first adherent O'Water; and both, expressing their regret for the imposture, asked forgiveness of the king. Before their punishment the earl of Warwick was arraigned at the bar of the house of lords. Of his own accord he pleaded guilty; the earl of Oxford as lord steward pronounced judgment; and after a few days Henry signed the warrant for the execution of the last legitimate descendant of the Plantagenets whose pretensions could excite the jealousy of the house of Tudor. Warwick owed his death to the restless officiousness of his friends, who by repeated attempts had convinced Henry that the existence of the earl was incompatible with his own safety. Still it will be difficult to clear the king from the guilt of shedding innocent blood. This victim of royal suspicion had been confined from childhood for no other crime than his birth. Certainly he was justified in attempting to recover his liberty. Had he even been guilty of the other part of the charge, his youth, his ignorance, his simplicity, and the peculiar circumstances of his situation, ought to have saved him from capital punishment. The whole nation lamented his fate; and to remove the odium from the king, a report, probably false, was circulated that Ferdinand of Spain had refused to bestow his daughter Catherine on the prince of Wales as long as so near a claimant of the house of York was alive. Catherine herself had been told of the report and in the following reign was heard to observe that she could never expect much happiness from her union with the family of Tudor, if that union had been purchased at the price of royal and innocent blood.

THE SCOTCH MARRIAGE RELATIONS

From this period the ambition of Henry was no more alarmed by pretenders to the crown, nor his avarice distressed by the expense of foreign expeditions.[1] The principal events of his reign during the ten years of tranquillity which preceded his death may be comprised under the two heads, of his treaties with other powers, and his expedients to amass money.

Henry was not less careful than the French monarchs to preserve the alliance between the two crowns. Naples was converted into a province of the French monarchy. But it was lost with the same rapidity with which it had been won. The pope, the king of the Romans, the king of Castile, the duke of Milan, and the republic of Venice entered into a league, by which they guaranteed to each other their respective dominions; and Charles was compelled to abandon his conquest. The next year Henry acceded to the general confederacy. In 1498 Charles died, and was succeeded by Louis XII. That prince, who inherited the passion of his predecessor for the conquest of Naples, cheerfully ratified the treaty of Étaples, and bound himself by the most solemn oaths to pay the remainder of the debt.

The truces between England and Scotland, though frequently renewed and enforced with menaces and punishments, were but ill observed by the fierce and turbulent inhabitants of the borders; and a war must have ensued had not the English monarch been as phlegmatic as the Scottish was irritable. Foxe, bishop of Durham, first wrote to James, and afterwards visited him at the abbey of Melrose, September 2nd, 1496; and so successful were the address and eloquence of that prelate, that the king offered, what he had formerly refused, to marry Margaret, the eldest daughter of Henry. By the English prince the offer was most joyfully accepted; and when some of his council expressed a fear that then, in failure of the male line, England might hereafter become an appendage to the Scottish crown, "No," he replied, "Scotland will become an appendage to the English, for the smaller must follow the larger kingdom." The event has verified the prediction, and the marriage has been productive of more substantial benefits than Henry could probably foresee. It has not only united the two crowns on one head; it has also contributed to unite the two kingdoms into one empire.

The parties were solemnly affianced to each other January 29th, 1502, in the queen's chamber, the earl of Bothwell acting as proxy for James; tournaments were performed for two days in honour of the ceremony; and to exhilarate the populace, twelve hogsheads of claret were tapped in the streets, and twelve bonfires kindled at night. At the same time was concluded, after one hundred and seventy years of war, or of truces little better than war, a treaty of perpetual peace between the two kingdoms.

James, however, was careful that his new engagements should not interfere with the ancient alliance between Scotland and France. When he swore to observe the treaty, he had given to Henry the usual title of king of France; but he instantly arose, protested that he had done it inadvertently, and repeated the oath with the omission of that word.

At the time of the contract the princess was but twelve years of age, and James had consented that she should remain twenty months longer under the roof of her royal parents. At length she departed, July 8th, 1503, from her grandmother's palace at Colliweston, with a long train of ladies and gentlemen,

[1 According to the Spanish ambassador De Puebla, the English crown was now more secure than it had been for five centuries.]

who accompanied her a mile, kissed her, and returned to the court. James repeatedly visited her on her progress; and on her arrival in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, mounted her palfrey and rode with her behind him into his capital. The marriage ceremony was performed by the archbishop of Glasgow, and "the Englishe lords and ladyes," says Hall,[u] "returned into their countrey, gevyinge more prayse to the manhoode, than to the good maner, and nurture of Scotland."

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE

Henry had always cultivated with particular solicitude the alliance of Ferdinand, king of Castile and Aragon, and, the more strongly to cement their friendship, had proposed a marriage between his eldest son Arthur, prince of Wales, and Catherine, the fourth daughter of the Castilian monarch. A preliminary treaty on this subject was concluded as early as the year 1492; it was followed in 1496 by another, according to which Ferdinand promised to give to the princess a portion of two hundred thousand crowns;[1] and Henry engaged that his son should endow her with one-third of his income at present, and one-third of the income of the crown, if he should live to wear it. The marriage was postponed on account of the youth of Arthur; but when he had completed his twelfth year a dispensation was obtained to enable him to make the contract; and the marriage ceremony was performed in the chapel of his manor of Bewdley, May 19th, 1501, where Catherine was represented by her proxy the Spanish ambassador.[2] She was nine or ten months older than Arthur; and when the latter had completed his fourteenth year, Henry demanded her of her parents. She parted from them at Grenada, traversed Spain to Corunna, and landed at Plymouth, October 2nd, 1501, after a wearisome and boisterous voyage.

The king met her at Dogmersfield, where she renewed to Arthur the contract which had been made by her proxy; the marriage ceremony was performed in St. Paul's; and at the door of the cathedral, and in the presence of the multitude, Arthur endowed her with one-third of his property. The king spared no expense to testify his joy by disguisings, tournaments, and banquets; and several of the nobility, to flatter the monarch, indulged in a magnificence which proved ruinous to their families. The abilities of Arthur, the sweetness of his temper, and his proficiency in learning,[3] had gained him the affection of all who knew him; and his bride, by her beauty, modesty, and accomplishments, became the object of general admiration. The castle of Ludlow, in Shropshire, was assigned for their residence; their court represented in miniature the court of their royal parent; and the prince amidst his vassals was instructed by his council in the rudiments of government. But the weakness of his constitution sank under the rigour of the season, perhaps under the prevailing epidemic called the sweating sickness; and the hopes of the nation were unexpectedly blighted by his premature death in the fourth month after his marriage, April 2nd, 1502.

[1] The Spanish crown was worth 4s. 2d. English.'

[2] "Never," says Von Ranke,[d] "was a more eventful marriage concluded."]

[3] Besides the most eminent grammarians, he had studied "in poetrie, Homer, Virgil, Lucan, Ovid, Silius, Plautus, and Terence; in oratorie, Tullies offices, epistles, paradoxes, and Quintilian; in historie, Thucydides, Livie, Cæsar's *Commentaries*, Suetonius, Tacitus, Plinius, Valerius Maximus, Salust, and Eusebius. Wherein we have been particular, to signifie what authors were then thought fit to be elementary and rudimentall unto princes."—Speed,[e] who quotes a manuscript of André,[f] the preceptor of Arthur.

[1502-1503 A.D.]

The intelligence was first opened to the king by his confessor. He sent for the queen, who, seeing him oppressed with sorrow, "besought his grace that he would first after God remember the weale of his owne noble person, the comfort of his realme and of her. She then saied, that my ladie his mother had never no more children but him onely, and that God by his grace had ever preserved him, and brought him where that he was. Over that, howe that God had left him yet a fayre prince, two fayre princesses; and that God is where he was, and we are both young ynoughe; and that the prudence and wisdom of his grace spronge over all Christendome, so that it should please him to take this according thereunto. Then the king thanked her of her good comfort. After that she was departed and come to her owne chamber, natural and motherly remembrance of that great losse smote her so sorrowfull to the hart, that those that were about her were faine to send for the king to comfort her. Then his grace of true gentle and faithfull love in good hast came and relieved her, and showed her how wise counsell she had given him before: and he for his parte would thanke God for his sonn, and would she should doe in likewise." We have transcribed this account of Henry's conduct on so interesting an occasion from an anonymous contemporary manuscript, as it appears to do away the charge which has been brought against him of treating Elizabeth with indifference and neglect. In the manuscript of André[f] and the journals of the herald Wriothesley[v] they appear as if they entertained a real affection for each other, and Henry's privy purse expenses show that he often made to her presents of "money, jewels, frontlets, and other ornaments, and also paid her debts."

The intelligence of this event alarmed Ferdinand and Isabella, the parents of the young widow. Anxious to preserve the friendship of England, as a counterpoise to the enmity of France, they hastened to propose a marriage between their daughter and her brother-in-law, Henry, now apparent heir to the throne. The English monarch affected to receive the communication with indifference, and suspended his assent, that he might ascertain whether a more profitable bargain might not be made with some other court; while, on the other hand, the Spaniard, to quicken the determination, sought to alarm the avarice of his ally by requiring the immediate return of Catherine, with the restoration of the one hundred thousand crowns, the half of her marriage portion, which had already been paid.

The negotiation at length was opened, but it proved as difficult to wring money from Ferdinand, as to satisfy the expectations of Henry; and a year elapsed before it was finally agreed that the marriage should be contracted within two months after the arrival of a dispensation from the pope; that it should be solemnized when the young prince had completed his fourteenth year; and that Ferdinand should previously transmit to London another sum of one hundred thousand crowns, the remaining half of the portion of Catherine. The dispensation was obtained; the parties were contracted to each other, December 26th, 1503: but the Spanish monarch either could not or would not advance the money, and his English brother cared little for the delay. The princess, a widow, and in his custody, was an hostage for the goodwill of her father; and by retaining this hold on the hopes and fears of the Spaniard he expected to extort from him concessions of still greater importance.[1]

[1 While Catherine remained in England she was the victim of the parsimony of both her father and her prospective father-in-law. The latter gave her food only, the former no money, and she actually complained that she had been kept for years in a state of such destitution that she could not even reward her servants or buy them clothes.]

About ten months after the death of Prince Arthur his mother Elizabeth died, February 11th, 1503, at the age of thirty-seven. Henry's mourning might be sincere; but it was short, and he quickly consoled himself for his loss by calculating the pecuniary advantages which he might derive from a second marriage.[1] The late king of Naples had bequeathed an immense property to his widow; her presumed riches offered irresistible attractions to the heart of the English monarch, and three private gentlemen were commissioned to procure an introduction to the queen under the pretext of delivering to her a letter from the dowager princess of Wales. In their report to the king they praised her person, her disposition, and her acquirements, but added the unwelcome intelligence that the reigning king had refused to fulfil the testament of his predecessor. Henry's passion was instantly extinguished; he cast his eyes on another rich widow, Margaret, the duchess of Savoy, and from an accident which he attributed to his good fortune, he derived a strong hope of succeeding in his suit.

COSTUME OF TIME OF HENRY VII

On the death of Isabella, queen of Castile, November 26th, 1504, her husband Ferdinand surrendered the sceptre of Castile to his daughter Juana, the wife of the archduke Philip, but claimed the regency in virtue of the will of his late consort. The new king and queen in the beginning of 1506 left the Netherlands to take possession of the Castilian throne; but the weather was unfavourable, and, after struggling with adverse winds for more than a fortnight, they sought shelter in the harbour of Falmouth. It was in vain that their council objected. They went on shore in search of refreshment, and Henry grasped at the opportunity of deriving advantage from their indiscretion. In terms which admitted of no refusal, he invited them to his court, detained them during three months in splendid captivity, and extorted from them several valuable concessions as the price of their release.

Margaret of Savoy was the sister of Philip, and that prince was compelled to agree to a marriage between her and Henry, and to fix the amount of her portion at 300,000 crowns, each crown being equal in value to four shillings English; of which sum 100,000 crowns should be paid in August, and the remainder by equal instalments within six years. Margaret was in the annual receipt of 50,000 crowns arising from her two dowries, as the widow of John, prince of Spain, and of Philibert, duke of Savoy. This sum the king required to be settled on himself for his own use and benefit, while the princess would be amply indemnified by the income which she would receive as queen of

[1 According to Gairdner,[b] Henry had, upon the death of his wife, made a monstrous proposal to marry his daughter-in-law Catherine. It deeply shocked her mother Queen Isabella, who demanded her return, but consented to the betrothal with the brother of Catherine's dead husband.]

[1506 A.D.]

England. Henry had formerly obtained the consent of Maximilian that Charles, the infant son of Philip, should marry Mary, the youngest daughter of the English king. To this the captive prince, though he had formerly refused, now gave his assent. [The marriage was confirmed by proxy December 17th, 1508.]

A new treaty of commerce was negotiated between the subjects of the two kings, as prejudicial to the interests of the Flemish[1] as it was favourable to those of the English merchants. The king lent to the archduke on certain securities the sum of £138,000 towards the expense of his voyage to Spain.

THE CAPTURE OF SUFFOLK

Lastly, Henry demanded the surrender of an individual whom he had long considered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Lancaster. This was Edmund, second son to the late duke of Suffolk. John, earl of Lincoln, the eldest son, had fallen at the battle of Stoke, and had been attainted by parliament. When the duke himself died, Edmund claimed the honours and estate of his father; but Henry persisted in considering him as the heir of his attainted brother, maintained that he had no claim to the forfeited property, and compelled him to accept as a boon a small portion of the patrimony of his fathers, and to be content with the inferior title of earl. It was impossible to ascribe the king's conduct to any other motive than a desire to humble a rival family; and the earl by his ungovernable passions soon involved himself in difficulties and danger. He had killed a man who had offended him, was arraigned as a murderer at the King's Bench, and commanded to plead the king's pardon. His pride could not brook this indignity, and the court of his aunt, the duchess of Burgundy, received the fugitive. Henry, who is represented as desirous to inveigle him into greater indiscretions, prevailed on him to return. At the marriage of the prince of Wales he vied in the splendour of his equipage, and his attentions to the royal family, with the most opulent and favoured of the nobility; and then, to the astonishment of the public, fled a second time, with his brother Richard, to the court of his aunt.

Henry immediately foreboded an insurrection. Sir Robert Curzon was despatched to act the part of a spy under the mask of friendship; and in a few weeks the earl's brother, William de la Pole, the lord Courtenay, who had married one of the late queen's sisters, Sir William Wyndham, and Sir James Tyrrel, with a few others, were apprehended, May 6th, 1502.[2] To the first two no other crime could be objected than their relationship to the fugitive; the other two were condemned and executed for having favoured the escape of the king's enemy; and all were afterwards attainted by parliament. By this act of vigour the conspiracy, if any conspiracy existed, was suppressed in its birth; and Suffolk, left in extreme penury by the death of his aunt, after wandering for a time in Germany, had been permitted by the archduke Philip to reside in his dominions. Henry now demanded of that prince the surrender of the fugitive. It was in vain that he pleaded his honour; he was given to know that he was himself a captive, and could only purchase his liberty by consenting to the captivity of the earl. Compelled to yield, he exacted from Henry a promise that he would respect the life of Suffolk, and on the sur-

[1 In Flanders it was called the *Intercursus Malus* in contrast with its predecessor, the *Intercursus Magnus* of 1496.]

[2 It was on this occasion, according to More,[w] that Tyrrel confessed the murder of Edward V and his brother in the Tower.

render of the fugitive was permitted to prosecute his voyage. The earl was sent to the Tower, March 16th, 1506. Though Henry thirsted for his blood, he feared to violate his engagement with Philip; but before his death he left an order for the execution of his victim as a legacy to the filial piety of his successor. The Spanish prince, on his return to his own country, honourably fulfilled his engagements with Henry.

On September 23rd Philip died, and his widow Juana, in her own right queen of Castile, appeared to the imagination of the king a more desirable bride than Margaret. There were indeed two obstacles to be surmounted, which would have deterred any other suitor. Juana laboured under a derangement of intellect, which rendered her incapable of giving her consent;[1] and Ferdinand, her guardian, would naturally oppose any measure which might deprive him of the government of her dominions. But Henry was not discouraged. He relinquished the pursuit of Margaret, contended that the malady of Juana was only temporary, occasioned by the bad usage which she had received from her last husband, and trusted to his own ingenuity to remove the objections of her father. However, the malady of Juana experienced no abatement. Henry desisted from his hopeless pursuit, and, accepting the apologies of Ferdinand for his delay in the payment of the marriage portion, concluded with him a new treaty, by which the Spanish monarch was bound to transmit to London 100,000 crowns in four half-yearly instalments, and Henry to permit the solemnization of the marriage on the arrival of the last. Two were received by the king at the appointed time; he died before the arrival of the third.

The king had for years been visited with regular fits of the gout. His strength visibly wasted away, and every spring the most serious apprehensions were entertained for his life. Whatever might be the hopes with which he flattered himself, his preachers did not allow him to be ignorant of his danger. From the pulpit they admonished him of the extortion of his officers, and exhorted him to prepare for death by making reparation to the innocent sufferers. Henry does not appear to have been displeased with their freedom. He forgave all offences against the crown, with the exception of felony and murder; satisfied the creditors of all persons confined for debts under the amount of forty shillings; and ordered strict justice to be done to all who had been injured by the tyranny of the ministers. The prosecutions, however, were soon revived; it was contended that no injustice could be committed where the conviction was procured by due process of law; and several of the most respectable citizens in London were heavily amerced, and in default of payment thrown into prison. Thus Empson and Dudley continued to pursue their iniquitous career till they were arrested by the death of the king, who on April 21st, 1509, sank under the violence of his disease, the gout. The anxiety of his mind is strongly depicted in the provisions of his will; but he might easily have foreseen that his injunctions for the reparation of injuries would be despised or eluded by a young and thoughtless successor. He left three children: a son Henry, who inherited his father's crown, and two daughters, Margaret, married to James, king of Scots, and Mary, afterwards the wife of Louis XII, king of France.

Henry VII appears to have been the first of the English kings since the accession of Henry III who confined his expenses within the limits of his

[[1] The Spanish ambassador De Puebla wrote home that the English thought little of Juana's madness, as it would not prevent her bearing children! Von Ranke,[d] however, insists that Henry did not seriously intend this marriage, meaning only to keep Spain eager without arousing France to war. He quotes Henry as saying that his policy was "to draw a brazen wall round England."]

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income. But the civil wars had swept away those crowds of annuitants and creditors that formerly used to besiege the doors of the exchequer, and the revenue of the crown came to him free from incumbrances, and augmented by forfeitures.

But if the king was economical in his expenses and eager in the acquisition of wealth, it should also be added that he often rewarded with the generosity, and on occasions of ceremony displayed the magnificence, of a great monarch. His charities were many and profuse. Of his buildings, his three convents of friars fell in the next reign; his chapel at Westminster still exists, a monument of his opulence and taste. He is said to have occasionally advanced loans of money to merchants engaged in profitable branches of trade; and not only gave the royal license to the attempt of the Venetian navigator Cabot [Giovanni Gabotto], but fitted out a ship at his own expense to join in the voyage. Cabot sailed from Bristol, discovered the island of Newfoundland, June 24th, 1497, crept along the coast of Florida, and returned to England. It was the first European expedition that ever reached the American continent.[h]

LORD BACON'S ESTIMATE OF HENRY VII

This king (to speak of him in terms equal to his deserving) was one of the best sort of wonders—a wonder for wise men. He had parts (both in his virtues and his fortune) not so fit for a commonplace as for observation. Certainly he was religious, both in his affection and observance. But as he could see clear (for those times) through superstition, so he would be blinded now and then by human policy. He advanced churchmen. He was tender in the privilege of sanctuaries, though they wrought him much mischief. He professed always to love and seek peace; and it was his usual preface in his treaties, that when Christ came into the world peace was sung, and when he went out of the world peace was bequeathed. And this virtue could not proceed out of fear or softness, for he was valiant and active, and therefore no doubt it was truly Christian and moral. Yet he knew the way to peace was not to seem to be desirous to avoid wars. Therefore would he make offers and fames of wars, till he had mended the conditions of peace. It was also much, that one that was so great a lover of peace should be so happy in war. For his arms, either in foreign or civil wars, were never unfortunate, neither did he know what a disaster meant.

He did much maintain and countenance his laws, which (nevertheless) was no impediment to him to work his will. For it was so handled that neither prerogative nor profit went to diminution. And yet as he would sometimes strain up his laws to his prerogative, so would he also let down his prerogative to his parliament. For mint and wars and martial discipline (things of absolute power) he would nevertheless bring to parliament. Justice was well administered in his time, save where the king was party; save also that the council-table intermeddled too much with *meum* and *tuum*. For it was a very court of justice during his time, especially in the beginning. But in that part both of justice and policy which is the durable part, and cut as it were in brass or marble, which is the making of good laws, he did excel. And with his justice he was also a merciful prince; as in whose times there were but three of the nobility that suffered: the earl of Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and the lord Audley; though the first two were instead of numbers in the dislike and obloquy of the people. But there were never so great rebellions expiated with so little blood drawn by the hand of justice, as the two

rebellions of Blackheath and Exeter. But the less blood he drew the more he took of treasure; and as some construed it, he was the more sparing in the one that he might be the more pressing in the other; for both would have been intolerable. Of nature assuredly he coveted to accumulate treasure; and was a little poor in admiring riches.

This excess of his had at that time many glosses and interpretations. Some thought the continual rebellions wherewith he had been vexed had made him grow to hate his people; some thought it was done to pull down their stomachs and to keep them low; some for that he would leave his son a golden fleece; some suspected he had some high design upon foreign parts.

HENRY VII
(1456-1509)

But those perhaps shall come nearest the truth that fetch not their reasons so far off; but rather impute it to nature, age, peace, and a mind fixed upon no other ambition or pursuit: whereunto I should add, that having every day occasion to take notice of the necessities and shifts for money of other great princes abroad, it did the better by comparison set off to him the felicity of full coffers. As to his expending of treasure, he never spared charge which his affairs required; and in his buildings was magnificent; but his rewards were very limited. So that his liberality was rather upon his own state and memory than upon the deserts of others. He was of a high mind, and loved his own will and his own way; as one that revered himself, and would reign indeed.[1] Had he been a private man he would have been termed proud; but in a wise prince, it was but keeping of distance; which indeed he did towards all; not admitting any near or full approach either to his power or to his secrets. For he was governed by none. His queen (notwithstanding she had presented him with divers children; and with a crown also, though he would not acknowledge it) could do nothing with him. His mother he reverenced much, heard little. For any person agreeable to him for society (such as was Hastings to King Edward the Fourth, or Charles Brandon after to King Henry the Eighth) he had none; except we should account for such persons Foxe and Bray and Empson, because they were so much with him. But it was but as the instrument is much

[1 No one can understand his reign, or that of his son, or, we might add, of his granddaughter, Queen Elizabeth, without appreciating the fact that, however well served with councillors, the sovereign was in those days always his own prime minister. The Tudor policy all along was for the sovereign to "reign indeed"—or, in modern language, not only to reign but to govern.—GAIRDNER.b]

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with the workman. He had nothing in him of vain-glory, but yet kept state and majesty to the height; being sensible that majesty maketh the people bow, but vain-glory boweth to them.

Henry's Choice of Advisers

He kept a straight hand on his nobility, and chose rather to advance clergymen and lawyers, which were more obsequious to him, but had less interest in the people; which made for his absoluteness, but not for his safety. Insomuch as I am persuaded it was one of the causes of his troublesome reign. For that his nobles, though they were loyal and obedient, yet did not co-operate with him, but let every man go his own way. He was not afraid of an able man, as Louis the Eleventh was. Neither did he care how cunning they were that he did employ; for he thought himself to have the master-reach. And as he chose well, so he held them up well. For it is a strange thing, that though he were a dark prince, and infinitely suspicious, and his times full of secret conspiracies and troubles, yet in twenty-four years' reign he never put down or discomposed counsellor or near servant, save only Stanley, the lord chamberlain. As for the disposition of his subjects in general towards him, it stood thus with him, that of the three affections which naturally tie the hearts of the subjects to their sovereign—love, fear, and reverence—he had the last in height, the second in good measure, and so little of the first, as he was beholding to the other two. For his pleasures, there is no news of them. And yet by his instructions to Marsin and Stile touching the queen of Naples, it seemeth he could interrogate well touching beauty. He did by pleasures as great princes do by banquets, come and look a little upon them, and turn away.

No doubt, in him as in all men (and most of all in kings), his fortune wrought upon his nature, and his nature upon his fortune. He attained to the crown, not only from a private fortune, which might endow him with moderation, but also from the fortune of an exiled man, which had quickened in him all seeds of observation and industry. And his times being rather prosperous than calm, had raised his confidence by success, but almost marred his nature by troubles. His wisdom, by often evading from perils, was turned rather into a dexterity to deliver himself from dangers when they pressed him, than into a providence to prevent and remove them afar off. And even in nature, the sight of his mind was like some sights of eyes—rather strong at hand than to carry afar off. For his wit increased upon the occasion; and so much the more if the occasion were sharpened by danger. Yet take him with all his defects, if a man should compare him with the kings his concurrents in France and Spain, he shall find him more politic than Louis the Twelfth of France, and more entire and sincere than Ferdinando of Spain. But if you shall change Louis the Twelfth for Louis the Eleventh, who lived a little before, then the consort is more perfect. For that Louis the Eleventh, Ferdinando, and Henry may be esteemed for the *tres magi* of kings of those ages. To conclude, if this king did no greater matters, it was long of himself; for what he minded he compassed. He was born at Pembroke castle, and lieth buried at Westminster, in one of the stateliest and daintiest monuments of Europe, both for the chapel and for the sepulchre. So that he dwelleth more richly dead, in the monument of his tomb, than he did alive in Richmond or any of his palaces. I could wish he did the like in this monument of his fame.[g]

HALLAM ON THE CONSTITUTIONAL EFFECTS OF THE REIGN

It has been usual to speak of this reign as if it formed a great epoch in our constitution; the king having by his politic measures broken the power of the barons who had hitherto withstood the prerogative, while the commons had not yet risen from the humble station which they were supposed to have occupied. I doubt, however, whether the change was quite so precisely referable to the time of Henry VII, and whether his policy has not been somewhat overrated. In certain respects his reign is undoubtedly an era in our history. It began in revolution and a change in the line of descent. It nearly coincides, which is more material, with the commencement of what is termed modern history, as distinguished from the middle ages, and with the memorable events that have led us to make that leading distinction, especially the consolidation of the great European monarchies, among which England took a conspicuous station.

But it is not evident that Henry VII carried the authority of the crown much beyond the point at which Edward IV had left it. The strength of the nobility had been grievously impaired by the bloodshed of the civil wars, and the attainders that followed them. From this cause, or from the general intimidation, we find that no laws favourable to public liberty, or remedial with respect to the aggressions of power, were enacted, or (so far as appears) even proposed in parliament, during the reign of Edward IV; the first, since that of John, to which such a remark can be applied. The commons, who had not always been so humble and abject as smatterers in history are apt to fancy, were by this time much degenerated from the spirit they had displayed under Edward III and Richard II. Thus the founder of the line of Tudor came, not certainly to an absolute, but a vigorous prerogative, which his cautious, dissembling temper and close attention to business were well calculated to extend.

The laws of Henry VII have been highly praised by Lord Bacon[g] as "deep and not vulgar, not made upon the spur of a particular occasion for the present, but out of providence for the future, to make the estate of his people still more and more happy, after the manner of the legislators in ancient and heroical times." But when we consider how very few kings or statesmen have displayed this prospective wisdom and benevolence in legislation, we may hesitate a little to bestow so rare a praise upon Henry. Like the laws of all other times, his statutes seem to have had no further aim than to remove some immediate mischief, or to promote some particular end. One, however, has been much celebrated as an instance of his sagacious policy and as the principal cause of exalting the royal authority upon the ruins of the aristocracy—the statute of Fines (as one passed in the fourth year of his reign is commonly called), which is supposed to have given the power of alienating entailed lands. But both the intention and effect of this seem not to have been justly apprehended.

In the first place, it is remarkable that the statute of Henry VII is merely a transcript, with very little variation, from one of Richard III, which is actually printed in most editions. It was re-enacted, as we must presume, in order to obviate any doubt, however ill grounded, which might hang upon the validity of Richard's laws. Thus vanish at once into air the deep policy of Henry VII and his insidious schemes of leading on a prodigal aristocracy to its ruin. It is surely strange that those who have extolled this sagacious monarch for breaking the fetters of landed property (though many of them

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were lawyers) should never have observed that whatever credit might be due for the innovation should redound to the honour of the unfortunate usurper. But Richard, in truth, had no leisure for such long-sighted projects of strengthening a throne for his posterity which he could not preserve for himself. His law, and that of his successor, had a different object in view.

The real intention of these statutes of Richard and Henry was not to give the tenant in tail a greater power over his estate (for it is by no means clear that the words enable him to bar his issue by levying a fine; and when a decision to that effect took place long afterwards, it was with such difference of opinion that it was thought necessary to confirm the interpretation by a new act of parliament); but rather, by establishing a short term of prescription, to put a check on the suits for recovery of lands, which, after times of so much violence and disturbance, were naturally springing up in the courts. It is the usual policy of governments to favour possession; and on this principle the statute enacts that a fine levied with proclamations in a public court of justice shall after five years, except in particular circumstances, be a bar to all claims upon lands. This was its main scope; the liberty of alienation was neither necessary, nor probably intended to be given.

The two first of the Tudors rarely experienced opposition but when they endeavoured to levy money. Taxation, in the eyes of their subjects, was so far from being no tyranny, that it seemed the only species worth a complaint. Henry VII obtained from his first parliament a grant of tonnage and poundage during life, according to several precedents of former reigns. But when general subsidies were granted, the same people, who would have seen an innocent man led to prison or the scaffold with little attention, twice broke out into dangerous rebellions; and as these, however arising from such immediate discontent, were yet a good deal connected with the opinion of Henry's usurpation and the claims of a pretender, it was a necessary policy to avoid too frequent imposition of burdens upon the poorer classes of the community. He had recourse accordingly to the system of benevolences, or contributions apparently voluntary, though in fact extorted from his richer subjects. These, having become an intolerable grievance under Edward IV, were abolished in the only parliament of Richard III with strong expressions of indignation. But in the seventh year of Henry's reign, when, after having with timid and parsimonious hesitation suffered the marriage of Anne of Brittany with Charles VIII, he was compelled by the national spirit to make a demonstration of war, he ventured to try this unfair and unconstitutional method of obtaining aid; which received afterwards too much of a parliamentary sanction by an act enforcing the payment of arrears of money which private men had thus been prevailed upon to promise.

Archbishop Morton is famous for the dilemma which he proposed to merchants and others whom he solicited to contribute. He told those who lived handsomely that their opulence was manifest by their rate of expenditure. Those, again, whose course of living was less sumptuous, must have grown rich by their economy. Either class could well afford assistance to their sovereign. This piece of logic, unanswerable in the mouth of a privy councillor, acquired the name of Morton's fork. Henry doubtless reaped great profit from these indefinite exactions, miscalled benevolences. But, insatiate of accumulating treasure, he discovered other methods of extortion, still more odious, and possibly more lucrative. Many statutes had been enacted in preceding reigns, sometimes rashly or from temporary motives, sometimes in opposition to prevailing usages which they could not restrain, of which the

pecuniary penalties, though exceedingly severe, were so little enforced as to have lost their terror.

These his ministers raked out from oblivion; and, prosecuting such as could afford to endure the law's severity, filled his treasury with the dishonourable produce of amercements and forfeitures. The feudal rights became, as indeed they always had been, instrumental to oppression. The lands of those who died without heirs fell back to the crown by escheat. It was the duty of certain officers in every county to look after its rights. The king's title was to be found by the inquest of a jury, summoned at the instance of the escheator, and returned into the exchequer. It then became a matter of record, and could not be impeached. Hence the escheators taking hasty inquests, or sometimes falsely pretending them, defeated the right heir of his succession. Excessive fines were imposed on granting livery to the king's wards on their majority. Informations for intrusions, criminal indictments, outlawries on civil process, in short, the whole course of justice, furnished pretences for exacting money; while a host of dependants on the court, suborned to play their part as witnesses, or even as jurors, rendered it hardly possible for the most innocent to escape these penalties.

Empson and Dudley are notorious as the prostitute instruments of Henry's avarice in the later and more unpopular years of his reign; but they dearly purchased a brief hour of favour by an ignominious death [under Henry VIII] and perpetual infamy. The avarice of Henry VII, as it rendered his government unpopular, which had always been penurious, must be deemed a drawback from the wisdom ascribed to him; though by his good fortune it answered the end of invigorating his power. By these fines and forfeitures he impoverished and intimidated the nobility. The earl of Oxford compounded, by the payment of £15,000, for the penalties he had incurred by keeping retainers in livery; a practice mischievous and illegal, but too customary to have been punished before this reign. Even the king's clemency seems to have been influenced by the sordid motive of selling pardons; and it has been shown that he made a profit of every office in his court, and received money for conferring bishoprics.

It is asserted by early writers, though perhaps only on conjecture, that he left a sum, thus amassed, of no less than £1,800,000[1] at his decease. This treasure was soon dissipated by his successor, who had recourse to the assistance of parliament in the very first year of his reign. The foreign policy of Henry VIII, far unlike that of his father, was ambitious and enterprising. No former king had involved himself so frequently in the labyrinth of continental alliances.[i]

KNIGHT'S PICTURE OF ENGLAND AT THIS PERIOD

It is the opinion of Hallam[i] that "there had evidently been a retrograde tendency towards absolute monarchy between the reigns of Henry VI and Henry VIII." An Italian historian, Biondi,[x] who wrote in the time of James I, describes our mixed constitution as "a well-constituted aristocratic-democratic monarchy" (*aristodemocratica monarchia*). It was the policy of the first Tudor to impair, if not to destroy, the aristocratic branch, before the democratic had acquired any great political force. The Venetian secretary[y] says, "of these lords, who are called *milites*, there are very few left, and these diminish daily."

[[1] Gairdner[b] estimates this as equivalent to £18,000,000 to-day.]

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At the commencement of the reign of Henry VII, the long immunity of the clergy from any interference of the legislature with their course of life, however criminal, was in a slight degree interrupted by a statute, which recognises the existence in the commonwealth of "priests, clerks, and religious men openly noised of incontinent living." The "act for bishops to punish priests and other religious men for dishonest life," provides that they may be committed to ward and prison, upon examination and other lawful proof, and that no action of wrongful imprisonment shall arise out of such commitment. But by a statute of three years later we learn how frightful were the exemptions from the course of justice which persons in holy orders obtained.

PILGRIM COSTUME

At the end of the reign of Henry VII the monastic establishments were at the culminating point of their wealth and luxury. Some of the gross profligacy which gave the appearance, if not the reality, of justice to their violent suppression was the subject of papal admonitions in 1490. But in their hospitality and their magnificence they commanded much popular support; and nothing seemed so unlikely as that in thirty years they should be swept away. There was scarcely a cloud, "bigger than a man's hand," to give sign of the coming storm. It is only when we have evidence of the real contempt which the higher order of minds, even amongst churchmen, felt for the impostures which contributed so mainly to the riches of the monastic shrines, that we discover how doubtful was that tenure of popularity which rested more upon vain delusions than upon the real benefit which the people derived from the teachings of religion.

Although the material wealth of England had been decidedly increasing during the reign of Henry VII, we have abundant evidence that its natural resources were very imperfectly brought into operation. The population appeared to the Venetian travellers not to bear any proportion to the fertility of the land and the riches of the cities. In passing from Dover to London, and from London to Oxford, the country appeared to him to be very thinly inhabited. He inquired, also, of those who rode to the north of the kingdom, and of those who went to Bristol and into Cornwall, and found there was no difference in their report upon this point. The population at the beginning of the sixteenth century has been estimated at four millions; but the data for this conclusion are scarcely to be relied on.

In an act of 1488-9, "concerning the Isle of Wight," it is recited that the isle is "late decayed of people"; and in an act of the same session, "against pulling down of towns," it is declared, that "where, in some towns, two hundred persons were occupied and lived by their lawful labours, now be there occupied two or three herdmen." The grievance to which this decay of population is ascribed, is the conversion of tilled land into pasture; and the consolidation of farms and farmholds "into one man's hold and hands, that of old time were wont to be in many several persons' holds and hands, and

many several households kept in them, and thereby much people multiplied." This is the process of which More[2] so bitterly complains, but of which he judged with the half-knowledge of his time on all economical questions. "Forsooth, my lord, quoth I"—he is addressing Morton—"your sheep, that were wont to be so meek and tame, and so small eaters, now, as I hear say, be become so great devourers and so wild, that they eat up and swallow down the very men themselves. They consume, destroy, and devour whole fields, houses, and cities."

In the time in which Henry VII legislated, and More declaimed against the decay of population through pasturage, the tillage of the land was so unprofitable that it afforded no return for the employment of capital. It yielded only a miserable subsistence to those who worked it, with imperfect instruments; with no knowledge of the rotation of crops; with no turnip husbandry to fatten sheep less wastefully than in the pastures; with no sufficient knowledge of the value of manures. The employment of capital in the feeding of sheep, being the more profitable mode of its use, speedily produced a greater demand for the labour of the whole country, than the ancient mode of cultivating small patches of land by the cottier-tenantry, who had succeeded the serfs of the earlier times. The pastures were furnishing employment to the manufacturers, the retailers, the merchants, of the great towns; and the profit of the pastures would, in course of time, bring about that larger system of tillage which would more perfectly unite the operations of the shepherd and the ploughman under the same tenancy.

It was more profitable to export wool and broad-cloth than to export grain; and no legislation and no philosophy could compel the application of capital to the growth of corn where it could be more advantageously applied to the growth of sheep. The indirect stimulus which a judicious investment of accumulated wealth in one branch of industry must produce upon all industries, was not then understood; nor was it understood during succeeding periods of growing prosperity.

The visible wealth of the people in plate was the admiration of foreigners. "There is no small innkeeper, however poor and humble he may be, who does not serve his table with silver dishes and drinking cups; and no one who has not in his house silver plate to the amount of at least £100 sterling, is considered by the English to be a person of any consequence." This observer adds, "The most remarkable thing in London is the wonderful quantity of wrought silver." The accumulation of capital in the form of plate was the result of the law which forbade any investment which would produce interest upon loan. And yet legislation here, as in all other cases which interfere with the natural laws of exchange, was not altogether effectual; for the same traveller remarks, of the English traders, "they are so diligent in mercantile pursuits, that they do not fear to make contracts on usury." They had the boldness to carry on commerce upon borrowed capital—a proof that the industry of the country had become, to some extent, energetic and self-reliant.

Another law, of the same contracted nature, was the more stringent re-enactment of a statute of Edward IV which had expired, forbidding coin of England or any other country, or plate, bullion, or jewels, to be carried out of the kingdom, "to the great impoverishing of the realm."

This fallacy, that a country is rich in proportion as it receives money in foreign commercial transactions and pays none, was kept up for several hundred years in the delusion called Balance of Trade. How this law interfered with the extension of commerce, and the consequent ability of the consumers to be supplied at the cheapest rate, may be easily conceived. Its

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oppression of the voyager from the shores of England may be understood from the instance of Erasmus, who, returning to his own country from Dover, was stripped by the king's officers of all his money, except six angels, the amount permitted to be carried out of the realm. The poor scholar's little treasure was what he had earned by imparting his stores of learning to the youth of the country that thus despoiled him.

The principle of regulating the prices of commodities still went on, as we have related of previous periods, without reference to any of the circumstances that must render an invariable price unjust, even if it were possible to be generally enforced. The complaint of the commons, that hat-makers and cap-makers "sell their hats and caps at an outrageous price"—averring that what they buy for sixteen pence they sell for three shillings—is simply evidence of the absence of competition. We may be quite sure that when it was enacted that no hatter should sell the best hat above the price of twenty pence, the purchaser really obtained no cheaper commodity; that he lost in quality what he gained in price. But it was long before governments found out the absurdity of such interference with private dealings, in matters where an universal principle could not be applied.

There had been no attempts to regulate wages for half a century. In 1495 a new scale is set up, which, after the short experience of one year, it was found impossible to maintain; and it was therefore repealed in 1496, for "divers and many reasonable considerations and causes." The price of corn was fluctuating, from four shillings a quarter in 1495 to twenty shillings a quarter in 1497; and we can therefore well believe that it was not "for the common wealth of poor artificers," that the carpenter, with his sixpence a day, should be content to earn the fortieth part of a quarter of wheat in 1497, when he had obtained an eighth part in 1495. His wages would not rise proportionately with the price of necessaries; but in the power of making a free contract he would find some mitigation of the hardships of a famine season. It is evident from the tone of the legislation of Henry VII that the labouring and indigent classes were regarded with a little more consideration than in the times which had immediately succeeded those of the system of slavery.

The cruelty of the laws against vagrancy, however modified, was seen by More[z]—"They be cast into prison as vagabonds, because they go about and work not, whom no man will set at work, though they never so willingly proffer themselves thereto." But if the wanderer was in this reign treated with a little lenity—however pursued with savage cruelty in the next reign—the thief, in most cases, was hanged without mercy.

Erasmus,[bb] in one of his letters, says that the harvest of highway-robbery is abundant amongst the English. Crimes of violence appear to have been far more common than the fraudulent offences for which the age of Elizabeth was so remarkable. The transition from the times of feudal service to those of independent labour was a necessary cause that the discharged servingman of a decayed house—"who was wont with a sword and a buckler by his side to jet through the street with a bragging look"—should take a purse instead of wielding a spade. It was an age of stews and ale-houses, of dice and cards; and these temptations produced their usual effects, when there were gross ignorance and low morals; unsettled employment; sanctuaries to flee to; and judgment to be arrested by the ability to read a verse of the Bible.

The sanitary condition of London and the great towns was not wholly disregarded. But the sweating sickness was the terror of England at the beginning of the sixteenth century, as the plague was in the seventeenth, and

the cholera in the nineteenth. Filth, and imperfect ventilation, were amongst the main causes of epidemic disease at each of these periods. Erasmus saw that the English so constructed their rooms as to admit no thorough draught; and says, "Before I was thirty years old, if I slept in a room which had been shut up for some months without ventilation, I was immediately attacked with fever." The close air of the English houses, in his sensible opinion, ripened into pestilence. The dirt even of the better households of the sixteenth century was most striking to the Rotterdam scholar, who came from a land of cleanliness: "The floors are mostly of clay, and strewed with rushes. Fresh rushes are periodically laid over them, but the old ones remain as a foundation for perhaps twenty years together." The abominations which Erasmus mentions as collected in these successive layers need not be here particularised.

"It would contribute to health," says the same observer of our manners, "if people ate and drank less, and lived on fresh rather than salt meat." The feasts of the metropolitan city were as magnificent in the days of Henry VII as in our times—and, it would appear, quite as stupid. The Venetian traveller saw the mayor's banquet at the Guildhall, where a thousand people were seated at table; and "this dinner lasted four hours or more." At the sheriff's dinner he also observed "the infinite profusion of victuals." He adds, "I noticed how punctiliously they sat in their order, and the extraordinary silence of every one." The habit of feasting and being feasted—the dinners of parade which the satirist of our own days so justly ridicules amongst the manifold follies of vulgar ostentation—was a part of the old English character: "They think that no greater honour can be conferred or received than to invite others to eat with them; and they would sooner give five or six ducats to provide an entertainment for a person than a groat to assist him in any distress."

The old pride of the English was national. "Above all things," says Erasmus, "take care not to censure or despise any individual things in the country; the natives are very patriotic, and truly not without reason." The Venetian says, "They think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say that he looks like an Englishman." The "lords of human kind" have now, for the most part, absorbed the pride of country into a narrower circle. It is the pride of possession, the dignity of his own estate, his stock, his house, his carriage, his liveries, his dinners, and his wine, that now marks the high-blown patriotic native. His country is chiefly valued as comprehending whatever ministers to his individual glory and gratification.

The perilous joustings of the lists of the king's manor of Sheen; the solemn banquets of Guildhall; the Lords of Misrule at the festivals of the court and the city; the Masks and Disguisings of royal and noble palaces—these were but reflections of the spirit of activity and enjoyment that abided in the people, amidst many physical privations and a general absence of what we call comfort. The "antique pageantry" of Christmas, the old merriments of Easter and May-day, were transmitted from a higher antiquity. It was the poetry of the mixed British, Roman, and Saxon race, blending with the festivals of the early Christian church, and popularly kept up in the mixed excitement of reverence and frolic. These ceremonials, in their original simplicity so associated with the love of nature—with the holly and ivy of December, the linden of the early spring, the blossoms of the life-stirring May—were especially attractive to the inhabitants of the crowded towns. The citizens of Cornhill had danced under the May-pole beneath St. Andrew's

[1509 A.D.]

church from time immemorial. The parishes had joined from the earliest days of their guilds, to go forth to the woods to fetch in the May.

They had lighted the bonfires in the streets, as their fathers had lighted them; and the players at bucklers were there, as they were of old. The parish clerks performed their interludes in Smithfield as in the time of the second Richard. The wrestlers contended before the mayor and aldermen, and the archers went out into Finsbury Fields, as their fathers before them. The Marching Watch lighted up the gabled roofs of the city of Lud, as it had done, time out of mind, when every man's door was "shadowed with green birch, long fennel, St. John's wort, orpine, and white lilies"; seven hundred burning cressets sent up their "triumphant fires"; and the two thousand men of the marching watch came on with the cresset-bearers, each armed with harquebuss and bow and pike, their bright corslets glittering in the pitchy flame, whilst the waits of the city played their merriest tunes, and the morrice-dancers kept time to their inspiring notes. It was an institution that dated from the time of Henry III. There was a reality in this marvellous pageant, of which Stow[cc] writes with the enthusiastic pride of a London citizen. The men of the watch were the organised guardians of the city—its voluntary police, under the orders of its magistrates.

The poetry of the old London life is reflected in many other elaborate descriptions by London's most honoured antiquary. And he feels, too, that these seasons of civic display and of common rejoicing called forth a spirit of love out of the depths of the heart, which might be too often slumbering in the struggle for personal gain and honour in the great mart of commerce. Such is the sentiment which he infuses into his account of the simple hospitalities of the London streets, in the twilight hours of June and July: "On the vigils of festival days, and on the same festival days after the sun setting, there were usually made bonfires in the streets, every man bestowing wood and labour towards them; the wealthier sort, also, before their doors near to the said bonfires, would set out tables on the vigils, furnished with sweet bread and good drink, and on the festival days with meats and drinks plentifully, whereunto they would invite their neighbours and passengers also to sit and be merry with them in great familiarity praising God for the benefits bestowed on them."[m]

MACAULAY'S SUMMING UP

In the reign of Henry VII all the political differences which had agitated England since the Norman conquest seemed to be set at rest. The long and fierce struggle between the crown and the barons had terminated. The grievances which had produced the rebellions of Wat Tyler and Cade had disappeared. Villeinage was scarcely known. The two royal houses, whose conflicting claims had long convulsed the kingdom, were at length united. The claimants, whose pretensions, just or unjust, had disturbed the new settlement, were overthrown. In religion there was no open dissent, and probably very little secret heresy. The old subjects of contention, in short, had vanished; those which were to succeed had not yet appeared.[dd]

CHAPTER II

HENRY VIII AND CARDINAL WOLSEY

[1509–1527 A.D.]

THE crown which Henry VII had won on the battle-field and preserved among most extreme perils, he bequeathed to his son as an unquestioned possession. The son succeeded the father without opposition—a thing unprecedented for centuries.—VON RANKE.[b]

ENGLISHMEN were not in the mood to anticipate evil at the accession of Henry. In the young king all the conditions requisite for a prosperous reign seemed to be combined in a rare degree. To the dull monotony, varied only by Yorkist rebellions, to the greed, suspicion, and jealousy which made the shady side of the previous reign, succeeded an era of splendour and enjoyment in which every free and generous impulse should have scope. As Henry united in his own person the lines of the White Rose and the Red, there was no likelihood of a revival of the old broils. Those who grudged to see his Lancastrian father on the throne were well pleased to see it occupied by a son of Elizabeth of York. The hated avarice of Henry VII had provided means for the popularity of his successor; and to Henry VIII fell the easy and generous rôle of squandering the treasure which his father had amassed. Nor was this the only respect in which the young Henry entered on the fruit of other men's labours. In the wars of the Roses and by the policy of Edward IV and Henry VII, the old feudal nobility had been brought very low. When nothing more was to be feared from that quarter, it was Henry VIII's easy task to gather round him the broken remnants, to attach them to his person, and to make them the ready instruments of his will, in short, to convert the representatives of a haughty feudal baronage into submissive courtiers.

[1509 A.D.]

In character the young Henry was a king according to the people's heart; even in his faults he was exceptionally fortunate. He was handsome, frank, extravagant, of vast muscular strength, accomplished in all the manly exercises of the time and in the new learning; he was vain, thirsting for popularity, eager to retrieve the old renown of England, the enemy of France, and dreamed always of renewing the conquests of the Henrys and Edwards. It is not surprising that Henry excited the highest expectations in all classes of his subjects, for his varied character offered an attractive side to all of them. The men of the new learning were charmed by his love of letters. Ecclesiastics saw with pleasure his punctual performance of the duties of religion. All good men were delighted with the excellence and purity of his private life. Statesmen were struck by his capacity for business; his gaiety and frankness captivated the courtiers; the prospect of French conquest inspired the warlike and the ambitious.

From the description of Henry by the Venetian ambassador, Giustiniani,[c] in 1519, we can easily perceive what impression he must have made on England at his accession: "His Majesty is twenty-nine years old, and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign of Christendom—a good deal handsomer than the king of France—very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I wore a red beard, he allowed his own to grow; and as it is reddish, he has now got a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished, a good musician, composes well, is a most capital horseman, a fine jouster, speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish, is very religious, hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the office every day in the queen's chamber—that is to say, vesper and compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take; and when one is tired he mounts another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture."

When we take all these facts into consideration, when we remember also that ere long he had raised England from a third-rate position to a level with the greatest powers of Europe, and that for twenty years nothing serious occurred to break the harmony of his reign, we cannot be surprised that Henry was a most popular king.[d]

THE MARRIAGE WITH CATHERINE (1509)

If the new king was still unmarried, it had been owing to the capricious and interested policy of his father. Immediately after his accession, he assured Fuensalida, the Spanish ambassador, of his undiminished attachment to Catherine, and of his intention to bring the question of their marriage immediately before his council.[1] By its advocates was alleged in its favour the advantage of securing the alliance of Spain against the hostility of France; and to the objection drawn from the affinity between the parties were opposed the force of the papal dispensation, and the solemn assertion of Catherine, which she was ready to confirm by her own oath, and by the attestation of several matrons, that her former nuptials with Arthur had never

[1] According to Cardinal Pole,[e] "He desired her above all women, above all he loved her, and longed to wed her"; before they were married he often declared this.

been consummated.[1] With the unanimous assent of the council Henry was publicly married to the princess by the archbishop of Canterbury, June 3rd; their coronation followed, June 24th; and these two events were celebrated with rejoicings, which occupied the court during the remaining part of the year.[h]

FIRST ACTS OF HENRY

The reign of Henry VIII, according to the computations in official records, commenced on the 22nd of April, 1509, his father having died on the 21st. It is held to be an erroneous idea, that the kings of England always ascended the throne the moment the preceding sovereign died. The new sovereign was "entering into the flower of pleasant youth," and England, in the words of Cavendish,[i] was "called then the golden world, such grace of plenty reigned then within this realm."

The first act of Henry VIII and his council was the arrest of Sir Richard Empson and Edmund Dudley, the ministers of the extortions of Henry VII. Many of the false witnesses, or promoters, who were employed by these criminal agents of a greater criminal, were also apprehended; and, in the language of the time, "wore papers"—that is, they stood in the pillory each with a paper describing his offences. The prosecution of Empson and Dudley was a signal instance of the abuse of justice, however politic it might have been to appease the clamours of those whom they had injured. They defended themselves before the council with eloquence, and with a show of truth. They acted, as they declared, according to the commissions with which they were intrusted, and they conformed to precedent and the letter of the law.

The charges against them failed, for the real offender was their lord the king, who had benefited by their practices. But it was expedient to punish them, and a ridiculous charge of treason against the reigning monarch was got up against them, it being pretended that they conspired to seize the person of Henry on the death of his father and to assume the functions of government. Empson was convicted on this charge by a jury at Northampton, and Dudley by a jury in London. The parliament passed a bill of attainder against them at the beginning of 1510, and they were executed in the following August.[2] But out of the treasury, which Henry VIII found amply supplied in part through their evil labours, there came no relief to their victims. Some laws were made to prevent such abuses in future—an easier duty than that of restitution.

There is a curious document still existing which manifests the attention which the young king paid to his own affairs. It also shows the tendency of his mind, even at this early period, to assert the dignity of the crown in matters

[1] Henry acknowledged the truth of her assertion to her nephew the emperor, as is observed by Cardinal Pole[f] in his letter to the king, entitled, *Pro unitatis ecclesiasticæ defensione.* "You yourself declared that you took her a virgin, and you declared it to the emperor to whom it would hardly have been expedient to say it if you then thought of divorce." Peter Martyr,[g] in a letter dated May 6, 1509, before the marriage, tells us that the same was the belief in Spain. "It is the general opinion that her first husband left her intact because he was an invalid and not of mature age." On this account she was married with the ceremonies appropriated to the nuptials of maids. She was dressed in white, and wore her hair loose.

[2] The heirs of both were restored in blood, some two or three years after. John Dudley, the son of the first, became Viscount Lisle under Henry VIII, earl of Warwick under Edward VI, then duke of Northumberland, and was beheaded on the accession of Mary. It was the grandson of the rapacious minister of Henry VII that was married to Lady Jane Grey.[j]

[1510 A.D.]

of church government. This document is the coronation oath of the kings of England, altered and interlined by the hand of Henry. The original form says, "The king shall swear at his coronation that he shall keep and maintain the right and the liberties of the Holy Church of old time granted by the righteous Christian kings of England." The copy, as interlined, reads, "The king shall swear that he shall keep and maintain the lawful right and the liberties of old time granted by the righteous Christian kings of England to the Holy Church of England, not prejudicial to his jurisdiction and dignity royal." The early education of Henry had led him to the consideration of ecclesiastical questions. Whether, in this modification of the accustomed oath, the king, in the words of Ellis,[n] "looked to something like supremacy in the Church of England, at the very outset of his reign"—or whether it was a general assertion of that dominant spirit which could brook no control and admit no superiority—the interlineations are equally consistent with the character of the man whose individual will was to produce the most signal consequences to the country over which he asserted his "dignity royal" for thirty-eight years.

TILTING LANCES
(Sixteenth century)

The parliament of the first year of Henry's reign had granted a subsidy of tonnage and poundage, as the customs duties upon certain exports and imports were called. These taxes were granted for the defence of the realm and the keeping of the sea. There were no circumstances to call for an especial provision beyond this ordinary revenue. The ministers of the crown moved in their accustomed course, without any trouble from apprehended dangers at home or abroad. The commonalty were gratified by the vengeance inflicted upon the legal harpies of the preceding reign; and there were no higher violations of the laws, to be met by more stringent legislation, than "the great and costly array and apparel used within this realm, contrary to good statutes"; which excess "hath been the occasion of great impoverishing of divers of the king's subjects, and provoked many of them to rob and to do extortion and other unlawful deeds to maintain thereby their costly array." Archbishop Warham, the chancellor; Bishop Foxe, lord privy seal; and Howard, earl of Surrey, lord treasurer, were the king's chief ministers.

For two years the narratives of the chroniclers, especially of Hall,[k] are chiefly limited to descriptions of the king's feats of chivalry and his exercise in all manly sports. In his second year, at the feast of Pentecost at Greenwich, "his grace, with two other with him, challenged all comers to fight with them at the barriers with target and casting the spear; and, that done, with two-handed swords." In the use of the old English long-bow "his grace shot as strong and as great a length as any of his guard." On May-day, "his grace being young, and willing not to be idle, rose in the morning very early to fetch May or green boughs, himself fresh and richly apparelled, and clothed all his knights, squires, and gentlemen in white satin, and all his guard and yeomen of the crown in white sarsnet." In these Mayings Queen Catherine sometimes accompanied her active consort; and very harmless bands of archers shot their flights at the command of Robin Hood, their chief, and the courteous outlaw feasted the gallant company in green arbours decked with flowers.

When the king entered the lists to joust and won the prize which the queen bestowed, "all young persons highly praised, but the ancient fathers much doubted, considering the tender youth of the king, and divers chances of horses and armour." They "fain would have him a looker-on rather than a doer." It was not in the disposition of this king to be "a looker-on." He soon made for himself more exciting occupations than his daily exercise "in shooting, singing, dancing, wrestling, casting of the bar, playing at the recorders, flute, virginals, and in setting of songs and making of ballads." He was to show himself "the most Christian king" by higher feats than that skill in music by which "he did set two goodly masses, every of them five parts, which were sung oftentimes in his chapel, and afterwards in divers other places." In the third year of his reign King Henry was preparing for war with France and Scotland.

THE "HOLY LEAGUE" AGAINST FRANCE (1511-1513 A.D.)

From the statute of 1511-12, which grants a subsidy to the king of "two whole fifteenths and tenths," we see that the impending war with France was essentially different in one material principle from any previous war in which England had engaged with a continental power. It was a war—if the preamble to the statute correctly interprets the royal counsels—for the maintenance of the Balance of Power in Europe. In the possible success of Louis of France against Ferdinand of Spain was to be dreaded "the inestimable loss and damage of this realm."

The principle thus asserted, in carrying out its necessary consequence of taxation of the people, has continued to be asserted in the same way for three centuries and a half. Success in this never-ending labour appears as remote as at the first hour when the professors of statecraft threw kingdoms and provinces now into one scale and now into another, to make the obstinately unresting beam for a moment level. But a war for maintaining the Balance of Power could scarcely appeal to the enthusiasm of the nation for support, and especially to the clergy, the most influential portion of the nation. In 1512 the object of a war with France is more precisely defined. It is to be a war for the "reformation of the schismatic demeanour" of the French king against "our holy father the pope," who has placed France under an interdict, which the said French king "despising, will not thereby reform himself." The real circumstances of this European contest, in which England might well have remained neutral without any loss of power and dignity, may be briefly told.

At the commencement of the reign of Henry VIII the papal throne had been filled during six years by Julius II—a pontiff who united the characters of the priest and the warrior, and was equally prepared to uphold the claims of his church, and increase the extent of his dominions, with sword or with interdict. His real policy was to render Italy independent—a project not to be suddenly accomplished by arms, when opposed to Louis of France, or Maximilian the emperor, or Ferdinand of Spain, but to be gradually furthered by sowing dissensions amongst the temporal princes. He had joined with these sovereigns in curbing the power of the Venetians by the League of Cambray, in 1508. He now professed to dread the ambition of France, and openly defied Louis by the invasion of the territories of his friend the duke of Ferrara. The French king sent an army from Milan to the support of his ally. Julius retired to Bologna, where in 1510 he was besieged by a French army, but without success. In 1511 that papal city was taken; and Louis took the bold step of calling a general council [at Pisa] "for the reforma-

[1512 A.D.]

tion of the Church, both in its head and its members." He had the support of his own clergy and of five cardinals. But the pope called another council [at St. John Lateran] and set in action the spiritual weapons of deposition and excommunication. The princes of Christendom were invited to join the "Holy League" for the defence of the Roman Church and the extinction of schism.

The impetuous king of England eagerly rushed to enrol himself amongst the supporters of the pope, who gratefully flattered him with the promise that the king of France should no longer be "the most Christian king," and that the orthodox Henry should bear that honoured title. But there was something in the prospect of a war more tempting to the pride and presumption of Henry than the flatteries of "our holy father." The old dream of the conquest of France—the circumstances being wholly changed which could give the slightest encouragement to a hope of such an issue—came once again before the eyes of an English king, with all its delusive images. In the fifth year of Henry's reign this gay vision was embodied in the preamble to a statute, which shows "the king, our sovereign lord, greatly desiring to recover the realm of France, his very true patrimony and inheritance, and to reduce the same to his obedience" (5 Hen. VIII, c. i). When Henry went with this avowal to parliament, his warlike career had been marked by some successes which might have intoxicated even a less wilful and arrogant ruler.

Scotland Joins France

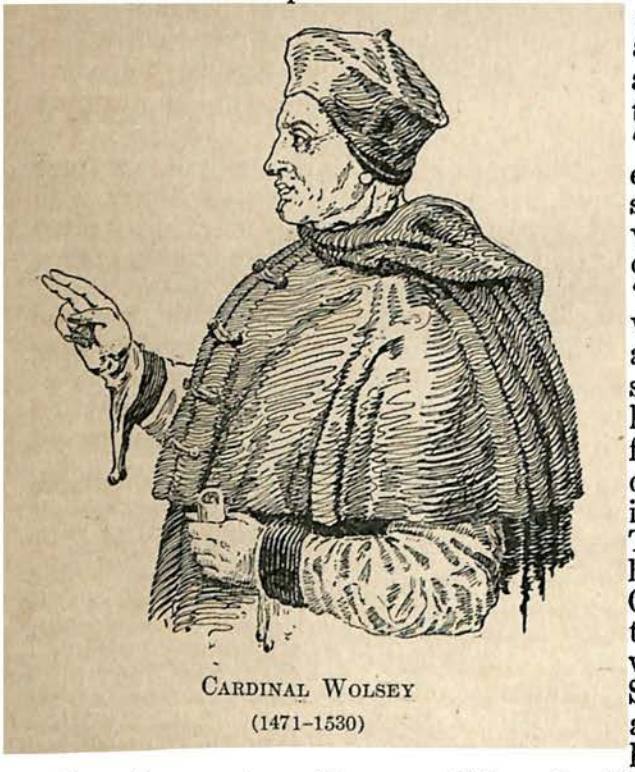
There was another ancient quarrel of the kings of England, which the government of Henry appears to have kept up with some of the passion and prejudice which a sound policy would have rejected. There were reasonable causes of complaint on both sides between England and Scotland; but when the king asked for a subsidy in the third year of his reign, the quarrel with France being then ripening, the king of Scots is termed by the parliament, "very homager and obediencer of right to your highness." A famous Scotch privateer, Andrew Barton, with his two brothers, had conducted a naval war against the Portuguese, under letters of marque from James IV. The statute of the 3rd of Henry alleges as an offence of Scotland that the king "hath lately taken your subjects with their ships and merchandises on the sea." These captures were made by the Bartons; and the earl of Surrey fitted out two ships to repress these assaults on English vessels, which were not the less obnoxious because they were under colour of search for Portuguese goods.

Sir Thomas Howard, the son of Surrey, met Andrew Barton in his ship the Lion, cruising in the Downs, and in a desperate engagement the daring privateer fell mortally wounded on his deck. A smaller vessel belonging to this family was taken by another Howard. It is recorded of Surrey that when the exploits of the Bartons were made known in Henry's council, he said, according to Lloyd,[1] "The king of England should not be imprisoned in his kingdom, while either he had an estate to set up a ship or a son to command it." When James IV demanded satisfaction for the death of his brave mariner, Henry replied that kings should disdain to quarrel about the fate of a pirate. But there were other causes of difference less national in their character. Henry VII had bequeathed some valuable jewels to his daughter Margaret, the queen of Scotland. Her brother, with a meanness which might be supposed alien to his ordinary proud and impulsive bearing, withheld

this legacy. The family alliance, which should have ripened into a national alliance between England and Scotland, was broken; and in May, 1512, James IV concluded a league with France.

THE WAR WITH FRANCE

In June, 1512, an English force was sent to Spain, under the marquis of Dorset. These ten thousand Englishmen, who were intended for the conquest of Guienne, remained inactive near Fontarabia, whilst Henry's ally, Ferdinand, was carrying out his own projects in the conquest of Navarre. There is a curious picture of a raw and undisciplined English force, given in a letter of Dr. William Knight, addressed to "The right honourable M. Thomas Wolsey, almoner to the king's grace of England." "The army," he says, "doeth earthly nothing, but feed and sleep"; they mutinied for advance of pay to eightpence a day; they were not practised "how we should behave us in wars, as all other men do, and as all that ever I read of have done, specially when the army is unlearned, and hath not seen the feats of war." This communication to the king's almoner indicates the position which Thomas Wolsey now filled. We learn from his biographer, Cavendish,[1] that in the expedition to France, in 1513, Wolsey was essentially the war-minister. Strange as it may seem that a priest of the king's household should have the organisation of a great warlike expedition, it will appear less strange when we bear in mind that some of the highest offices of the state were filled by churchmen.



CARDINAL WOLSEY
(1471–1530)

The army of Guienne had returned to England without accomplishing any object beyond facilitating the conquest of Navarre by Ferdinand. The English fleet under Sir Edward Howard made descents on the coast of Brittany, and committed the usual ravages. There was a naval engagement off Brest, August 12th, 1512, which was called a victory, though the largest ship in the English navy, the Regent, was burned. So important was the loss of this ship deemed, that Wolsey, writing to Bishop Foxe, said, "Keep this tidings secret to yourself, for there is no living man knoweth the same here but only the king and I." The king immediately commanded a magnificent vessel to be built, which figures in history as the "Henri Grace Dieu." In the following spring of 1513 Brest was blockaded. Sir Edward Howard, having made a vow that he would never more see the king till he had revenged the death of Sir Thomas Knyvet, who perished in the flames of the Regent,

[1512 A.D.]

attempted to cut out a squadron moored in a bay strongly fortified,[1] and fell a victim to the principle which has given England so many naval victories [his favourite maxim], that temerity at sea becomes a virtue.

The evil that was inflicted upon the French coasts was naturally encountered by a similar infliction upon the English coasts. There is a statute of 1512 for the especial erection of bulwarks from Plymouth to Land's End, and in all other landing places, which furnishes sufficient evidence that the practical despotism of the government touched every man, however humble. To assist in the defence of their country against invasion necessarily demands some personal privation from the high and the lowly. But the government which enacted that all inhabitants of the maritime districts should be compelled to work at such bulwarks, with their own instruments, and to receive no compensation for their toil, was a government that hesitated not to rob the poor of their only capital, their power of labour, to spare the rich, whose property was chiefly imperilled by the probable assaults of a hostile force. Those who came not to work and to starve, at the summons of the mayors and constables, were to be committed to prison.

Ferdinand of Castile, with his usual adroitness, had concluded a truce with Louis XII. He had possessed himself of Navarre, and the object with which he drew England into a war was accomplished. But Henry, with Maximilian, the emperor, and the new pope (Leo X), formed a new league against France. England was dragged into a continuance of the war, contrary to the opinion of the soundest heads amongst her politicians,[2] that the boastful king who challenged all comers at the barriers might exhibit his pageantry on a real battle-field. Of Henry's animal courage there can be little doubt; but, like many other men possessing natural bravery, he was wholly unfitted for the duties of a commander. He had one great object ever present to his

[1 He was blockading the harbour of Brest, when it was suggested to him to cut out a squadron of six galleys under Prejent, or Prior John, moored in the bay of Conquet between rocks planted with cannon. Taking two galleys and four boats, April 2rd, 1513, he rowed up to the enemy, leaped on the deck of the largest vessel, and was followed by Carroz, a Spanish cavalier, and sixteen Englishmen. Unfortunately his own galley, which had been ordered to grapple with her opponent, fell astern; the gallant Sir Edward and his companions were borne overboard by a superior force, and the fleet, disconcerted by the loss of its commander, hastened back into port. Prejent seized the opportunity to insult the coast of Sussex; but the king ordered the lord Thomas Howard to take the place and revenge the death of his brother; and the new admiral chased the enemy into Brest, and captured several valuable prizes.—LINGARD.*h*]

[2 Henry was inexorable. He longed to wipe away the disgrace of the last year, and the feelings of the people harmonised with those of their sovereign. The clergy granted him two-tenths, the laity a tenth, a fifteenth, and a capitation tax, towards the prosecution of the war. This tax was fixed after the following rates (Rolls xxvi, xxvii):

	£	s.	d.
A duke	6	13	4
Marquess or earl	4	0	0
Wives of ditto	4	0	0
Baron, baronet, and baroness	2	0	0
Other knights not lords of parliament	1	10	0
Proprietors of lands above 40£ yearly value	1	0	0
From 20£ to 40£	0	10	0
10£ to 20£	0	5	0
2£ to 10£	0	2	0
Below 2£	0	1	0

	£	s.	d.
The possessors of personal property, value 800£	2	13	4
From 400£ to 800£	2	0	0
200£ to 400£	1	6	8
100£ to 200£	0	13	4
40£ to 100£	0	6	8
20£ to 40£	0	3	4
10£ to 20£	0	1	8
2£ to 10£	0	1	0
Labourers and servants with wages of 2£ yearly	0	1	0
From 1£ to 2£	0	0	6
All other persons	0	0	4

From these rates it appears that the old distinction between greater and lesser barons was not yet abolished. They are called barons and baronets, and are considered equally as lords of parliament.—LINGARD.*h*]

mind, in peace or in war; to display Henry the king, in his presumed superiority of mind and body, made doubly impressive by his regal magnificence.

A more vain-glorious and self-willed coxcomb never wore a crown. In his first experience of war, in 1513, his qualities were exhibited in a way which sufficiently betokens the total absence of real greatness of character. Two divisions of an army of twenty-five thousand men had sailed for France in May, and the king was to accompany the last division in June. He committed the governance of the realm to his queen, leaving his commands for the execution of the earl of Suffolk, who had remained shut up in the Tower since 1506. Richard de la Pole, his brother, had accepted a command in the French army; and the hereditary jealousy of the "White Rose" stirred up the feeling with which the first and second Tudor regarded every possible claimant to the Plantagenet blood. The two divisions of the English army, under the earl of Shrewsbury and Lord Herbert, were besieging Thérouanne, a strong town of France, near the Flemish frontier, when Henry, on the 15th of June, set forth toward Dover, from his royal manor of Greenwich, accompanied by his queen and a great retinue, to head the third division. It was the 30th of June before the king and his courtiers went on ship-board, and, in the words of Hall,[k] "took leave of the queen and of the ladies, which made such sorrow for the departing of their husbands that it was great dolour to behold."

Ostentatiously sailing near Boulogne, firing guns and sounding trumpets, the king's fleet reached Calais. Wherever Henry appears, we derive from the old chronicler the most intricate details of his magnificent wardrobe; and for three weeks he lingered at Calais, exhibiting his "garment of white cloth of gold, with a red cross," and surrounded by the six hundred archers of his guard, "all in white gaberdines." On the 12th of August Maximilian was to join him. Henry was now in his great element, and "prepared all things necessary to meet with the emperor in triumph." How the noblemen of the king's camp were gorgeously apparelled; how their coursers wore trappings of gold and silver, with little bells of gold; how the king was in a garment of great riches in jewels, and armed in a light armour—these trifles are most elaborately depicted.[m]

HENRY VIII AND THE BATTLE OF THE SPURS (1513 A.D.)

The news that a French army, under the command of the Duke de Longueville and the far-famed Bayard—*Le chevalier sans peur et sans reproche*—was moving to the relief of Thérouanne, had caused the young king to mount his warhorse,[1] and on the 21st of July he marched out of Calais with a magnificent army amounting to about fifteen thousand horse and foot. They had scarcely got beyond Ardres when they saw a strong detachment of French cavalry manœuvring in their front. Expecting a battle, Henry dismounted, and threw himself into the centre of his lansquenets, to fight on foot like the Henrys and Edwards of former times. The brilliant Bayard, who was with the French horse, would have charged, but his superiors in command reminded him that King Louis had given orders that they should most carefully avoid fighting the English in open battle; and, after reconnoitring the invaders, the French withdrew, having already succeeded in another part of their commission, which was to throw provisions and gunpowder into the

[1] At this time we find Queen Catherine writing very humbly and affectionately to the rising Wolsey, and entreating him to send her frequent news of her husband, his grace the king.—See Sir HENRY ELLIS,[n]

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besieged town. The English, "without let or hindrance," joined the divisions under Lord Herbert, and the siege was then pressed with some vigour. The besieged garrison was numerous, brave, and skilful: they countermined a mine attempted by Baynam, the English engineer; and their artillery, though it made less noise, did more mischief than that of the besiegers.

In this state of affairs the Emperor Maximilian, who had received an advance of 120,000 crowns from the English treasury to enable him to raise troops, came to Thérouanne with nothing but a small escort. Henry put on all his magnificence for this reception; for, nominally, the emperor was the first of Christian princes. The two potentates met in a tremendous storm of wind and rain (which must have deranged the white silk jackets of the English courtiers) in the midst of a plain between Aire and the camp. The broad way to Henry's heart had been discovered by all his royal brothers, and, his vanity being once satisfied—for Maximilian assured him that he, the Emperor of the West, was come to serve under him in quality of volunteer—he seems to have overlooked the omission of which he had been guilty in not bringing an army with him. The emperor had scarcely arrived at headquarters when Henry received a much less flattering visitor. This was Lyon, king-at-arms, bringing him the defiance and declaration of war of the king of Scotland, who had already taken the field and sent his fleet to co-operate with his ally the king of France. Henry, however, knew that the brave Surrey was in the marches, and he told the messenger that that earl would know how to deal with his master.

Nearly six weeks had now been wasted in the siege of the insignificant town of Terouanne; and so absurdly had the siege been conducted, that the garrison still continued to receive supplies from the army of the count of Angoulême (later Francis I). When these communications were interrupted, the main body of the French army, consisting of about twelve thousand men, advanced from Plangy, with a view of throwing in provisions under cover of a feigned battle. Upon this Henry and Maximilian crossed the river, and formed in order of battle between it and the town and the French army. The emperor, who had won a victory over the French on that very ground thirty-four years before, directed the operations of the English, wearing the red cross of England above his armour, and the red rose of Lancaster, Henry's favourite cognizance, in his helmet. All this, according to an old historian, Bishop Godwin,[o] deserves to be recorded to the eternal honour of the nation, as also the fact of the emperor's taking for pay 100 crowns a day, besides what was disbursed among his attendants.

The French horse charged in a brilliant manner, but, after throwing some powder within reach of the besieged, they wheeled round to fall back upon their main body. Being hotly followed by the mounted English archers and a few squadrons of German horse, they quickened their pace to a downright flight, galloped into the lines of their main body, and threw the whole into uproar and confusion. As the English charged with tremendous shouts of "St. George! St. George!" the panic became complete; and every Frenchman that was mounted struck spurs into his horse and galloped from the field. In vain the bravest of their officers tried to rally them; the attempts, indeed, were worse than vain, for, owing to their not making the same use of their spurs and fleeing with the rest, the duke de Longueville, the illustrious Bayard, La Fayette, and many other captains of high rank, were taken prisoners by the English. Henry could not help congratulating his captives on the great speed their men had put into their horses: the light-hearted Frenchmen joined in his laugh, and said that it had been nothing but a "Battle of

Spurs."[1] By this name, accordingly, the affair came afterwards to be popularly known.

The panic, however, was both real and lasting, and if Henry had taken advantage of it, and of other circumstances, he might have inflicted a much more serious blow. The Swiss, to whom he had sent some money, had crossed the Jura Mountains in great force, and had penetrated into France as far as Dijon, the capital of Burgundy. With a Swiss army of twenty thousand men on one side, and an English army on the other, Paris began to betray symptoms of alarm. But, to the great joy of Louis, Henry, instead of advancing, permitted himself to be amused another whole week by the siege of Terouanne. At the end of August the French garrison capitulated, and were allowed to march out with all the honours of war; the town, by the advice of Maximilian, who had an interested and evident motive for this advice, was dismantled and burned. That the destruction might be complete, without any labour to the English, the Flemings in the neighbourhood, the subjects of the emperor's grandson the archduke Charles, were let loose upon the devoted place, and, being animated with the old enmities usual to bordering nations, razed the walls, filled up the ditches, set fire to the houses, and scarcely left one stone standing upon another. The weather continued to be very rainy, and Henry by this time, according to Bishop Godwin,[o] "had so much of war that he began to be weary of the toil thereof, and to cast his mind on the pleasures of the court." But still it was only the beginning of the month of September, and military etiquette required that something more should be done before going into winter quarters.

What Henry did was a military absurdity; but he continued to be guided by Maximilian, who was still working for the profit of the Flemings and his grandson Charles. Instead of advancing into France, he turned back to lay siege to Tournay, which belonged to France, though it was *enclavé* in the territory of Flanders, over the trade of which it exercised a bad influence. The emperor was wise in getting possession of it without cost or risk. But what interest Henry could have in such an enterprise was not very apparent. His favourite, Wolsey, however, had an interest, and a great one: Maximilian had promised him the rich bishopric of Tournay, and this prevailing favourite no doubt recommended the siege. The French citizens of Tournay refused the assistance of a garrison of the royal troops, and made a bold show of resistance, but as soon as the English artillery got into play, they changed their tone, and in a few days capitulated.

On the 22nd of September Henry rode into Tournay with as much pomp and triumph as if he had taken the capital of France. Ten days before this inglorious conquest, the Swiss, who saw what sort of an ally they had in the English king, concluded a treaty highly advantageous to themselves with the king of France, and marched back to their own mountains. Louis was thus enabled to concentrate his forces in the north, and the grand plan of the allies vanished in air. Wolsey got the rich bishopric, Henry spent some money in jousts and tournaments, and then returned well satisfied to England, where he arrived safe and sound on the 22nd of October. Although he did not gain quite so much by it, Maximilian had duped the vain-glorious king almost as much as Ferdinand had done before. The money which Henry

[1] Alluding to the tragic battle of Courtrai in 1302, so called because of the great number of gold spurs found on the dead nobility of France slain by the victorious Flemings. Others have said that Henry VIII's victory was named from a near-by village of Spours, but this is not the accepted account. Henri Martin[p] credits the panic of the French to the sudden appearance of German artillery on their flank.]

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had expended on the Continent amounted to an enormous sum. But his confidence in the earl of Surrey had not been misplaced, and during his absence that nobleman had gained one of the most remarkable victories on record. Following up his defiance, the Scottish king had put himself at the head of a numerous and gallant but somewhat undisciplined army, and, contrary to the advice of most of his ministers, crossed the Tweed and began hostilities.

FLODDEN FIELD

The version most received of the fatal field of Flodden is so striking and romantic, that we scarcely hope to rectify what is incorrect in the impressions it has made,[1] but the following appear to have been the real circumstances which preceded and attended that battle. Although undertaken against the advice of the majority of the nobility, the war was very popular with the Scottish people, who flocked in such numbers to the royal standard that James was enabled, on the 22nd of August, to cross the Borders with one of the most formidable armies that had ever invaded England. His artillery and appointments were also superior to what had hitherto been seen in Scottish armies. Instead of advancing, however, he lingered on the right bank of the Tweed, besieging Norham castle, which did not surrender till the 29th of August. He then marched up the Tweed to Wark castle, which detained him a day or two. From Wark he went to Etal, and thence to Ford,[2] another border fortress of no great consequence, but which he attacked out of spite to the family of the Herons (to whom it belonged), a member of which, John Heron, was suspected of having murdered his favourite, Sir Robert Kerr.

From York the earl of Surrey, who was allowed time to reinforce his army [it numbered between thirty and forty thousand], advanced to Alnwick, whence, on the 4th of September, he despatched Rouge Croix, the pursuivant-at-arms, to reproach James with his breach of faith, and to offer him battle on the following Friday, if he had courage to remain so long on English ground. The same herald bore another message from Surrey's son, the lord Thomas Howard, now admiral of England, who in very rude terms told the Scottish monarch that he would come to justify the death of that pirate, Barton, which had been charged upon him as a foul murder by James, and that he neither expected to receive nor would give quarter. To Surrey James replied in a chivalrous tone, accepting his challenge; but he left the brutal message of his son unanswered. Though his army was already somewhat thinned by desertion,[3] James resolved to abide the battle, and chose his ground with some skill on Flodden Hill, an offshoot of the Cheviot range,

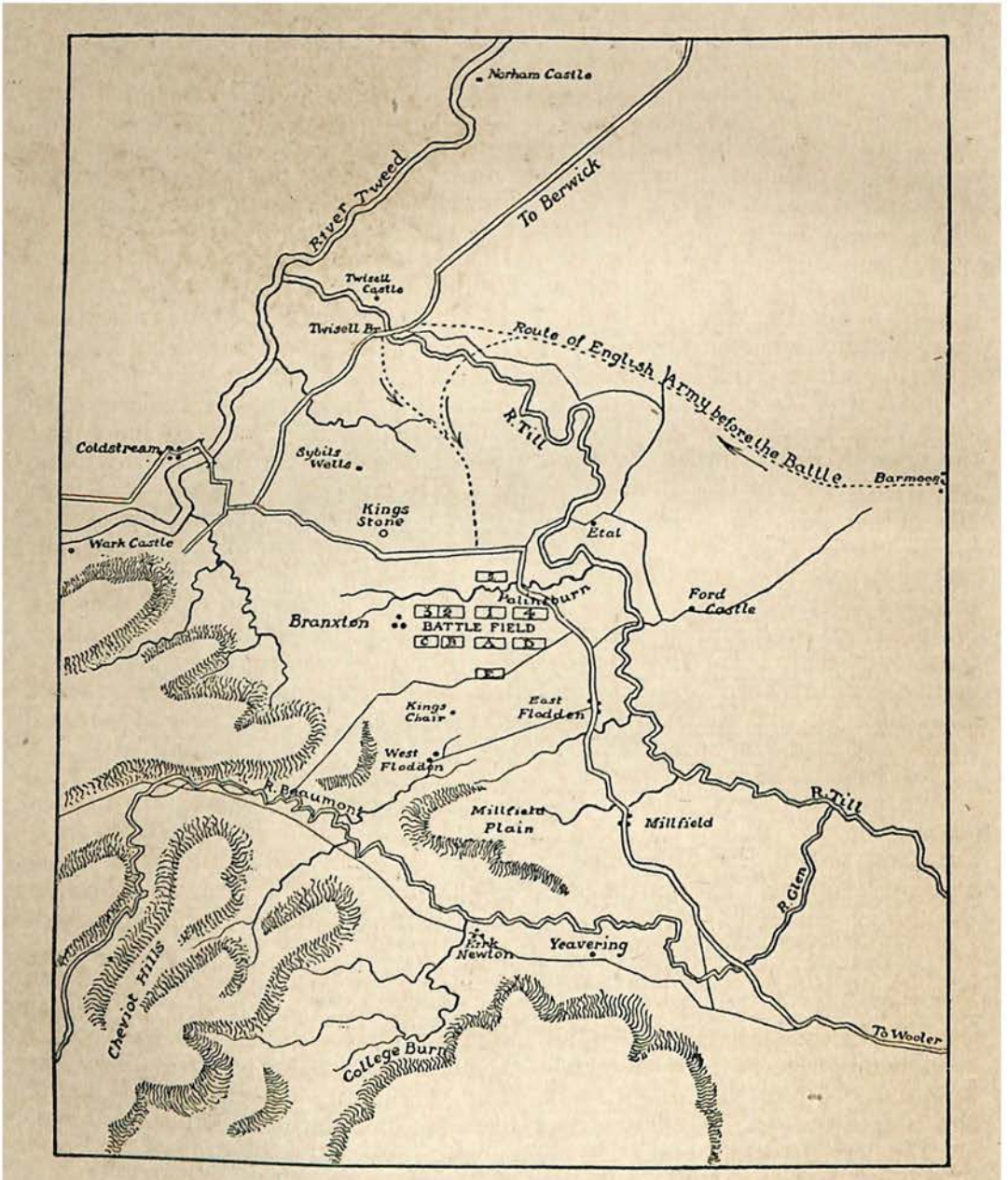
[1 P. Hume Brown *q* says, "The authorities for this battle are mainly English, and in several points are contradictory and incredible."]

[2 Elizabeth, the wife of William Heron, in the absence of her husband, petitioned the king to spare the castle, and had obtained, on that condition, from Surrey the liberty of the lord Johnstone, and of Alexander Home. But James refused the exchange, and rejected the petition of the lady. I suspect that this is the only foundation of the tale which is sometimes told, that James was captivated by the charms of Mrs. Ford, who revealed his secrets to Surrey, and that he spent in dalliance with her that time which ought to have been employed in penetrating into England. But it should be recollected that the whole time allotted for the capture of Ford Etal and Wark is comprised within a short space, between the 29th of August, when Norham surrendered, and the 3d of September, when Surrey reached Alnwick. The king therefore appears to have lost but little of his time.—LINGARD.*h*]

[3 Because, according to Leslie,*r* of the incessant "great cold, wind, and wet." According to Polydore Vergil,*s* he had, however, sixty thousand men. According to Hall,*k* one hundred thousand. But, according to Brown,*q* Surrey's movements show that the English had the greater number.

steep on both flanks, and defended in front by the deep Till, a tributary of the Tweed.

When the English came in sight of this position they did not like it, and Surrey, on the 7th of September, sent James a second letter, reproaching



MAP OF FLODDEN FIELD

him with having "put himself into a ground more like a fortress or a camp, than any indifferent ground for battle to be tried." As this taunting message had not the desired effect, Surrey sought to obtain his end by manœuvring round the position, by advancing towards Scotland, and then turning sharply round the rear of Flodden. On the morning of the 8th he crossed the Till,

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near Weetwood, without meeting any opposition, and marched over some rugged ground to the village of Barmoor, on the right bank of the river. Early on Friday morning, instead of pursuing his march towards Berwick, he faced the northwest, proceeded to Twisell bridge, recrossed the Till, and advanced towards Branxton[1] as if it was his intention to occupy a hill to the westward of Flodden.

James, who had thrown away an admirable opportunity of attacking the English while they were crossing at Twisell bridge, and at a dangerous ford a little higher up, now put himself in motion, in order to prevent them from taking up a formidable position between him and his own country. Setting fire to their huts and litter, the Scots descended their hill, and, under cover of the great smoke they had raised, hurried forward to seize the heights of Branxton, towards which the English vanguard was hastening in another direction. Between Twisell bridge and Flodden, but nearer to the latter than the former, runs the small stream of Palinsburn, which the English had crossed before the wind drove away the smoke, and discovered the Scottish army within a quarter of a mile of them, in perfect order, "marching like the Germans, without talking or making any noise."[2]

Several of the Scottish nobles had advised a retreat; among these was the same Lord Lindsay of the Byres that made James III the fatal present of the gray charger, a rough old soldier, who had a turn for parables, and who had represented to the council that the stakes between the combatants were not equal. For this advice James, it is said, threatened to hang Lindsay at his own castle gate; nor were the remonstrances of the earl of Huntly and the earl of Angus (the once terrible Bell-the-Cat) heard with more calmness. It is added that the king told the latter that, if he were afraid of the English, he might go home. The taunt touched the old man to the quick, and he burst into tears. He turned, however, to depart, saying mournfully, "My age renders my body of no use in battle, and my counsel is despised; but I leave my two sons and the vassals of Douglas in the field; may old Angus' foreboding prove unfounded!"

To decline the battle was now impossible, and the Scottish nobles, with a very few exceptions, made up their minds to conquer or die with their sovereign. The two armies were about equal in number, each counting about thirty thousand men. The disposition of both armies was also much the same, and very simple. The battle began about four in the afternoon of Friday, the 9th of September, with cannonading on both sides. The English were superior in artillery, and their guns seem to have been better served. According to Hall,[k] "Then out burst the ordnance on both sides with fire, flame, and hideous noise; and the master gunner of the English slew the master gunner of Scotland and beat all his men from their guns, so that the Scottish ordnance did no harm to the Englishmen, but the Englishmen's artillery shot into the midst of the king's battail, and slew many persons—which seeing, the king of Scots and his brave men made the more haste to come to joining."

The earl of Huntly and Lord Home, with part of the left wing of the Scots, who fought on foot with "long spears like Moorish pikes," fell upon part of the English right wing, under Sir Edmund Howard, with a fury that was irresistible. Sir Edmund was beaten down; his banner was brought to the dust;

[1 The English of the time called the battle by the name of Branxton.]

[2 Official account written to Henry VIII in French. The good order and striking silence of the Scots are noticed by nearly every contemporary writer. "Little or no noise did they make," says a black-letter account, printed by Richard Faques in 1513, and reprinted by Mr. Haslewood in 1809.

his lines were completely broken, and part of his men fled in the greatest disorder. Sir Edmund, after being saved by the remainder of the right wing under the lord admiral, fell back towards the English centre, which extended its line to receive him, while Lord Dacre, who was in reserve behind the centre, came up and charged with all the English cavalry. Though the Borderers under Lord Home, fancying they had already gained the victory, had begun to disperse over the field in search of plunder, that Scottish wing kept its ground with wonderful obstinacy, throwing off the English horse at the point of their long spears; but charge after charge told upon them, and after a long conflict and a terrible slaughter on both sides, Huntly and Home retreated before Sir Edmund, the lord admiral Howard, and Lord Dacre. The earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were not able to prevent this retrograde movement, were charged in their turn by horse and foot, whom they received in line without wavering upon the points of their spears; and when they were reinforced from the centre, they not only became the assailants, but also threw the whole right wing of the English, with the cavalry from their reserve, into confusion.

At this critical moment the lord admiral sent the Agnus Dei which he wore at his breast to his father, who was with the English centre, requesting him to bring up the whole of that division with all possible speed. Surrey advanced,[1] but King James, who watched his movements, fell upon him with the entire centre of the Scots, fighting himself most gallantly in their front. The battle was now tremendous; and when the earl of Bothwell came up with the reserve to the support of the king, the victory for a while inclined to the Scots. But there were two circumstances—the shyness of Lord Home, and the rashness of the Highlanders who formed James' right wing—which proved fatal to the high hopes of the imprudent but gallant sovereign. When the earl of Huntly urged Home to renew the fight and advance with his portion of the left wing, which had suffered cruelly, to the assistance of the king, he is said to have replied, "He does well that does for himself. We have foughten our vanguards, and have won the same; therefore let the lave (the rest) do their part as well as we." When the right wing, under the earls of Lennox and Argyle, with the Campbells, the Macleans, the Macleods, and the other clans from the Highlands and the Isles, who obeyed no orders save those of their chiefs, descended a hill to join the main body, they were met by the extreme left of the English—hardy bowmen and stout pikemen from Cheshire and from Lancashire—under Sir Edward Stanley, who galled them sorely with their arrows.

In a frenzy, the half-naked clansmen threw away shield and target, and with their broadswords and axes, and without any order, rushed among the English. In vain La Motte, a commissioner from the French king, and other experienced French officers, endeavoured to keep them in their ranks; on they rushed, as if every Highlandman thought of deciding that great engagement with his own right arm. At first the English were astonished at this fierce onslaught, but they stood firm, closed their ranks and squares, and opposed as wonderful a coolness to the wonderful impetuosity of their enemies, who at length were driven back, and, being unable to reform, were slaughtered in detail or put to downright flight. Their chief commanders, the earls of Lennox and Argyle, both perished on the field. Stanley now charged the king's centre on its right flank and rear; and, at the same time, James had to sustain the shock of Surrey in front and the attack of the admiral Howard

[1 Surrey was now 70 years of age and rode in a carriage; hence Lindsay† calls him "an old crooked earle lying in a chariot."]

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and Lord Dacre, who, after repulsing the earls of Crawford and Montrose, who were both slain, had fallen upon his left flank.

In fact, he was now surrounded—hemmed in within a gradually contracting circle of foes, who by this time seem to have adopted, to a man, the savage resolution of the lord admiral, Thomas Howard, of giving no quarter. Now was the time that the nobles and the meanest subjects of the doomed prince showed their valour and their attachment to his person. In Sir Walter Scott's verse:

"The English shafts in volleys hail'd,
In headlong charge their horse assail'd;
Front, flank, and rear, the squadrons sweep
To break the Scottish circle deep,
That fought around their king.
But yet, though thick the shafts as snow,
Though charging knights like whirlwinds go,
Though billmen ply the ghastly blow,
Unbroken was the ring;

"The stubborn spearsmen still made good
Their dark impenetrable wood,
Each stepping where his comrade stood,
The instant that he fell.
No thought was there of dastard flight;
Link'd in the serried phalanx tight,
Groom fought like noble, squire like knight,
As fearlessly and well."

Nor did they cease fighting when James bit the dust, with an English arrow sticking in his body and with a mortal wound from an English bill on his head: they closed round the body, which fell within a spear's length of Surrey, defending it dead as obstinately as they had defended it living. Night closed upon the carnage, and separated the combatants. Surrey was for a while uncertain of the victory; but during the night his scouts brought him intelligence that the Scots were in full retreat towards their own country, and that none remained on the field; "upon which the earl thanked God with humble heart."

But the intelligence of the scouts was not quite correct: during the night the Borderers, who had fought under the standard of Lord Home, being joined by marauders from Tynedale and from Teviotdale, stripped the slain, and pillaged part of the baggage of both armies, and when day dawned Home's banner was seen hovering near the left flank of the English, while another body of Scots—apparently the remnant of the centre, which had fought under the king—appeared in front, occupying a hill, as if determined to renew the contest. Surrey brought his artillery to bear upon them, and they were dislodged; but even then they seem to have retreated very deliberately, and Lord Home's people carried a rich booty and a considerable number of prisoners across the Tweed. Lord Dacre found seventeen pieces of cannon deserted on the hillside; and it appears to have been in the morning, and not in the preceding evening, that the English horse followed a portion of the retiring Scots for about four miles, and not further. It is quite certain that Surrey had suffered dreadfully in this stern conflict, and that he had no inclination whatever to try the fords of the Tweed, and the moors and morasses beyond it.

The loss of the Scots, according to the most moderate calculation, amounted to 8,000 or 9,000 men; but in this number were included the very prime of their nobility, gentry, and even clergy. Besides the king and his natural son, Alexander Stuart, archbishop of St. Andrews, who had studied abroad and received instruction from Erasmus, there were slain twelve earls—Crawford,

Montrose, Lennox, Argyle, Errol, Athole, Morton, Cassilis, Bothwell, Rothes, Caithness, and Glencairn; to these must be added fifteen lords and chiefs of clans; the bishop of the Isles; abbot of Kilwinning; abbot of Inchaffray; the dean of Glasgow; La Motte, the French agent, and most of his countrymen. Some families of the gentle blood of Scotland lost all their male members that were of an age capable of bearing arms.

The body of the king was found by Lord Dacre among a heap of dead. Dacre, who had known him well, recognised it, though it was disfigured by many wounds, and it was afterwards identified by James' chancellor, Sir William Scott, and some other prisoners. The body was conveyed to Berwick, where it was embalmed and wrapped in sheets of lead, and it was then sent secretly, among other packages, to Newcastle. From Newcastle the earl of Surrey took it with him to London, and then placed it in the monastery of Sheen, near Richmond. Meanwhile, in Scotland, the people were loath to believe that their king was dead; and those who believed it attributed his death not to the English in the field, but to certain traitors in the retreat. It was said that James, after escaping across the Tweed, was murdered by some of the retainers of the earl of Home; and the classical, but credulous and imaginative Buchanan[u] tells us that he himself had heard one Lawrence Telfer say that he saw the king on the north of the Tweed after the battle. Leslie,[r] again, informs us that it was asserted by many that it could not be the king's body which Surrey had conveyed to London, as James was seen alive by many, and safe at Kelso, after the flight of Flodden; and he adds that some of the Scots continued to believe that the king had gone on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land to pray for the souls of his slaughtered nobles, and to pass the rest of his life in devotion and penitence. By these romantic believers it was particularly objected to the English, that they could never show the token of the iron belt which James constantly wore round his body, in penance for his youthful rebellion and the death of his father; but the English produced the unfortunate monarch's sword and dagger, and a turquoise ring (supposed to have been sent him by the queen of France), which are still preserved in Heralds' College, London; and no rational doubt can be entertained that James perished at Flodden Field.

Queen Catherine instantly announced this victory to her husband in a very spirited and very English letter. Being on the winning side, she said, "All that God sendeth is for the best"; and she sent Henry the coat-armour of the unfortunate James. The affectionate tone of the letter is remarkable. She calls the king "my Henry," and concludes with praying God to send him home shortly, as without this no joy can be complete. The king received this conjugal despatch while he lay before Tournay. Soon after his return to England he rewarded Surrey by restoring to him the title of duke of Norfolk, which had been forfeited by his father, who fell in the battle of Bosworth Field.

The victory at Flodden had been so dearly bought, and money and provisions were so scarce in his camp, that Surrey was in no condition to follow up his advantages. Instead of invading Scotland, he stopped at Berwick, and having put some troops in garrison, he disbanded the rest of his army. The Scots prepared manfully for the defence of their country, and the queen, at the same time, wrote an affectionate letter to her brother Henry, requesting his forbearance for a widowed sister and an infant orphan. Henry was, perhaps, not incapable of generous sentiments; but it is not uncharitable to suppose that the determined attitude of the Scots, and the old recollections of the unprofitable nature of Scottish wars, had their weight in his council, which agreed to a peace.

TREATY AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCE WITH FRANCE (1514)

Louis XII pursued a course of diplomacy which broke up the coalition against him, and which would have left the English to make war by themselves, had Henry's military ardour tempted him to a renewal of the struggle. He completely reconciled himself with the court of Rome, and he not only prolonged his truce with Ferdinand, but won over the emperor Maximilian—the volunteer of England—by proposing a treaty of marriage. Louis offered the hand of Renée, his second daughter, with his claim to the duchy of Milan, to Prince Charles, who was grandson both to Maximilian and to Ferdinand. Charles, it will be remembered, had been affianced during the lifetime of the late king to the princess Mary of England, Henry's youngest sister. The bargain had been arranged with Charles' father, Philip, during his detention in Windsor castle; but Henry did not consider it the less binding from the force and treachery which had been used on that occasion, and, as Charles was now approaching the age of puberty, he expected shortly to see the completion of the marriage.

The first person to inform Henry of these negotiations was the French king himself, through the medium of the duke of Longueville, who had been taken prisoner in the battle of the Spurs and conveyed into England. That accomplished courtier soon won the favour of the English king; and when Henry was almost frantic at the treachery of his allies, the duke adroitly proposed a family alliance with his master. Louis' wife, Anne of Brittany, had died in the month of January, just in time for the furthering of this sudden scheme. She had left no son, and her widower, notwithstanding his declining health, hoped that a new marriage might bless him with an heir. The private feelings of the princess were disregarded, as in all such cases. Louis was fifty-three years old; Mary was sixteen, and passionately enamoured of Charles Brandon, viscount Lisle, one of her brother's favourites, and the handsomest and most accomplished nobleman in the English court.

The treaty, which was to secure lasting peace and amity between the two nations, was concluded with the usual forms: Louis agreed to pay Henry a million of crowns, in ten yearly instalments, in discharge of arrears due on the old treaty of Étaples, and Henry agreed to give his sister, Mary, a dower of 400,000 crowns. On the 7th of August a marriage ceremony was performed at Greenwich, the duke of Longueville acting as proxy for his master. If Mary was in no haste to leave England, Louis was very impatient for her society, and he wrote more than once to hurry her departure. In October Henry and his court accompanied the young queen of France to Dover, where she embarked for Boulogne, accompanied by a splendid retinue, among whom were Surrey, now duke of Norfolk, her lover, the viscount Lisle, who had been created duke of Suffolk, and Anne Boleyn, then a pretty little girl and maid of honour.[1] On the 8th of October she made her public entrance into Abbeville.

On the following day the marriage was resolemnised by a French cardinal, Louis suffering grievously from the gout during the ceremony; and the day after, to the great vexation of the young queen, he dismissed the lady Guildford, her governess, Sir Richard Blount, her chamberlain, with all the rest of her English attendants, except Anne Boleyn and two or three mere menials. The accomplished Charles Brandon, however, remained with the duke of Norfolk in quality of ambassador. In the month of December Louis wrote to his

[1] In the original list signed by King Louis, which is preserved among the Cottonian manuscripts, this personage is merely named as *Madamoyselle Boleyn.*

"good brother, cousin, and gossip," the king of England, to express his happiness in this marriage; and on the first of January following he expired at Paris, worn out with sickness and debility. Mary was not an inconsolable widow. It was generally rumoured that Francis I, who now ascended the throne of France in the twenty-first year of his age, was not insensible to her beauty and accomplishments; but he was provided with a queen.

Mary, who had been not quite three months a wife, and scarcely two months a widow, gave heart and hand to her lover, and was privately married at Paris to the captivating Brandon, almost as soon as he arrived at that capital. It had not been unusual for princesses of the blood to marry subjects, but the notion of the royal dignity was now wonderfully on the increase; and it had been set down as law, at least as far back as Henry VI, that no such marriages should be allowed without the express permission of the king; and for this it appears Mary did not ask. She wrote to implore pardon for the step she had taken to secure her own happiness, and then travelled with her husband to Calais, where a more public marriage was solemnised shortly after. Henry for a time was, or appeared to be,[1] exceedingly wroth at the unequal match; and on their return to England, in the month of August, the duke and duchess went to their manor in Suffolk instead of joining the court. The king, however, had a warm affection both for his sister Mary and for the accomplished Brandon, who had been brought up with him from his childhood, and who delighted Henry by his cheerful humour, his gallant deportment, and his great address in tournaments and all martial exercises; and a perfect reconciliation soon took place, aided by the goodwill of my "Lord cardinal"—for Wolsey, still rising, got the cardinal's hat in the course of this summer.

THE RISE OF WOLSEY

It is time to say a word touching the history of this gorgeous churchman, who for nearly twenty years was more king of England than Henry himself. His father, who was rather wealthy for the time, procured him a good education, and brought him up for the church.[2] He studied at Oxford, where, on account of his precocity and early attainments, he was honoured with the name of the Boy Bachelor. He was not distinguished at any period of his life by temperance and sobriety, and a command of his passions; in the hot season of youth he appears to have been guilty of sundry indiscretions. It is quite certain that the young parson soon grew weary of the obscurity of a country life; "bearing a mind that looked beyond this poor benefice," which he soon left to become domestic chaplain to the treasurer of Calais. The treasurer introduced him to the notice of Bishop Foxe, the cunning minister and diplomatist—"a man that knew rightly how to judge of good wits." Foxe

[1 According to the letters quoted by Fiddes,[v] it seemed to Lingard[h] "certain that Wolsey, and therefore probably Henry, was in the secret from the beginning; but it had been deemed less indecorous in the king to forgive afterwards than to consent beforehand."]

[2 Simple repetition has made it commonly believed that Robert Wolsey was by trade a butcher. The assertion was first set afloat by enemies of the great cardinal, and was intended to be disparaging. The probability, however, seems to be that he was really a grazier, and perhaps also a wool merchant. He certainly belonged to the better class of merchants, was connected with wealthy people, and himself died possessed of lands and property in and about Ipswich. Fairly trustworthy tradition points to a house in St. Nicholas Street there as occupying the site of his own dwelling. According to Fiddes,[v] supported as to the year by Cavendish,[i] Wolsey's birth happened in March, 1471, though contemporary evidence would place it some years later.—P. W. CAMERON.[w]]

[1515 A.D.]

warmly recommended him to his master, Henry VII, whose particular talent it was to discover the abilities of other men, and who never employed a dull one. Henry presently employed Wolsey in certain secret affairs of great moment. "What need many words?" exclaims an Episcopal historian, Bishop Godwin;[o] "he so far pleased the king, that in short time he became a great man, and was first preferred to the deanery of Lincoln, and then made the king's almoner."

Upon the death of the old king there was a struggle for supremacy in the council between Bishop Foxe and the duke of Norfolk, then earl of Surrey. The bishop was not slow in perceiving that the earl, whose military character and tastes pleased the young king, was getting the upper hand, and to counteract this influence he introduced Wolsey to Henry VIII. It was the old story—the tool was too sharp for the hand that would have worked with it for its own purposes. Instead of propping the bishop against the weight of the earl, the chaplain supplanted them both, and soon acquired more power and influence at court than they had ever possessed between them. Though nearly twenty years his senior, Wolsey glided into all the tastes and habits of the young king,[1] some of which, however, seem to have been natural to him; and though a churchman, he became a sort of model and a bosom friend to Henry, whose chief but not only ambition it was to figure as a warlike monarch and perfect knight. It quite suited Wolsey's views to encourage this feeling, and to take the whole business of government upon himself.[i]

It has seemed necessary to introduce this short account of the rise and character of a minister who was destined to bear for several years a very prominent part in the most important transactions not only in this, but in all the neighbouring kingdoms; we may now revert to the affairs of Scotland, which, after the death of its king and the destruction of its nobility in the field of Flodden, presented for some time a melancholy scene of confusion and terror. Fortunately the victorious army had been hastily collected; the want of provisions and of military supplies had compelled Surrey to disband his forces. By degrees the Scottish spirit recovered from its depression; the call for revenge was echoed throughout the nation; several chieftains gathered their retainers; and the devastation of one inroad was repaid by the devastation of another.

The queen had been permitted, in conformity with the will of her husband, to assume the regency as guardian to her son, James V, an infant not a year and a half old; but when it was discovered that her relationship to the king of England did not restrain the hostility of that monarch, the partisans of France intrusted the reins of government to the hands of John, duke of Albany, the son of that Alexander who had been banished by his brother, James III.

Henry had already tampered with the princess to bring her children to England, and intrust them to the care of their uncle; but Albany besieged the castle of Stirling, compelled the queen to surrender the two princes, and placed them under the custody of three lords appointed by parliament.

[1 Henry was captivated with the elegance of his manners and the gaiety of his disposition; he frequently resorted with his favourite companions to the house of his almoner; and on these occasions, if we may believe the sarcastic pen of an adversary (Polydore Vergil,[s] the pope's sub-collector in England, who by the order of Wolsey had been imprisoned for more than six months), Wolsey threw off the decencies of his station, and sang and danced and caroused with all the levity and impetuosity of the most youthful among his guests. It was soon discovered that the most sure and expeditious way to the royal favour was through the recommendation of the almoner; and foreigners, as well as natives, eagerly solicited and frequently purchased his patronage.—LINGARD.[h]]

These events had already taught the king of England to view with jealousy the conduct of his "good brother and perpetual ally," the French monarch. Francis, whose youth and accomplishments made him the idol of his people, had already formed the most gigantic projects of conquest and aggrandisement, from which he did not suffer himself to be diverted by the remonstrances of Henry. Having endeavoured to pacify that monarch, he put in motion the numerous army which he had collected with the avowed purpose of chastising the hostility of the Helvetic cantons; but instead of following the direct road either into Switzerland or Italy, he passed unexpectedly between the maritime and Cottian Alps, and poured his cavalry into the extensive plains of Lombardy. His real object was now manifest. The Italian princes, whose jealousy had guarded to no purpose the accustomed roads over the Alps, were filled with consternation; in a consistory at Rome, it was proposed to solicit the aid of Henry; and September 11th, 1515, a few days later, Leo, to secure the mediation of Wolsey, named that minister cardinal priest of St. Cicely beyond the Tiber.

COSTUME OF A NOBLEMAN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Francis, who still affected to be thought the friend of the English monarch, received the first intelligence of this promotion; and though he was aware of its object, despatched a messenger to offer his congratulations to Wolsey. But neither that prelate nor his sovereign could view with satisfaction the progress of the young conqueror; who, by the bloody but decisive victory of Marignano, and the subsequent reduction of Milan, had repaired the losses of his predecessor and restored the ascendancy of the French power in Italy. Was the former league to be renewed, or was Francis to be permitted to pursue his conquests? After much deliberation in the English cabinet, it was resolved to follow a middle course between peace and war; to avoid actual hostilities with France, but to animate its enemies with hopes and to aid them with subsidies. Some money was advanced, more was promised both to the emperor and the cantons of Switzerland; an army of fifteen thousand Germans, and of an equal number of Swiss, was collected, and the emperor Maximilian at its head forced his way to the very gates of Milan. But here his resources failed, and a mutiny of his troops, who demanded their pay, compelled him to retrace his steps to the city of Trent.

There he sent for Wyngfield, the English agent, and made to him the following most singular proposal. It was evident, he said, that the other powers would never permit either himself or Francis to retain permanent possession of Milan. Would then the king of England accept the investiture of the duchy? In that case he was ready to adopt Henry for his son, and to resign in his favour the imperial dignity; but on these conditions, that the king should

declare war against France, should cross the sea with an army, and should march by Tournay to the city of Treves, where Maximilian would meet him, and make the resignation with all the formalities required by law. Thence the two princes, leaving the bulk of the English forces to invade France in conjunction with an army of Germans, might proceed together towards Italy, pass the Alps at Coire, take possession of Milan, and continue their journey to Rome, where Henry should receive the imperial crown from the hands of the sovereign pontiff.

There was much in this dazzling and romantic scheme to captivate the youthful imagination of the king, but he had the good sense to listen to the advice of his council, contented himself with accepting the offer of adoption, and directed his attention to a matter which more nearly concerned his own interests, the conduct of the duke of Albany in Scotland. Against the regency of that prince he had remonstrated in strong and threatening terms. The Scottish parliament returned a firm though respectful answer, July 4th, 1516; but Francis, who still dreaded the hostility of the king of England, advised the Scots to conclude a perpetual peace with Henry, refused to ratify the renewal of the ancient alliance between the two kingdoms, though it had been signed by his envoy at Edinburgh, and even required the regent, in quality of his subject, to return to France. Albany willingly obeyed the command; and obtained permission from the Scottish parliament to revisit his family and estates. But before his departure provision was made for the return of Margaret, who had sought an asylum in England; and a temporary council was appointed, in which the numbers of the two parties were nearly balanced, and under the nominal government of which Scotland passed four years of dissension and anarchy.

Francis, having won the duchy of Milan, determined to secure his conquest by disarming the hostility of his neighbours, and with large sums of money he purchased peace.

It chanced that at this period, Selim, emperor of the Turks, having conquered Egypt and Syria, had collected a numerous army, and publicly threatened the extirpation of the Christian name. The princes on the borders of Turkey trembled for their existence; Maximilian, in a letter to the pontiff, offered to devote his remaining years to the common service of Christendom in opposing the enemies of the cross; and Leo, having by his own authority proclaimed a general truce of five years, May 7th, 1518, despatched legates to the different powers, exhorting them to compose their private quarrels, and to unite their forces in their common defence. His advice was followed; the pope, the emperor, and the kings of England, France, and Spain, entered into a confederacy, by which they were bound to aid and protect each other, and in every case of invasion of territory, whether the invader were one of the confederates or not, to unite their arms in defence of the party aggrieved, and to obtain justice for him from the aggressor. At the same time, to cement the union between England and France, the dauphin, an infant just born, was affianced, October 4th, 1518, to Mary, the daughter of Henry, a child not four years old; and, that every probable occasion of dispute might be done away, Tournay with its dependencies was restored to France for the sum of six hundred thousand crowns. Thus after ten years of war and negotiation, of bloodshed and perfidy, were all the powers re-established in the same situation in which they had stood previously to the league of Cambray, with the exception of the unfortunate and perhaps unoffending king of Navarre, whose territories on the south of the Pyrenees could not be recovered from the unrelenting grasp of Spain.

WOLSEY'S INCREASING POWER

Wolsey still retained the first place in the royal favour, and continued to rise in power and opulence. Archbishop Warham had often solicited permission to retire from the chancery to the exercise of his episcopal functions; and the king, having at last accepted his resignation, tendered the seals to the cardinal. Whether it was through an affectation of modesty, or that he thought this office incompatible with his other duties, Wolsey declined the offer; nor was it till after repeated solicitations that he had acquiesced in the wish of his sovereign, December 22nd, 1515. He had, however, no objection to the dignity of papal legate,[1] with which he was invested by Leo X. The commission was originally limited to two years; but Wolsey procured successive prorogations from different popes, and, not content with the ordinary jurisdiction of the office, repeatedly solicited additional powers, till at length he possessed and exercised within the realm almost all the prerogatives of the sovereign pontiff. Nor was his ambition yet satisfied. We shall afterwards behold him, at the death of each pope, labouring, but in vain, to seat himself in the chair of St. Peter.

His love of wealth was subordinate only to his love of power. As chancellor and legate he derived considerable emoluments from the courts in which he presided. He was also archbishop of York; he farmed the revenues of Hereford and Worcester, sees which had been granted to foreigners; he held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, with the bishopric of Bath; afterwards, as they became vacant, he exchanged Bath in 1523 for the rich bishopric of Durham, and Durham in 1528 for the administration of the still richer church of Winchester. To these sources of wealth should be added the presents and pensions which he received from foreign princes. Francis settled on him an annuity of 12,000 livres, as a compensation for the bishopric of Tournay, and Charles and Leo granted him a yearly pension of 7,500 ducats from the revenues of the bishoprics of Toledo and Palencia in Spain. In justice to his memory it should, however, be observed, that if he grasped at wealth, it was to spend, not to hoard it.

His establishment was on the most princely scale, comprising no fewer than five, perhaps eight, hundred individuals. The chief offices were filled by barons and knights; and among his retainers he numbered the sons of many distinguished families, who aspired under his patronage to civil or military preferment. On occasions of ceremony, he appeared with a pomp which, though it might be unbecoming in a clergyman, showed him to be the representative of the king of England and of the sovereign pontiff. The ensigns of his several dignities, as chancellor and legate, were borne before him; he was surrounded by noblemen and prelates, and was followed by a long train of mules bearing coffers on their backs covered with pieces of crimson cloth.

He spared no expense in his buildings; and as soon as he had finished the palace of Hampton Court and furnished it to his taste, he gave the whole to Henry; perhaps the most magnificent present that a subject ever made to his sovereign. The character of Wolsey has been portrayed by the pencil of

[1 As Gardiner [x] points out, he was a legate *a latere*, *i.e.*, "sent from the pope's side, and therefore having power to speak with almost full papal authority. Wolsey was therefore clothed with all the authority of king and pope combined." Von Ranke [b] observes that "when Wolsey spoke of the government, he was wont to say 'the king and I,' or 'we,' or finally, simply 'I.'"]

[1525 A.D.]

Erasmus,[y] who had tasted of his bounty,[1] and by that of Polydore,[s] whom his justice or policy had thrown into confinement. Neglecting the venal praise of the one and the venomous slander of the other, we may pronounce him a minister of consummate address and commanding abilities; greedy of wealth and power and glory; anxious to exalt the throne on which his own greatness was built, and the church of which he was so distinguished a member; but capable, in the pursuit of these different objects, of stooping to expedients which sincerity and justice would disavow, and of adopting, through indulgence to the caprice and passions of the king, measures which often involved him in contradictions and difficulties, and ultimately occasioned his ruin. It is acknowledged on the other hand, that he reformed many abuses in the church, and compelled the secular and regular clergy to live according to the canons. He always decided according to the dictates of his own judgment, and the equity of his decrees was universally admitted and applauded.

To appease domestic quarrels and reconcile families at variance with each other, he was accustomed to offer himself as a friendly arbitrator between the parties; that the poor might pursue their claims with facility and without expense, he established courts of requests; in the ordinary administration of justice he introduced improvements which were received with gratitude by the country; and he made it his peculiar care to punish with severity those offenders who had defrauded the revenue or oppressed the people. But his reputation, and the ease with which he admitted suits, crowded the chancery with petitioners; he soon found himself overwhelmed with a multiplicity of business; and the king, to relieve him; established four subordinate courts, of which that under the presidency of the master of the rolls is still preserved.

Literature found in the cardinal a constant and bountiful patron. He employed his influence in foreign courts to borrow valuable manuscripts for the purpose of transcription. On native scholars he heaped preferment, and the most eminent foreigners were invited by him to teach in the universities. Both of these celebrated academies were the objects of his care; but Oxford chiefly experienced his munificence in the endowment of seven lectureships, July 13th, 1525, and the foundation of Christ Church, which, though he lived not to complete it, still exists a splendid monument to his memory. As a nursery for this establishment he erected another college at Ipswich, the place of his nativity.

But these occupations at home did not divert his eyes from the shifting scenes of politics abroad. He was constantly informed of the secret history of the continental courts; and his despatches, of which many are still extant, show that he was accustomed to pursue every event through all its probable consequences, to consider each measure in its several bearings, and to furnish his agents with instructions beforehand for almost every contingency. His great object was to preserve the balance of power between the rival houses of France and Austria; and to this we should refer the mutable politics of the English cabinet, which first deserted Francis to support the cause of Charles, and, when Charles had obtained the ascendancy, abandoned him to repair the broken fortunes of Francis. The consequence was, that as long as Wolsey presided in the council the minister was feared and courted by princes and pontiffs, the king held the distinguished station of arbiter of Europe.

[1] Erasmus praises him highly in some of his epistles, and yet had the meanness to dispraise him as soon as he heard of his fall.

HENRY SEEKS TO BECOME EMPEROR (1519)

Charles of Austria, who, in right of his father Philip, had inherited the rich and populous provinces of the Netherlands, the ancient patrimony of the house of Burgundy, ascended the Spanish throne on the death of Ferdinand. He was in the vigour of youth, gifted with superior talents, and anxious to earn the laurels of a conqueror—qualities which equally formed the character of his neighbour, the king of France. Three years after the demise of Ferdinand, the rivalry between the young kings was called into full activity by the death of the emperor Maximilian, January 12, 1519.

COSTUME OF TIME OF HENRY VIII

That prince, anxious to secure the succession to the imperial crown in the house of Austria, had in the last diet solicited the electors to name his grandson Charles king of the Romans. The majority had promised their voices; but from this engagement they were released by his death, and were now summoned to choose not a king of the Romans, but an emperor. Charles announced himself a candidate; and the vanity of Francis immediately prompted him to come forward as a competitor. The intrigues of the French and Spanish courts on this occasion are foreign from the subject of the present work, but the conduct of Henry demands the attention of the reader. His former refusal of the imperial crown, when it was offered by Maximilian, had not proceeded from the moderation of his desires, but from diffidence in the sincerity of his ally. Now that the glittering prize was open to competition, he disclosed his wishes to his favourite; and both the king and the cardinal, reciprocally inflaming the ambition of each other, indulged in the most flattering delusions. In fancy they were already seated, the one on the throne of the Cæsars, the other in the chair of St. Peter, and beheld the whole Christian world, laity and clergy, prostrate at their feet.

The election of Henry would secure, it was foretold, the elevation of Wolsey; and the bishop of Worcester was commissioned to procure the consent and aid of the pope, whilst Pace hastened to Germany, with instructions to sound the dispositions of the electors, to make them the most tempting promises, and, if he saw a prospect of success, to name the king of England as a candidate; if not, to propose a native prince to the exclusion of both Francis and Charles. But experience soon taught this envoy that with mere promises he was no match for the agents of the other candidates, who came furnished with ready money; and therefore adhering to subsequent instructions, he threw into the scale the whole weight of his influence in favour of the king of Spain, who after a long debate was chosen without a dissentient voice. In this transaction Francis had great reason to complain of the duplicity of

[1519-1520 A.D.]

"his good brother." From the very beginning he had received assurances of the most cordial support from the English court, and in return had expressed his gratitude to the king by a letter of thanks, and to Wolsey by a promise of securing for him on the first vacancy fourteen votes in the conclave.

Prudence, however, taught him to accept with seeming satisfaction the apology of the English cabinet, that Pace would have aided him had there appeared any chance of success, and had only seconded the election of Charles because it was in vain to oppose it. Though the two competitors during the contest had professed the highest esteem for each other, the bitterest animosity already rankled in their hearts, and each sought to fortify himself with the support of Henry against the presumed hostility of his rival. To Francis the late conduct of the king of England afforded but slender hopes of success; he trusted, however, to his own address and eloquence, and summoned Henry to perform an article in the last treaty, by which it was agreed that the two monarchs should meet each other on the border of their respective dominions.

The intelligence alarmed the jealousy of the Spanish cabinet; remonstrances were made against an interview so pregnant with mischief to the interests of Charles; and Henry, while he pretended a readiness to fulfil the treaty, suggested difficulties, demanded explanations, and artfully contrived reasons to suspend or postpone the meeting. But his cunning was opposed with equal cunning; and Francis brought the question to an issue by signing a commission, which gave full power to Wolsey to settle every point in debate as he should judge most conducive to the joint honour of the two kings. Still the struggle continued between the two monarchs, the one labouring to evade, the other to enforce this award. Among the artifices to which Henry resorted, there is one which will amuse the reader. As a proof of his sincerity, he swore before the French ambassador that he would never more cut his beard till he had visited "his good brother"; and Francis, anxious to bind him still faster, immediately took a similar oath. But the former neglected, the latter fulfilled his promise; and when long beards had in consequence become the prevailing fashion in the French court, Sir Thomas Boleyn was compelled to apologise for the bad faith of his master, by alleging that the queen of England felt an antipathy to a bushy chin.[h]

THE FIELD OF THE CLOTH OF GOLD (1520)

On the 12th of March, 1520, a solemn instrument was prepared by Wolsey, for the regulation of a meeting between Henry and Francis before the end of the following May. It was drawn up with a strict regard to an equal weighing of the honour and dignity of the two kings. The equality of their personal merits is also flatteringly asserted in this document: "As the said serene princes of England and France be like in force corporal, beauty, and gift of nature, right expert and having knowledge in the art militant, right chivalrous in arms, and in the flower and vigour of youth," they are to "take counsel and dispose themselves to do some fair feat of arms." The place of meeting was to be between the English castle of Guines and the French castle of Ardres. The curious *Chronicle of Calais* records, that on the 19th of March the commissioners of King Henry landed, "to oversee the making of a palace before the castle gate of Guines; wherefore there was sent the king's master-mason, master-carpenter, and three hundred masons, five hundred carpenters, one hundred joiners, many painters, glaziers, tailors, smiths,

and other artificers, both out of England and Flanders, to the number in all two thousand and more." The temporary palace was of stone walls and framed timber, with glazed windows and canvas roofs. These particulars are curious, as showing how labour could be organised in England for the rapid completion of a great work, at a period when we are accustomed to think that the national industry was conducted upon a very small scale.

On the 21st of May Henry and the queen set forth from Greenwich toward the sea-side. On the 25th they arrived at Canterbury, at which city the feast of Pentecost was to be kept. Slowly had the court travelled, for there was something to be accomplished before the great interview at Calais should take place. Another personage was to appear upon the scene, by the merest accident, at the exact moment when he was wanted. Tidings were brought to Canterbury that Charles, the emperor elect, was on the sea, in sight of the coast of England. He was on his passage from Spain to visit his dominions in the Netherlands. He could not pass the English shores without landing to behold the king whom he so reverenced and the aunt he so dearly loved. Wolsey hastened to Dover to welcome Charles, who landed at Hythe. The "*Deus ex machina*" was produced, to the wonderment of all spectators, and no one saw the wheels and springs of the mechanism.[1] The politic young statesman won the hearts of the English, who rejoiced "to see the benign manner and meekness of so great a prince." Henry came to Dover. They kept the Whitsuntide together at Canterbury, "with much joy and gladness"; and on the last day of May Charles sailed to Flanders from Sandwich, and Henry from Dover to Calais.

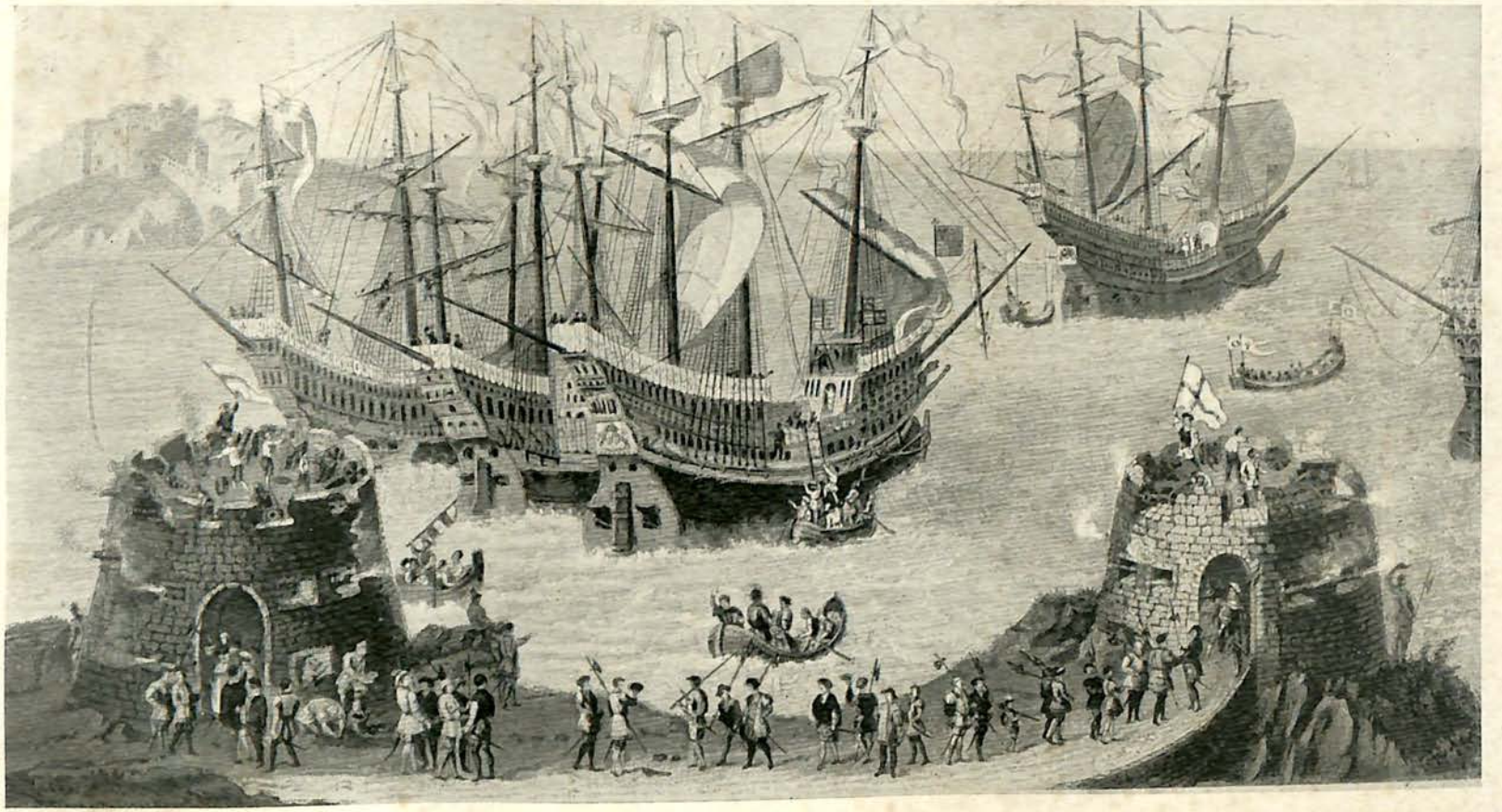
The character of this royal embarkation has been handed down to us in an ancient painting. The low towers of Dover have vomited forth their fire and smoke; and in a few hours the guns of Calais salute the English king. The great palace was ready, with its ceilings draped with silk, and its walls hung "with rich and marvellous cloths of arras wrought of gold and silk."

But while Henry was contemplating his splendours, Wolsey was busy arranging a treaty with Francis. The friendship of England was to be secured by a renewal of the treaty of marriage between the dauphin and the princess Mary. There can be little doubt that at this very time the cardinal was bound to the interests of the emperor, with the full concurrence of his royal master. Yet the play was to be played out. Henry was to meet the French king with such a display of the magnificence of his court as might challenge any rivalry. But Francis, possessing much of the same temper, was not to be outdone in pageantry.

> "To-day the French
> All clinquant, all in gold, like heathen gods,
> Shone down the English; and, to-morrow, they
> Made Britain India; every man that stood
> Show'd like a mine."

Shakespeare has described this famous meeting in a short dialogue. Hall,[k] the chronicler, who was present, elaborates these "fierce vanities" in many quarto pages. On the 7th of June the two kings met in the valley of Andren. Titian has made us acquainted with the animated features of Francis. Holbein has rendered Henry familiar to us in his later years; but at this period he was described by a Venetian resident in England as "handsomer by far than the king of France." It is scarcely necessary to transcribe the compli-

[1 So far was this visit from being accidental, that Henry, on the 8th of April, had instructed his ambassadors to fix the time and place.—LINGARD.*h*]



EMBARKATION OF KING HENRY VIII AT DOVER ON HIS WAY TO MEET FRANCIS I

(After the picture at Hampton Court, attributed to Volpe)

mentary speeches and the professions of affection which are related to have passed at this meeting. The two kings did not come to the appointed valley, surrounded each with an amazing train of gorgeously apparelled gentlemen and nobles, and with a great body of armed men, without some fears and suspicions on either side. The English, if we may believe the chronicler, were most wanting in honourable confidence. The English lords and their attendants moved not from their appointed ranks. "The Frenchmen suddenly brake, and many of them came into the English party, speaking fair; but for all that, the court of England and the lords kept still their array."

The solemnities of "The Field of the Cloth of Gold," as the place of this meeting came to be called, occupied nearly three weeks of that June of 1520. Ten days were spent in the feats of arms for which Wolsey had provided. There was tilting with lances, and tourneys on horseback with the broadsword, and fighting on foot at the barriers. The kings were always victorious against all comers. But from the court of the emperor there came no knight to answer the challengers. The lists were set up close to the Flemish frontier, but not a gentleman of Spain, or Flanders, or Brabant, or Burgundy, stirred to do honour to these pageantries. "By that," says Hall,[k] "it seemed there was small love between the emperor and the French king." On Midsummer Day the gaudy shows were over. The kings separated after an exchange of valuable presents—Francis to Paris, Henry to Calais. Here the English court remained till the 10th of July.

It was in vain that the French king had come unattended and unarmed into the English quarter, to show his confidence in the friendship of his companion in feats of chivalry. In vain had the French nobles put all their estates upon their backs,[1] to rival the jewelled satins and velvets of England. On the 11th of July Henry met the emperor near Gravelines, and the emperor returned with him to Calais. After a visit of three days Charles accomplished far more by his profound sagacity than Francis by his generous frankness. Wolsey was propitiated by presents and promises; Henry by a studied deference to his superior wisdom. Hall has recorded that during the pomps of the valley of Andren, on the 18th of June, "there blew such storms of wind and weather that marvel was to hear; for which hideous tempest some said it was a very prognostication of trouble and hatred to come between princes." The French, in this second meeting between Henry and Charles, saw the accomplishment of the foreboding beginning to take a definite form.

THE EXECUTION OF BUCKINGHAM (1521)

In the roll of illustrious names of nobles and knights at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, the name of the duke of Buckingham stands at the head. He was there one of the four judges of the jousts, deputed on the king's part. High as he was in wealth and honours, he might have deemed that the evil destinies of his line were at an end; and that, whilst his father had died on the scaffold under Richard III, and the three preceding heads of his house had fallen in civil warfare, he might have securely passed through life to the death of the peaceful. But any lineal descendant of Edward III was still unsafe, especially if his pride of ancestry were not held in check by unrelaxing prudence. The father of this Edward Stafford perished through his vain conviction that he was "meet to be a ruler of the realm"; and the son,

[1 Plusieurs y porterent leurs moulins, leurs forests, et leurs préz sur leurs épaules.—Du Bellay.[z]]

although a man of ability, was tempted by the ever-present thought of his high descent to commit himself by some unguarded though trifling acts, of which his enemies took advantage. His chief enemy is said to have been Wolsey; and the cause of the cardinal's enmity is held to have arisen out of Buckingham's dissatisfaction with the expense of the great pageantry at Guines. But the jealousy of Henry had been exhibited in 1519, when Sir William Bulmer, who had quitted the king's service to enter that of the duke, had to acknowledge his fault in the star chamber and to implore the mercy of the king. Henry forgave the offence, but said "that he would none of his servants should hang on another man's sleeve; and that he was as well able to maintain him as the duke of Buckingham, and that what might be thought by his (Bulmer's) departing, and what might be supposed by the duke's retaining, he would not then declare."

The king had now entered upon that course of action which rendered his subsequent career so fearful and so odious. He could cover up his hatreds till the moment arrived for striking his victim securely. After eighteen months had passed since he had rebuked Sir William Bulmer, and darkly hinted at some evil motive of the duke in retaining him in his service, the mine, which had been warily constructed, exploded under Edward Stafford's feet. He was suddenly sent for from his castle of Thornbury, to appear in the king's presence. He was watched by the king's officers to Windsor, and there perceived that he could not escape. On his way to London his barge was boarded and he arrested. His fate was soon determined.

On the 13th of May, 1521, he was indicted before his peers, the duke of Norfolk presiding. Charles Knyvet, a discarded officer of the duke, was the chief witness against him, and deposed to certain words of Buckingham said to himself and Lord Abergavenny, which, even if true, could not be fairly wrested into an overt act of treason. Hopkins, a monk of the Charterhouse, who pretended to a knowledge of future events, "had divers times said to the duke that he should be king of England; but the duke said that in himself he never consented to it." The judicial inference was, that he had committed the crime of imagining the death of the king, and that his words were satisfactory evidence of such imagining. Buckingham was convicted, and Norfolk pronounced the sentence.[1] The heroic attitude of the man in this his hour of agony needs no exaltation by the power of the poet. He said to his judges: "May the eternal God forgive you my death, as I do. I shall never sue to the king for life, howbeit he is a gracious prince, and more grace may come from him than I deserve." The duke was beheaded on the 17th of May.

In the early part of the reign of Henry VIII there were many reversals of attainders that had been passed in the previous reign. There was then evidently a merciful desire for the oblivion of political offences, and for restoring to their estates and honours the heirs of those unfortunate persons who had suffered the penalties of treason. There was no hesitation in the avowal that it was possible that an attainted person might have been unjustly condemned. The time was not yet arrived when he should find his ready instruments of despotism in the highest of the land; and when he should be able to perpetrate, through his slaves in a parliament, the murders which the oriental despot could effect by a single sign to the eunuchs of the seraglio.

[1 Hume,[bb] who is favourable to Wolsey, says, "There is no reason to think the sentence against Buckingham unjust." But no one who reads the trial will find any evidence to satisfy a reasonable mind; and Hume himself soon after adds, that his crime proceeded more from indiscretion than deliberate malice. In fact, the condemnation of this great noble was owing to Wolsey's resentment, acting on the savage temper of Henry.—HALLAM.[cc]]

[1521 A.D.]

He tasted of blood when he put Buckingham to death; and after a few more years, during which his will, being unquestioned, was less tyrannical, he showed that his relish for it was not to be satisfied to his dying hour.[m]

THE RIVALRY WITH FRANCIS I

Ever since the king had failed in his attempt to procure the imperial dignity, he had turned his thoughts and ambition towards the crown of France. That crown, so he believed, was his inheritance; if it had been torn from the brows of one of his predecessors by force of arms, why might it not be replaced by force of arms on his own head, since it was his by hereditary right? For this, indeed, he stood in need of allies; but where could he seek a more powerful and more interested ally than in the emperor, whose quarrel was similar to his own, and who burned to reannex to his dominions the ancient patrimony of the house of Burgundy, wrested from his ancestors by the kings of France. This subject had been secretly discussed by Henry and Charles during the late visit of the latter to his uncle: it had led to the proposal of a stricter union between the crowns by the marriage of the emperor with the daughter of Henry; and that proposal was accompanied with the project of a confederacy for the joint prosecution by the two monarchs of their hereditary rights at a more convenient season. But whilst they thus amused themselves with dreams of future conquests, the flames of war were unexpectedly rekindled by the ambition of Francis, in Spain, and Italy, and the Netherlands. The Spaniards did not conceal their dissatisfaction at the conduct of their young sovereign.

Francis suffered himself to be seduced by so favourable an opportunity. He had summoned Charles to do justice, but the Spanish revolt put an end to the negotiation; the French army burst over the Pyrenees, and in fifteen days Navarre was freed from the yoke of Spain. The insurgents beheld this event with indifference; but the French army no sooner approached Logroño in Castile, than they rallied at the call of their country, repelled the invaders, and recovered Navarre as rapidly as it had been lost. The contending parties immediately appealed to Henry; both claimed his aid in virtue of the treaty of 1518. This was certainly the time for him to make common cause with the emperor; but he was taken unawares; he had made no preparations adequate to the gigantic project which he meditated; and therefore he first exhorted each monarch to conclude a peace, and then proposed that, before he should make his election between them, they should appoint commissioners to plead before him or his deputy, that he might be able to compromise the quarrel or to determine who had been the aggressor.

Henry conferred the high dignity of arbitrator on Wolsey, who proceeded to Calais in great state, July 2nd, 1521, as the representative of his sovereign. But besides this, the ostensible object of his journey, he had been instructed to attend to the secret and important project of the confederacy with Charles, for the purpose of reclaiming the hereditary dominions of each prince from the grasp of the French monarch. Though the cardinal laboured to soothe the irritation and moderate the demands of the litigants, they grew daily more warm and obstinate; and at last Gattinara, the imperial chancellor, declared that it was beneath the dignity of his master to assent to any terms till he had previously received satisfaction from Francis, and that he was confined by his instructions to the mere exposure of the injuries which the

emperor had received, and the demand of the aid; to which the king of England was bound by the late treaty.

This declaration afforded, perhaps was meant to afford, the cardinal a pretext for paying a visit to the emperor at Bruges, to which he was secretly bound by his instructions, and warmly solicited by Charles himself. With a train of more than four hundred horsemen he proceeded to Bruges. By Charles he was received with the most marked attention. Thirteen days were spent in public feasting and private consultation; and before his departure the more important questions were settled respecting the intended marriage, the voyage of Charles by sea to England and Spain, and the time and manner in which he and Henry should conjointly invade France. On his return, August 29th, the conferences were resumed; and the air of impartiality with which the cardinal listened to every representation, joined to the zeal with which he laboured to accommodate every difference, lulled the jealousy of the French envoys. At last, however, the cardinal, in despair of an accommodation, pronounced his final judgment, that Francis had been the aggressor in the war, and that Henry was bound by treaty to aid his imperial ally.

The result of the interview at Bruges was now disclosed, by the conclusion of a league at Calais, in which the contracting parties were the pope, the emperor, and the king of England. It was agreed that, in order to restrain the ambition of Francis and to further the intended expedition against the Turks, each of these powers should in the spring of the year 1523 invade the French territories with a powerful army; that, if Francis did not conclude a peace with the emperor, Henry should declare war against him on the arrival of Charles in England; and that for the common good of Christendom the projected marriage between the dauphin and Mary, the daughter of Henry, should be set aside for the more beneficial marriage of the same princess with the emperor. Before the signature of this treaty Milan had been recovered by the combined forces in Italy, November 16th, 1521; shortly afterwards Tournay surrendered to the arms of the imperialists; and Francis was compelled to content himself with the reduction of the unimportant fortresses of Hesdin and Bouchain.

The deliverance of Milan from the yoke of France diffused the most extravagant joy throughout the Italian states. The pontiff ordered the event to be celebrated with thanksgivings and games, hastened to Rome that he might enjoy the triumph of his policy and arms, and entered his capital in high spirits and apparently in perfect health. Yet a sudden indisposition prevented him from attending a consistory which he had summoned, and in a few days it was known that he was dead. The news travelled with expedition to England, and Wolsey immediately extended his views to the papal throne. Charles, through policy or inclination, promised his aid; and Wolsey, with a decent affectation of humility, consented to place his shoulders under the burden. He despatched messengers to remind the emperor of his promise, and secretary Pace to sound the disposition of the conclave. But the election of Adrian, though a Belgian, and personally unknown, was carried by acclamation; and within nine years from the time when Julius drove the barbarians out of Italy, a barbarian was seated as his successor on the papal throne. The envoy of Wolsey was instructed to congratulate the new pope on his accession, and to obtain for his employer the prolongation of his legatine authority.

Francis, who was aware of the league which had been formed against him, employed the winter in fruitless attempts to recover the friendship of the king of England. He next demanded the succours to which he was entitled

[1522 A.D.]

by treaty, postponed the payment of the annual pension, and at length, as an indemnity to himself, laid an embargo on the English shipping in his ports and seized all the property of the English merchants. In retaliation, Henry confined the French ambassador to his house, ordered all Frenchmen in London to be taken into custody, and at length sent to Francis a defiance by Clarenceaux, king-at-arms, May 26th, 1522. The emperor himself, as was stipulated in the treaty of Bruges, landed at Dover, and was accompanied by the king through Canterbury, London, and Winchester, to Southampton. Every day was marked by some pageant or entertainment; but while the two princes appeared intent on nothing but their pleasures, the ministers were busily employed in concluding treaties and framing plans of co-operation.

It was agreed that each power should make war on Francis with forty thousand men; that Charles should indemnify Henry for all the moneys which might be withheld from him in consequence of this treaty; that the king should not give his daughter in marriage, nor the emperor marry any other person, before the princess Mary was of mature age; that when she had completed her twelfth year they should be married by proxy; and that, if either party violated this engagement, the defaulter should forfeit the sum of five hundred thousand crowns. At Southampton the emperor took leave of the king, July 1st, and embarked on board his fleet of one hundred and eighty sail, the command of which, in compliment to his uncle, he had given to the earl of Surrey, lord admiral of England.

That nobleman had succeeded to the earl of Kildare in the government of Ireland, where by his generosity he won the esteem, while by his activity he repressed the disorders, of the natives. But the reputation which he had acquired by his conduct in the field of Flodden induced the king to recall him to England, that he might assume the command of the army destined for the invasion of France.

That army, however, existed only upon paper; the money necessary for its support was yet to be raised; and to supply these deficiencies required all the art of Wolsey, aided by the despotic authority of the king. Commissioners were despatched into the different shires, with instructions to inquire what was the annual rent of the lands and houses in each township, what the names of the owners and occupiers, and what the value of each man's movable property; and, moreover, to array in the maritime counties, under the pretext of an apprehended invasion, all men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and to enrol their names, and the names of the lords whose tenants they were. As a temporary expedient, a loan of twenty thousand pounds was exacted from the merchants of London; and after a decent respite, the cardinal, in quality of royal commissioner, called the citizens before him and required that every individual supposed to be worth one hundred pounds should certify upon oath the real value of his property. They remonstrated that to many men "their credit was better than their substance"; and the cardinal, relaxing from the rigour of his first demand, consented to accept their respective returns in writing, which he promised should not on any pretext be afterwards divulged.

With this preparatory knowledge he was enabled to raise men, and supply himself with money as it was wanted. Precepts under the great seal were issued at his discretion, ordering some persons to levy a certain number of men among their tenants, and others to advance to the king a certain sum of money, which generally amounted to a tenth from the laity and a fourth from the clergy. It was, however, promised at the same time that the lenders should be indemnified from the first subsidy to be granted by parliament.

At length the earl mustered his army under the walls of Calais, and found himself at the head of twelve thousand men paid by the king, of four thousand volunteers, and of one thousand German and Spanish horse. With this force he marched through the Boulonnais and Artois into the vicinity of Amiens, carefully avoiding the fortified towns, and devoting to the flames every house and village which fell in his way; while the French, who had been forbidden to risk an engagement, hovered in small bodies round the invaders, sometimes checking their progress and at other times intercepting the stragglers. But the season proved the most formidable enemy. Cold and rain introduced a dysentery into the camp; the foreigners hastily retired to Bethune, and the earl led back his followers to Calais, October 16th, 1522. It was an expedition which reflected little lustre on the English arms, but it enriched the adventurers, and inflicted a severe injury on the unfortunate inhabitants.

In the early part of the summer, Francis, that he might divert the attention of the king, sought to raise up enemies to Henry both in Ireland and Scotland.

In Scotland Francis found a willing associate in the duke of Albany. That prince had returned to assume the government at the invitation of Margaret, the queen dowager, who had quarrelled with her husband on account of his amours, and with her brother on account of his parsimony. In February the truce between the two nations expired, and every attempt to renew it failed, through the obstinacy of Albany, who sought to include the French, and of Henry, who insisted on the immediate departure of the duke himself from Scotland.

War succeeded, of course, August 4th, 1522; the earl of Shrewsbury was ordered to array the men of the northern counties; and Albany, having received supplies and instructions from Francis, assembled the Scottish army at Annan. Thence he marched at the head, it is said, of eighty thousand men, with forty-five pieces of brass ordnance; while the English general, without men or money, had no force to oppose to the invaders. But the storm was dispersed by the address of the lord Dacre, warden of the western marches. He assumed a tone of bold defiance, boasted of the numerous army hastening to his aid; alluded to the disaster which had befallen the Scots at Flodden Field; and, after some debate, "granted" to the pusillanimous duke a month's abstinence from war, that he might have time to solicit peace from the indulgence of Henry. Albany engaged to disband his army; Dacre to forbid the advance of the English forces, which, instead of being on their march, were not in reality assembled. Wolsey, amazed at the result, characterised the regent in one of his letters to Henry as "a coward and a fool."

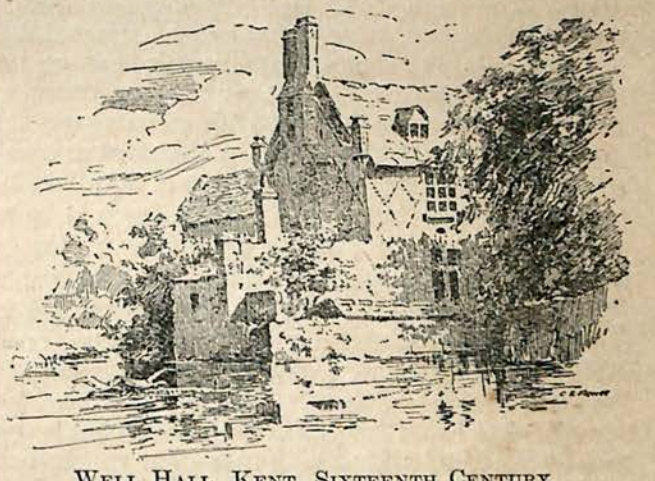
WOLSEY'S CONTEST WITH THE COMMONS

The minister's chief embarrassment at this period arose from the exhausted state of the treasury. Immense sums had been wastefully lavished in entertainments and presents to foreign princes: the king's annual pension was no longer paid by Francis, nor could it be expected from Charles during the war; and policy forbade him to have recourse to a forced loan after the experiment of the last summer. Henry, following the example of his father, had governed during eight years without the aid of the great council of the nation; but his necessities now compelled him to summon a parliament to meet April 15th, 1523, at the Blackfriars; and Sir Thomas More, a member of the council, was, by the influence of the court, chosen speaker of the commons.

[1523 A.D.]

After some days the cardinal carried to that house a royal message, showing from the conduct of Francis that the war was just and necessary; estimating the expenses of the intended armament at eight hundred thousand pounds,[1] and proposing to raise that sum by a property tax of twenty per cent.

The commons, astonished at this unprecedented demand, preserved the most obstinate silence. It was in vain that Wolsey called on different members by name and asked them for a reasonable answer. At length he exclaimed: "Masters, unless it be the manner of your house (as very likely it may) by your speaker only in such cases to express your mind, here is without doubt a most marvellous silence." Sir Thomas More, bending the knee, replied that they felt abashed in the presence of so great a personage; that, according to the ancient liberties of the house, they were not bound to return an answer; and that he as speaker could make no reply until he had received their instructions. Wolsey retired in discontent; the debate was adjourned from day to day; and a deputation was appointed to solicit a diminution of the demand. The cardinal again repaired to the house, answered the arguments which had been employed by the leaders of the opposition, and begged that they would reason with him on the subject. They replied that they would hear whatever he might say, but would reason only among themselves. After his departure they agreed to a tax upon every kind of property, of five per cent. for two years, to be continued during the third year on fees, pensions, and rents of land, and during the fourth year on movables only. The king in return published a general pardon.



WELL HALL, KENT, SIXTEENTH CENTURY,
Where Sir Thomas More's daughter lived

The grant required of the clergy amounted to fifty per cent. on the yearly income of their benefices; and as the demand was higher than that made on the laity, so was their resistance proportionably more obstinate. The convocations of the two provinces had assembled after the usual manner, when Wolsey, conceiving that he should possess more influence in an assembly under his own immediate control, summoned them both, by his legatine authority, to meet him in a national synod, April 20th, in the abbey of Westminster. The proctors, however, argued that, as the powers which they held were confined to grants to be made in convocation, no acts which they might perform in the synod could legally bind their constituents; and the cardinal reluctantly suffered them to depart, and to vote their money according to the ancient method. The convocation of his own province awaited the determination of the convocation of Canterbury. In the lower house the opposition was led by a popular preacher of the name of Philips, whose silence was at length purchased by the policy of the court; in the

[1 According to Gardiner,x this sum of £800,000 was "nearly equal to £12,000,000 at the present day."]

higher, the bishops of Winchester and Rochester persisted in animating the prelates to resist so exorbitant a demand. Four months passed in this manner; at last a compromise was made; the clergy voted the amount, the cardinal consented that it should be levied in five years at ten per cent. each year. He held, however, his legatine council, but more for parade than utility, and to cover the disgrace of the defeat which he had suffered in the first attempt.

The money thus extorted from the laity and clergy was lavishly expended in repelling an invasion of the Scots, in supporting an expedition into France, and in furnishing aid to the allies in Italy.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND

The duke of Albany, after his inglorious negotiation with Lord Dacre, had left Scotland; but the principal lords remained constant in their attachment to France, and impatiently expected his return with supplies of men and money. To Henry, meditating a second expedition to the Continent, it was of importance to provide for the defence of his northern frontier. He sought a reconciliation with his sister Queen Margaret, that he might set her up in opposition to Albany, and gave the chief command in the north to the earl of Surrey, son to the victor of Flodden Field, with instructions to purchase the services of the Scottish lords with money, and to invade and lay waste the Scottish borders, that they might be incapable of supplying provisions to a hostile army. Margaret gladly accepted the overture, and consented to conduct her son (he was only in his twelfth year) to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, and to announce by proclamation that he had assumed the government, provided the English general would march a strong force to her support.

Surrey repeatedly entered the marches, spread around the devastation of war, and at last reduced to ashes the large town of Jedburgh.[1] But on that very day Albany landed at Dumbarton with two thousand soldiers and a great quantity of stores and ammunition. The projects of Margaret were instantly crushed; at the call of the parliament the whole nation rose in arms, and on the Burgh muir the regent saw above sixty thousand men arrayed round his standard. When Surrey considered the numbers of the enemy and the paucity of his own followers, he trembled for the result; by repeated letters he importuned the council for reinforcements. His hopes were, however, raised by the successive arrival of troops, that swelled his army from nine to fifty thousand men, and he hastened to Bedford. Albany trembled at the name of the hero of Flodden Field; and at midnight the Scottish army retired in confusion to Lauder amidst a heavy fall of snow. "Undoubtedly," exclaims Surrey in his despatch to the king, "there was never man departed with more shame or more fear than the duke has done to-day."

The result of this expedition, combined with the remembrance of the last, overturned the authority of Albany; and after an ineffectual attempt

[1] Of the havoc occasioned by these inroads, the reader may judge from a letter to the cardinal, dated August 31st, in this year. "The earl of Surrey hath so devastated and destroyed all Tweedale and March, that there is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other succour for man; insomuch that some of the people that fled from the same, afterwards returning and finding no sustenance, were compelled to come unto England begging bread, which oftentimes when they do eat they die incontinently for the hunger passed. And with no imprisonment, cutting off their ears, burning them in their faces, or otherwise, can be kept away."

to retain the regency, he sailed for France, May 20th, 1524, never more to set foot in Scotland. His departure enabled Margaret to resume the ascendancy, and proclaim her son; but her imperious temper, and scandalous familiarity with Henry Stuart, the son of Lord Evendale, alienated her friends; her application to Francis and Albany was received with indifference; and her husband, the earl of Angus, under the protection of Henry, took upon himself the office of regent. This revolution led to more friendly relations between the two kingdoms; with the hope of obtaining aid from France the war terminated; truce succeeded to truce, and the borders of both countries enjoyed a cessation from hostilities during eighteen years.

When Francis supplied Albany with troops and money, he had flattered himself that the Scottish invasion would detain the English forces at home and afford him leisure to pursue his intended expedition into Italy. To oppose him, a league for the defence of Lombardy had been concluded between the emperor, his brother Ferdinand, archduke of Austria, the Venetians, and Francesco Sforza, the reigning duke of Milan; and to this confederacy had afterwards acceded the pope, the kings of England and Hungary, and the republics of Florence, Sienna, and Genoa. It was determined that as soon as Francis should have crossed the Alps the English should invade Picardy, the Germans in the pay of England, Burgundy, and the Spaniards, Guienne, and that at the same moment the duke of Bourbon should unfurl his standard in the centre of the kingdom. Henry already felt the crown of France fixed on his own head; Charles saw himself in possession of Burgundy, the patrimony of his forefathers; and Bourbon already governed his duchy and the county of Provence as a sovereign prince.

Francis had received some dark hints of the plot, but the apparent candour of Bourbon dispelled his suspicions, and he proceeded in security to Lyons, where he was informed that the sick man had already fled in disguise out of France. This intelligence disconcerted his former plans. Bonnivet with the greater part of the army was ordered to enter Lombardy; the king remained to make head against his numerous enemies, who were already in motion. The duke of Suffolk, the English general, had been joined by the imperialists under the count De Buren, and twenty thousand men were detained under the walls of St. Omer, while it was debated in council whether they should open the campaign with the siege of Boulogne, or march through France to form a junction with the army from Germany. The latter plan, but against the wish of Henry, was adopted; the allied generals, though carefully watched by the duke of Vendome, traversed Artois and Picardy, crossed the Somme and the Oise, alarmed the unwarlike citizens of Paris, and sought their German friends in the neighbourhood of Laon. But to the Germans had been opposed the duke of Guise, who with an inferior force arrested their progress, and by intercepting their provisions compelled them to evacuate the French territory. Disappointed in their hopes, the allies retraced their steps, November 8th, in the direction of Valenciennes; a continuance of rainy weather, succeeded by a long and intense frost, multiplied diseases in their camp; the men perished daily in considerable numbers, and the two generals by common consent broke up the army. Italy, however, became the principal theatre, as it was the great object, of the war.

In the mean time, on September 14th, Pope Adrian died—an event which suspended the march of the papal troops and rekindled the expiring hopes of the English cardinal. The king immediately claimed of the emperor the execution of his former engagement in favour of Wolsey. That minister requested him to intimidate the conclave by the advance of the imperial

army, and the English envoys at Rome received orders to spare neither money nor promises to secure the tiara. But the real struggle lay between the French and imperial factions, of which the first, after a long resistance, gave way, and Giulio de' Medici was chosen, November 19th. He took the name of Clement VII.[h]

Before the summer of 1524 the French were driven out of Italy. They had lost the noble Bayard, their own countryman, the duke of Bourbon, was carrying on the contest with the fierceness which generally marks the conduct of the apostate from his faith or his country. Francis was resolved to make another effort to regain Milan. He turned from the pursuit of the imperial army, which he had followed to the gates of that city, that he might undertake the siege of Pavia. This was in October. For three months the siege was conducted with various success; and Francis, with characteristic rashness, detached a part of his army to invade Naples. The governor of Pavia, in February, 1525, saw famine approaching, and wrote to the general of the imperial army, "Come to us, or we must cut our way to you." They did come. On the 24th of February the French king moved his troops out of their intrenchments. A general battle took place, and Francis, after fighting with the gallantry of the elder chivalry, was taken prisoner. Bourbon, now the commander of the imperial army, came before his captive sovereign and asked to be permitted to kiss his hand. The French king refused. Bourbon, with tears, said that if his counsel had been followed he would not have sustained this reverse. Francis made no direct reply, but ejaculated, "Patience! since fortune hath failed me."

THE PEOPLE RESIST EXACTION

The fall of Francis called forth no sympathy from Henry of England. A solemn thanksgiving for the victory of Pavia was offered at St. Paul's. The cardinal officiated and the king was present. The ambition of Henry to be lord of France now revived. He proposed that the emperor and himself should invade France, that the French dominions should be his, as his lawful inheritance, and that Charles should take the Burgundian provinces. But to accomplish these mighty undertakings was difficult with an empty treasury. The last parliament had been troublesome. They refused to give all that the king required. They had asserted the old freedom of the commons of England to deliberate amongst themselves, without instruction from the minister of the crown. A subsidy[1] was therefore demanded without the intervention of parliament, and commissioners were appointed to levy the illegal claim of the sixth part of every man's substance. From the clergy more was demanded. The resistance was universal.

The temper of the nation may be collected from a letter of the archbishop of Canterbury to Wolsey: "It hath been showed me in a secret manner of my friends, the people sore grudgeth and murmureth, and speaketh cursedly among themselves, as far as they dare, saying that they shall never have rest of payments as long as some liveth, and that they had better die than to be thus continually handled, reckoning themselves, their children, and wives, as despoiled, and not greatly caring what they do, or what becomes of them. They fear not to speak that they be continually beguiled, and no promise is kept unto them; and thereupon some of them suppose that if this gift and

[1 It was called an "Amicable Loan."]

[1525 A.D.]

grant be once levied, albeit the king's grace go not beyond the sea, yet nothing shall be restored again, albeit they be showed the contrary. I have heard say, moreover, that when the people be commanded to make fires and tokens of joy for the taking of the French king, divers of them have spoken that they have more cause to weep than to rejoice thereat. And divers, as it hath been showed me secretly, have wished openly that the French king were at his liberty again, so as there were a good peace, and the king should not attempt to win France, the winning whereof should be more chargeful to England than profitable, and the keeping thereof much more chargeful than the winning. Also it hath been told me secretly that divers have recounted and repeated what infinite sums of money the king's grace hath spent already in invading of France, once in his royal person, and two other sundry times by his several noble captains, and little or nothing in comparison of his costs hath prevailed; insomuch that the king's grace at this hour hath not one foot of land more in France than his most noble father had, which lacked no riches or wisdom to win the kingdom of France, if he had thought it expedient."

But such warning was of little use. The people said, "If men should give their goods by a commission, then it would be worse than the taxes of France, and England should be bond and not free." The clothiers of Suffolk had been frightened into submission by the king's commissioners; but the men who worked for the clothiers now showed the agents of despotism where the burthen of oppressive taxation must chiefly fall. The narrative of Hall[k] is deeply interesting, and shows of what solid stuff—the sturdy compound of acute feeling and plain sense—the Anglo-Saxon was composed. The people of Suffolk had begun "to rage and assemble themselves in companies." The duke of Suffolk was for subduing them by the strong hand, and directed that their harness should be taken from them. The people now openly rebelled, and the duke called upon the gentlemen to assist him. But they would not fight against their neighbours.

More moderate counsels prevailed. "The duke of Norfolk, high treasurer and admiral of England, hearing of this, gathered a great power in Norfolk, and came towards the commons, and of his nobleness he sent to the commons to know their intent, which answered, that they would live and die in the king's causes, and to the king to be obedient: when the duke wist that, he came to them, and then all spake at once, so that he wist not what they meant. Then he asked who was their captain, and bade that he should speak; then a well-aged man of fifty years and above, asked license of the duke to speak, which granted with good will.

"'My lord,' said this man, whose name was John Greene, 'sith you ask who is our captain, forsooth his name is Poverty, for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing. The cloth-makers have put all these people, and a far greater number from work; the husbandmen have put away their servants, and given up household; they say the king asketh so much that they be not able to do as they have done before this time, and then of necessity must we die wretchedly: wherefore, my lord, now, according to your wisdom, consider our necessity.'

"The duke was sorry to hear their complaint, and well he knew that it was true: then he said, 'Neighbours, sever yourselves asunder, let every man depart to his home, and choose further four that shall answer for the remnant, and on my honour I will send to the king and make humble intercession for your pardon, which I trust to obtain, so that you will depart.' Then all they answered they would, and so they departed home." The despot now learned

that his absolute rule was to have some limit.[1] But for the artisans of Suffolk, England, at this period, would probably have passed into the condition of France, where the abuse of the royal power had long before deprived the people of their rights.

Henry, with a meanness equal to his rapacity, affected not to know "that the commissioners were so straight as to demand a sixth of every man's substance." Wolsey took the blame upon himself. Pardons were issued for all the rioters, the commissions were revoked, and the old trick of a voluntary "benevolence" was again resorted to. The rich did not dare to show the spirit of the poor, and they yielded to irregular exactions in the form of gifts and loans, under the terror of such speeches as one which Wolsey made to the mayor and aldermen of London: "It were better that some should suffer indigence than the king at this time should lack; and therefore beware, and resist not, nor ruffle not in this case, for it may fortune to cost some their heads."

THE EMPEROR AT WAR WITH THE POPE

After the capture of Francis I the emperor made no attempt to follow up his success by any bold measures against France. He was without the means of paying an army to invade his rival's territories, and was too prudent, even if he had possessed the necessary finances, to risk an assault upon a brave and proud nation, who would maintain the integrity of their own kingdom though their king was a captive. Charles V told the English envoys that it was best to be quiet. "The deer was in the net, and thought need only to be taken for the division of his skin." He concluded an armistice with France for six months. He had complaints to make against the English government. His ambassador, De Praet, had been insulted. A secret envoy of France had been in communication with Wolsey in London. He had discovered that the princess Mary, who had long been contracted to him, had been the object of a matrimonial negotiation both with France and with Scotland. Charles now demanded that the contract should be fulfilled. Henry declined to complete the arrangement on account of the youth of his daughter, and insisted that the marriage should depend upon the ability of the emperor to give him the crown of France, or his willingness to surrender Francis to his, the king of England's, keeping. Charles, it is said, assumed an arrogant tone in these negotiations; but there was a greater impediment to friendship than his haughty bearing. He had no money to give Henry or his profuse minister.

A treaty was entered into with the government of France, under the regency of the queen-mother, in which this essential condition of an alliance

[1 No very material attempt had been made since the reign of Edward III to levy a general imposition without consent of parliament, and in the most remote and irregular times it would be difficult to find a precedent for so universal and enormous an exaction; since tallages, however arbitrary, were never paid by the barons or freeholders, nor by their tenants; and the aids to which they were liable were restricted to particular cases. If Wolsey, therefore, could have procured the acquiescence of the nation under this yoke, there would probably have been an end of parliaments for all ordinary purposes, though, like the states-general of France, they might still be convoked to give weight and security to great innovations. We cannot, indeed, doubt that the unshackled condition of his friend, though rival, Francis I, afforded a mortifying contrast to Henry. Even under his tyrannical administration there was enough to distinguish the king of a people who submitted, in murmuring, to violations of their known rights, from one whose subjects had almost forgotten that they ever possessed any. But the courage and love of freedom natural to the English commons, speaking in the hoarse voice of tumult, though very ill supported by their superiors, preserved England in so great a peril.—HALLAM.cc]

was amply provided for. But whilst the French cabinet made the most lavish engagements with Henry and Wolsey, having the full consent of the parliament of Paris, a protest was solemnly recorded against these conditions, that Francis might at some future time repudiate the contracts made in his absence. The conduct of each of the governments exhibits the low cunning of the most unscrupulous chafferers, instead of the high faith that should belong to all the transactions of great nations.

The policy of England now more and more inclined to a league with France, which was completed in August, 1525. Meanwhile, Francis remained in captivity—first in Italy and afterwards in Spain. Negotiations for his release were at length entered into at Madrid, he having, after repeated refusals, consented to restore Burgundy to the emperor. After being a prisoner for more than a year, the king of France was released; and when his foot touched the French territory, he exclaimed, "Now I am again a king!" French historians say that after his capture he wrote, "All is lost, except honour." When he became free, all was gained at the price of honour. He refused to ratify his engagement for the surrender of Burgundy, to which he had solemnly sworn. The pope dispensed with his oath, and Henry instructed his ambassadors to urge him to violate it. In these dishonourable transactions the apprehension of the power of Charles V might have influenced the secret conduct of the English government, as the same fear impelled the court of Rome, and other Italian states, to open hostility with the emperor. The war upon which the pope entered against the emperor, in 1526, has a claim upon our sympathy, for it was a war for the independence of Italy. Clement VII engaged in this war as a temporal prince, but his position as bishop of Rome had a material influence upon its results.

The doctrines of Luther had made considerable progress in Germany. Many pious and moderate men had adopted them from an earnest principle. The worldly-minded had taken their sides in the contest of opinions from the hope of political or personal advantage. The turbulent and discontented of the cities, and the fierce adventurers of the mercenary armies, saw in the general hatred of the papal power a coming opportunity for spoliation. Clement VII had stirred up this spirit into a bitter hostility to himself amongst the Germans, by his rupture of an alliance with the emperor. George Frundsberg, a German noble of great influence, had raised an army of sixteen thousand men, with small pay and large promises. In November, 1526, his fierce lance-knights crossed the Alps, made more ferocious even than their ordinary temper by hunger and all destitution. "If I get to Rome," said their leader, "I will hang the pope." Bourbon, now the general of the emperor's armies in Italy, had no resources for the supply of a mutinous army of various nations but the plunder of some hostile state. In January, 1527, he marched from Milan at the head of twenty-five thousand men.

Clement, meanwhile, had concluded a separate treaty with Lannoy, one of the imperial generals, for a suspension of arms. Bourbon refused to be a party to the arrangement. He was the commander of men who, if he disappointed their hopes of booty, would turn and rend him. At last he moved out of Tuscany towards Rome. The pope made no attempt to defend the passes of the Roman territory. He appears to have relied too securely upon his spiritual weapons. He excommunicated Bourbon and his troops, denouncing the Germans as Lutherans and the Spaniards as Moors. On the 5th of May Bourbon and his men were encamped before the magnificent capital; and as they gazed upon its domes and towers, they were told that the treasures which had there been accumulating for centuries would be theirs at

the morrow's dawn. On that morrow the Eternal City was assaulted in three separate attacks. The morning was misty, and their approach to the suburbs was unperceived. There was a brave resistance of the few who defended the outworks. Bourbon leaped from his horse, and planting a scaling-ladder against the wall, shouted to his men to follow him. A ball from the ramparts terminated his career. His death produced no relaxation in the ardour of his followers. Their prey was before them, and in a few hours the devoted city was in their hands. The pope and his cardinals shut themselves up in the castle of St. Angelo.

The intelligence of the triumph of his arms, and of the excesses which disgraced it,[1] produced in the emperor a singular attempt of policy to discriminate between the spiritual and the temporal power of the pope. By his command the people were called upon to mourn in his dominions, and to offer up prayers for the deliverance of the pontiff. This has been called "hypocrisy." It was an attempt to refine upon an occurrence which in the eyes of the multitude was a victory over the papal power, desecrated by wielding the carnal weapon. The people of England took this broad view of the question. The English chronicler Hall,[k] who is a tolerably faithful expositor of the popular feeling, says, "The king was sorry, and so were many prelates; but the commonalty little mourned for it. The pope was a ruffian. He began the mischief and was well served." Wolsey, according to the same authority, called upon the king to show himself a defender of the church; and Hall puts this answer into Henry's mouth: "I more lament this evil chance than my tongue can tell; but when you say that I am defender of the faith, I assure you that this war between the emperor and the pope is not for the faith, but for temporal possessions and dominions." We may take such formal speeches in the old historians for what they are worth—the setting forth of current opinion.[m]

MATRIMONIAL TREATIES

While Bourbon led his hungry followers to the sack of Rome, the kings of England and France were idly employed in devising offensive leagues and matrimonial alliances. Francis before his liberation from captivity had been contracted to Leonora, the emperor's sister; but his subsequent offer to proceed to the solemnisation of marriage was rejected by Charles, on the ground that he had not yet complied with the other obligations of the treaty; now Henry, to widen the breach between the two sovereigns, tendered to Francis the hand of the princess Mary, who had reached her eleventh year. The French monarch, equally anxious to bind his English brother to his interests, accepted the offer, March 24th, 1527, urged an immediate marriage, and made light of the objections which the father drew from the immature age of his daughter. But Henry was inflexible; and the French ambassadors, the bishop of Tarbes and the viscount of Turenne, at length, on April 30th, signed a treaty by which it was agreed that the princess should marry either Francis, or his second son the duke of Orleans; Francis, as it was afterwards explained, if that monarch should remain a widower till she arrived at the age of puberty; the duke of Orleans, if in the interval it should be deemed desirable by both parties that the king should marry Leonora.

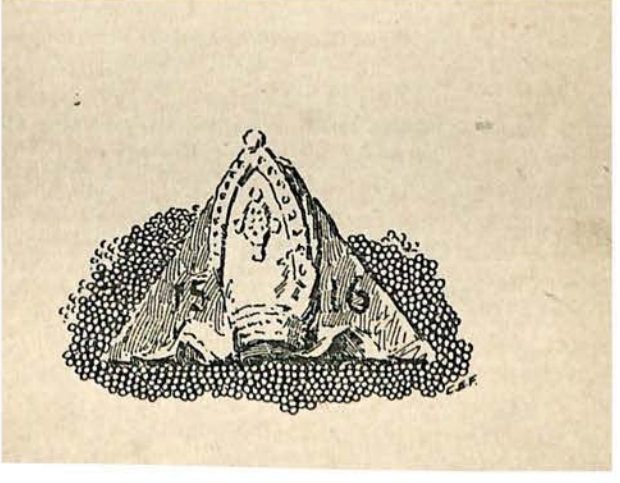
Two other treaties were concluded at the same time, that both monarchs should jointly make war on the emperor, if he rejected the proposals which

[1 Guicciardini's *dd* account of this pillage, which Gibbon *ee* declared more destructive than that of the Goths, will be found in the history of Italy, volume ix, chapter xiv.]

[1527 A.D.]

they meant to offer; that Henry for himself, his heirs and successors, should renounce all claim to any lands at that time in possession of the king of France, and that Francis and his successors should pay forever to Henry and his heirs a yearly rent of fifty thousand crowns of gold, in addition to all other sums due to him from the French monarch. It was during the conferences respecting this marriage that the bishop of Tarbes, if we may believe the suspicious assertion of the king and the cardinal, ventured to ask whether the legitimacy of the princess were unimpeachable. What could prompt him to put the question, we are not informed. It is certain that he had no such instructions from his court, which still continued to solicit the union; and the public afterwards believed that he spoke by the suggestion of Wolsey, who sought to supply the king with a decent pretext for opening his project of a divorce.

Before their departure Henry gave to the ambassadors a magnificent entertainment at Greenwich. Three hundred lances were broken before supper; in the evening the company withdrew to the ball-room, where they were entertained with an oration and songs, a fight at barriers, and the dancing of maskers. About midnight the king and Turenne retired with six others, disguised themselves as Venetian noblemen, and returning took out ladies to dance. Henry's partner was Anne Boleyn. That lady had gained an ascendancy over the heart of the king, to whom a divorce from Catherine was now become an object of greater importance than the friendship of the most powerful prince in Christendom.[h]



CHAPTER III

THE FALL OF WOLSEY

[1528–1530 A.D.]

THE reign of Henry falls naturally into two periods, separated by the question of the divorce. During the first period Henry is the splendid and jovial king at home, abroad a figure of the first magnitude in the wars and international diplomacies of the time. The dilettante politics of Henry's early career were to be superseded by occupations of a tragically earnest nature. Adventurous enterprises abroad were to give place to real interests at home, and the jovial young king was to be transformed into the stern, self-willed, and often cruel revolutionary. The serious and important part of Henry's life therefore is still to come; but before leaving the earlier period it is well to remark that it lasted twenty years, or more than half of his reign; that during these years Henry was popular in the highest degree; and especially that he had gratified the national pride of his subjects by restoring England to a leading position in Europe. This should not be forgotten during the troubled and more questionable events that were to follow.

The year 1528 may justly be fixed as the turning-point of Henry's life. By that time the divorce had become a national and even a European question, and Henry had decisively committed himself to the course which was to result in the separation from Rome.—KIRKUP.[b]

To understand the relative positions of Henry, the king, and of Wolsey, his chancellor, we must constantly bear in mind that the English minister was also the representative of the papal supremacy. The cardinal and legate wielded his great power and displayed his extraordinary magnificence, not in opposition to the prerogative of the king or in rivalry with his dignity, but in strict conformity with the desire of Henry to be the faithful son and devoted champion of the Roman church. In the magnificence of the great churchman Henry might believe that his people would recognise and humbly bow before the paramount authority of the church. The vast abilities and

the lofty ambition of the king's powerful minister might practically invest the temporal government with the real ecclesiastical supremacy. The great cardinal was pope in England, but he was also the devoted servant of the crown.

HENRY'S EARLY RESISTANCE TO THE REFORMATION

The period in which Wolsey was in full possession of these extraordinary powers was one in which the European mind was strongly agitated by signs of approaching change. The wealth, luxury, and immunities of the church were offensive to a large portion of the laity. The spirit of the Lollards was not wholly trodden out in England. In Germany a new antagonist to the corruptions of the papacy had arisen, whose voice filled a wider area than that of Wycliffe. The spirit with which Martin Luther first denounced the abomination of the sale of indulgences might naturally suggest the fear that other iniquities would be laid bare. The time for effectually suppressing opinions was past, for the printing-press would do its work in spite of papal bulls and excommunications. Leo X, even without yielding to that foreign influence which is supposed to have given Wolsey the cardinal's hat, would naturally look to one so able of himself, and so favoured by circumstances, to keep England safe from the contaminating opinions of the monk of Wittenberg. The appointment of Henry's great minister as the papal legate had been concurrent with the time when Luther first challenged the power of the pope to absolve the sinner from the penalties of divine justice. The choice was a wise one; for as long as Wolsey was in power, though he was a church-reformer in a limited degree, he maintained the papal supremacy inviolate in England. When his reign was over, the delegated authority of Rome was snatched forever from the hands that had previously kept the world in awe.

That Wolsey had a perfect understanding with his royal master as to the parts which each was to sustain in matters of ecclesiastical controversy, may be inferred from the position which each took in 1515. By an Act of Henry VII the "benefit of clergy" was regulated so as to inflict some penalty upon murderers and robbers. In the fourth year of Henry VIII, 1512, a statute was passed which exempts from the benefit of clergy all murderers, highway-robbers, and burglars, "such as be within holy orders only except." The act could not be passed through the house of lords without granting the exception to "such as be within holy orders," and a provision was added that it should only endure for a year. Reasonable and just as this statute was, as far as it went, the ecclesiastical authorities regarded it as an encroachment upon the privileges of the church, and they prevented its renewal on the expiration of the first year. Murderers and robbers might again "bear them bold of their clergy."

A violent controversy now sprang up between the parliament and the convocation, which became more serious from a remarkable incident of the same period, which agitated the people of London far more than the dispute about the franchises of the church. There was a paltry quarrel between the incumbent of a parish in Middlesex and Richard Hunne, a merchant tailor of London, about the right of the clergyman to a piece of linen which he claimed as what was called "a mortuary." A charge of heresy was got up against Hunne. He was imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower at St. Paul's; and, being brought before the bishop of London, was terrified into an admission of some of the crimes of which he was accused, one of which was that he had in his possession the epistles and gospels in English, and "Wycliffe's

damnable works." He was sent back to his prison, and two days after was found hanging in his cell. A coroner's inquest charged the bishop's chancellor and other officers with murder, but it was maintained by them that the heretic had committed suicide. The bishop and the clergy had the incredible folly to begin a new process of heresy against the dead body, which was adjudged guilty, and, according to the sentence, burned in Smithfield. "After that day," says Burnet,[c] "the city of London was never well affected to the popish clergy."

This affair was eventually compromised. But the previous dispute was kept up by the convocation summoning before them Dr. Standish, who had conducted the discussion against the abbot of Wincelcumbe, to defend the opinions which he had declared before the king in council. The matter was again referred to Henry, who called the lords, some of the commons, and the judges, before him at Baynard's castle. Wolsey, as cardinal, knelt before the king, and, in the name of the clergy, protested that none of them intended to do anything that might derogate from his prerogative; and implored that the king, "to avoid the censures of the church, would refer the matter to the decision of the pope and his council at the court of Rome." Henry, with that determination to uphold his prerogative which was an abiding principle of his government, said, "By the permission and ordinance of God we are king of England, and the kings of England in times past had never any superior but God alone. Therefore know you well that we will maintain the right of our crown, and of our temporal jurisdiction as well in this and in all other points, in as ample manner as any of our progenitors have done before our time." Rebuking then the spirituality for interpreting their decrees at their own pleasure, he left the matter as it stood.

In the year 1521 Henry had been king for twelve years. Possessed of considerable ability and some learning, his mind was not so wholly occupied by pleasures and pageantries as in the flush of youth. He sought for a higher excitement in theological controversy. There was a daring innovator, who had proceeded from attacking the open sale of indulgences for sin to question the foundations of the authority of the church. Martin Luther had been first despised in his supposed obscurity; but his preaching and writing had produced an effect in Europe, which had stirred Leo X. At length, in 1520, the pope issued a bull declaring certain passages of Luther's writings heretical; denouncing the penalties of excommunication against him unless he should recant; and threatening the same penalties against all princes who should neglect to secure the heretic.[d]

HENRY VIII AS "DEFENDER OF THE FAITH" AGAINST LUTHER

Wolsey, by his office of legate, was bound to oppose the new doctrines; and Henry attributed their diffusion in Germany to the supine ignorance of the native princes. By a letter to Charles he had already evinced his hostility to doctrinal innovation; but it was deemed prudent to abstain from any public declaration till the future decision of the diet could be conjectured with some degree of certainty.

Then the legate, attended by the other prelates and the papal and imperial ambassadors, proceeded to St. Paul's; the bishop of Rochester preached from the cross; and the works of Luther, condemned by the pontiff, were burned in the presence of the multitude, May 12th. Ever since the middle of the last reign classical learning had become the favourite pursuit of the

[1521 A.D.]

English scholars, who naturally leagued with their brother Humanists on the Continent, and read with eagerness the writings, if they did not adopt the opinions, of the reformer and his disciples. But the cardinal now ordered every obnoxious publication to be delivered up within a fortnight, and commissioned the bishops to punish the refractory with the sentence of excommunication. Henry himself was anxious to enter the lists against the German; nor did Wolsey discourage the attempt, under the idea that pride no less than conviction would afterwards bind the royal polemic to the support of the ancient creed. That the treatise in defence of the seven sacraments, which the king published, was his own composition, is forcibly asserted by himself; that it was planned, revised, and improved by the superior judgment of the cardinal and the bishop of Rochester, was the opinion of the public.

Clarke, dean of Windsor, carried the royal production to Rome, and in a full consistory submitted it to the inspection and approbation of the pontiff, October 2nd, with an assurance that as his master had refuted the errors of Luther with his pen, so was he ready to oppose the disciples of the heresiarch with his sword, and to array against them the whole strength of his kingdom. Clement accepted the present with many expressions of admiration and gratitude; but Henry looked for something more pleasing to his vanity than mere acknowledgments. The kings of France had long been distinguished by the appellation of "Most Christian," those of Spain by that of "Catholic." When Louis XII set up the schismatical synod of Pisa, it was contended that he had forfeited his right to the former of these titles; and Julius II transferred it to Henry, but with the understanding that the transfer should be kept secret till the services of the king might justify in the eyes of men the partiality of the pontiff. After the victory at Guinegate, Henry demanded the publication of the grant; but Julius was dead; Leo declared himself ignorant of the transaction; and means were found to pacify the king with the promise of some other, but equivalent, distinction. Wolsey had lately recalled the subject to the attention of the papal court; and Clarke, when he presented the king's work, demanded for him the title of "defender of the faith." This new denomination experienced some opposition; but it could not be refused with decency, and Leo conferred it by a formal bull on Henry, who on October 11th, 1521, procured a confirmation of the grant from the successor of Leo, Clement VII.[1]

Whatever knowledge the German reformer might possess of the doctrines, his writings displayed little of the mild spirit of the gospel. In his answer to the king of England, the intemperance of his declamation scandalised his friends while it gave joy to his enemies. To the king he allotted no other praise than that of writing in elegant language; in all other respects he was a fool and an ass, a blasphemer and a liar. Henry complained to Luther's patron, the elector; the German princes considered the work as an insult to crowned heads; and at the earnest entreaty of Christian, king of Denmark, Luther condescended to write an apology. In it he supposes that the "Defence of the Seven Sacraments" had been falsely attributed to Henry; offers to acknowledge his error, and to publish a book in the king's praise; paints in seductive colours the purity and holiness of his own doctrine; and takes occasion to inveigh against the tyranny of the popes, and against that bane

[1] It should be observed that in neither of the bulls is there any grant of inheritance. The title belonged to the king personally, not to his successors. But Henry retained it after his separation from the communion of Rome, and in 1543 it was annexed to the crown by act of parliament, 35 Hen. VIII. Thus it became hereditable by his successors; and it was retained even by Philip and Mary, though the statute itself had been repealed.

of England, the cardinal of York. Such an apology was not likely to appease the mind of Henry, who was proud of his work and attached to his minister; and the assertion that the king began to favour the new gospel provoked him to publish a severe but dignified answer. The publication of this letter rekindled the anger and exasperated the venom of the reformer. He announced his regret that he had descended to the meanness of making an apology, and condemned his own folly in supposing "that virtue could exist in a court, or that Christ might be found in a place where Satan reigned."

THE KING TIRES OF HIS QUEEN

When Henry married the princess Catherine she was in her twenty-sixth year. The graces of her person derived additional lustre from the amiable qualities of her heart, and the propriety of her conduct, during a long period of trial and suspense, had deserved and obtained the applause of the whole court. She bore him three sons and two daughters, all of whom died in their infancy except the princess Mary, who survived both her parents, and afterwards ascended the throne. For several years the king boasted of his happiness in possessing so accomplished and virtuous a consort; but Catherine was older than her husband, and subject to frequent infirmities; the ardour of his attachment gradually evaporated, and at last his inconstancy or superstition attributed to the curse of Heaven the death of her children and her subsequent miscarriages.*i* Friedmann,*e* while admitting Catherine's good qualities of kindliness, forgiving nature, and courage, yet blames her for narrow-mindedness and lack of tact with which to humour and rule Henry, and for her unfortunate behaviour at the time of the victory of Flodden Field. Henry's victory in France was minimised by the glory of Surrey, and by Catherine's own heroism in taking horse and setting forth to put herself at the head of the troops. Though she got only as far as Woburn before the victory, she gloated over Henry's petty success. Furthermore, he felt a superstition that she was cursed with inability to bear him a son. He had been dissatisfied with the conduct of her father, Ferdinand, in 1514, and with Charles V, her nephew. And finally he felt that fierce longing for an heir which later impelled Napoleon to divorce Josephine.*a* As long as he was attached to Catherine, he was careful to confine his passions within the bounds of public decency, and though he might indulge in occasional amours, he refrained from open and scandalous excesses. The first of the royal mistresses, whose name has been preserved in history, was Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Blount, and relict of Sir Gilbert Tailbois. By her he had, in 1519, a son, named in baptism Henry Fitzroy, whom he successively raised to the titles and offices of earl of Nottingham, duke of Richmond, admiral of England, warden of the Scottish marches, and lieutenant of Ireland. His excessive partiality to the boy provoked a suspicion that he intended to name him his successor, to the prejudice of his legitimate daughter; but, to the grief and disappointment of the father, the young Fitzroy died in London before he had completed his eighteenth year.

To Elizabeth Tailbois succeeded in the king's affections Mary Boleyn,[1] whose father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, was sprung from a lord mayor of London, and whose mother, Elizabeth, was daughter of Thomas, duke of Norfolk. She retained for some time her empire over the fickle heart of her lover; but Henry at length treated her as he had treated so many others; and his

[1 This name, like most of the others of the period, is variously spelled Bullen, Bouleyn, Boullan, or Boulain.]

[1521 A.D.]

desertion of Mary furnished, at a subsequent period, a useful lesson to her sister, the gay and accomplished Anne Boleyn.[1] It is unfortunate that we cannot ascertain the exact year in which that lady was born. The earliest year assigned is 1500, the latest 1507. Neither of these dates rests on satisfactory authority. The first appears to accord better with the earlier circumstances of her life, the other plainly makes her much too young. The

HENRY VIII
(1491–1547)

reader is aware that she was one of the few English ladies selected by Louis XII as attendants on his wife, Queen Mary,[2] who, soon after the death of her

[1] The reluctance of Burnet to acknowledge Mary as one of the king's mistresses must yield to the repeated assertions of Pole, in his private letter to Henry, written in 1535. "She (Anne Boleyn) is a sister of her whom first you violated and long after kept by you as a concubine." At her marriage with William Carey, 1521, of the privy chamber, the king honoured the ceremony with his presence and made his offering at the altar. [Friedmann's[e] researches confirm the belief that Anne's sister was Henry's mistress before her, and that this was the real reason for annulling Anne's later marriage. Froude[s] denies it, but his argument is full of misstatements. No one now believes, however, the atrocious scandal that Anne was the daughter as well as the mistress of Henry VIII by a liaison with Lady Boleyn. Henry VIII was only eleven years old at the time of Anne's birth.

[2] Dr. Brewer[f] maintained that it was not Anne, but Mary Boleyn, that went to France; but Friedmann[e] on more recent evidence establishes the accepted belief, and makes it clear that Anne was older than Mary.]

royal husband, returned to England. Anne, however, remained in France. She was soon admitted into the household of Claude, queen of Francis I. In the service of that virtuous princess she continued almost seven years; and though reports unfavourable to her moral character, during the latter period of her residence in the French court, may be found in foreign writers, they appear undeserving of credit, and were probably suggested by her subsequent unhappy fate.

In 1522 she was recalled to England by Henry VIII, who had it in contemplation to put an end to the controversy between Sir Thomas Boleyn and Sir Piers Butler, by giving Anne Boleyn in marriage to the son of Sir Piers. She returned to England in 1522, and was soon admitted into the household of Queen Catherine, in a situation similar to that which she before held in the service of Queen Claude. Her French education gave her superiority over her companions; she played and danced and sang with more grace than any other lady at court, and the gaiety of her conversation, with the buoyancy of her disposition, attracted a crowd of admirers. It happened that, when the cardinal was closeted with the king, the gentlemen of his suite, to pass their time, would repair to the apartment occupied by the queen's maids. There Anne first saw the lord Percy, son to the earl of Northumberland; a warm attachment grew up between them, and they began seriously to think of a clandestine marriage. But their secret was revealed to Henry, and Wolsey received orders to separate the lovers. Anne was sent back to her parents, and Percy was compelled to marry Mary Talbot, daughter to the earl of Shrewsbury.

After a short delay the young Boleyn was recalled to court, where she gradually resumed her former ascendancy, and consoled herself by a new conquest for her late disappointment. The projected union between her and the son of Sir Piers Butler now appeared more distant than ever; Henry himself on several occasions treated her with marked attention; once he made to her the present of a valuable set of jewels; and it was probably to gratify her that he created her father viscount Rochford, and appointed him treasurer of the royal household. Anne could not be blind to the impression which her charms had made on the amorous monarch; but when he ventured to hint to her his real object, she indignantly replied that she could not be his wife, and would not be his mistress.[1] This answer, instead of checking, served only to irritate the passion of the king, who for more than a twelvemonth persisted in urging his suit with protestations of the most ardent attachment. But Anne had derived wisdom from the fate of her sister Mary. She artfully kept her lover in suspense, but tempered her resistance with so many blandishments, that his hopes, though repeatedly disappointed, were never totally extinguished.

Henry was aware that some objections had been formerly raised to his marriage with Catherine, but the question had been set at rest by the unanimous decision of his council, and seventeen years had elapsed without a suspicion of the unlawfulness of their union. Now, however, his increasing passion for the daughter of Lady Boleyn induced him to reconsider the subject; and in the company of his confidants he affected to fear that he was living in a state of incest with the relict of his brother. Whether the idea of a divorce arose spontaneously in his mind, or was suggested by the officiousness of

[1 Friedmann e feels that this refusal to become the king's mistress was not especially virtuous in view of his shabby treatment of his loves. The mother of his son Henry Fitzroy had been married off to a plain knight, and Mary Boleyn's husband had been left simply Mr. Carey. Besides, these and other mistresses had never been given much prominence at court.]

[1525 A.D.]

others, may be uncertain;[1] but the royal wish was no sooner communicated to Wolsey, than he offered his aid, and ventured to promise complete success. His views, however, were very different from those of his sovereign. Either unapprised of Henry's intentions in favour of Anne, or persuading himself that the present amour would terminate like so many others, he looked forward to the political consequences of the divorce; and that he might "perpetuate" the alliance between England and France, had already selected, for the successor of Catherine, Renée, the daughter of Louis XII.*j*

EASY METHODS OF DIVORCE

Under the Catholic theory that marriage is a sacrament and therefore indissoluble, divorce as now understood was impossible, but human ingenuity had as usual learned how to bend the law without breaking it. It was only necessary to secure a ruling or some pretext or other that the marriage had never been valid. The mercenary or favour-currying courts could usually be brought to this step by those rich or influential enough. Professor Brewer [b] cites the case of the duke of Suffolk, who committed bigamy twice, was three times freed from the marriage bond, and included among his wives his aunt and his daughter-in-law. Friedmann [e] asserts that "the repudiation of a wife was almost a daily occurrence." Thus we see that the matrimonial laxity of ancient Rome or of some modern nations was rivalled by England at her most orthodox period. It was Catherine's royal blood and determination to protect the legitimacy of her daughter Mary, together with the political dilemma of the captive pope, that complicated Henry's situation.[a] Several canonists and divines had easily discovered the real wish of their sovereign through the thin disguise with which he affected to cover it—the scruples of a timorous conscience and the danger of a disputed succession. Most of them, from a passage in Leviticus,[2] contended that no dispensation could authorise a marriage with the widow of a brother; two, from passages in Deuteronomy, inferred that the prohibition was not universal, but admitted an exception in the king's case, where the first marriage had been unproductive of issue.

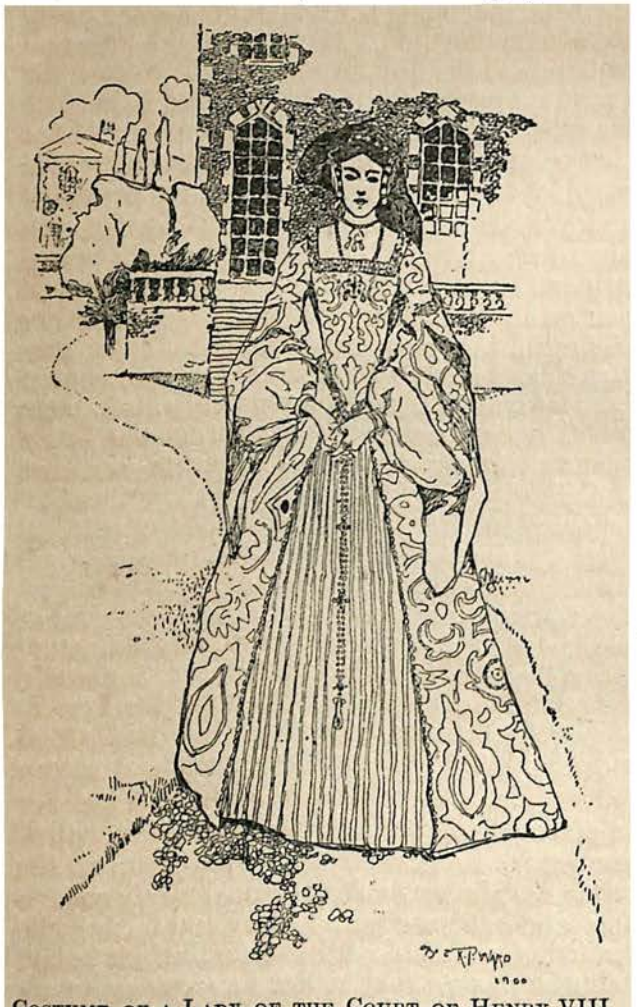
The following abstract of the reasoning on both sides of the question may not be unacceptable to the reader. It is taken from Dupin.(*k*) "Those on the king's party alleged: 1. That the laws of Moses which concerned marriage were not intended for the Jews exclusively, but were for all times and all nations; that they were grounded upon natural decency; that God calls the breaches of those laws wickedness and abominations, and threatens the most severe punishments to such as will not observe them; and that the prohibition to marry the brother's wife was not less strict than that of marrying within the degrees of consanguinity and affinity set down in Leviticus. 2. That that law was never repealed nor explained by Jesus Christ or his apostles. 3. But that, on the contrary, St. John the Baptist had sharply reproved Herod for marrying

[1] The first suggestion of the divorce has been attributed to different persons. By the public the credit or infamy of it was given to Wolsey. Wolsey denied or admitted it, as best suited his purpose. Henry himself declared that the idea originated not with the cardinal, but with himself, and that his scruples were confirmed by the bishop of Tarbes. But Cardinal Pole,*i* who, writing to the king on such a subject,would hardly venture to assert what, if it were not true, Henry must have known to be false, assures us that it was first mentioned to the king by certain divines whom Anne Boleyn sent to him for that purpose.

[2] Leviticus xx, 21: "If a man shall take his brother's wife, it is an unclean thing: he hath uncovered his brother's nakedness; they shall be childless."]

his brother's wife. 4. That the first Christians always accounted the laws of Leviticus to be inviolable."

On the other hand, the writers of the queen's party maintained: "1. That the prohibition in Leviticus, to marry a brother's wife, was not a law of nature, but only a positive law; which Moses had sufficiently shown by commanding, in Deuteronomy, the brother to marry his brother's widow when the latter died without children, demonstrating by this exception that the law admitted of dispensation, and consequently was not a law of nature; that before Moses that law was of no force, because Jacob married Leah and Rachel, two sisters; and Judah, after he had married two of his sons to Tamar, promised her the third. 2. That in the New Testament Jesus Christ approved of the exception in Deuteronomy, in answer to the Sadducees, who had proposed that law to him. 3. That St. John the Baptist reproved Herod for marrying his brother's wife, either because his brother was yet living, or because, if he was dead, he had left children. 4. That the fathers always looked upon the law of Deuteronomy as an exception to that of Leviticus."



COSTUME OF A LADY OF THE COURT OF HENRY VIII

It had been agreed that Wolsey should proceed to the Continent, that he might settle in person with Francis certain points which still remained in suspense. Of these, the chief, in the king's estimation, regarded the promised marriage of the princess Mary. How could he give her, as his heir-apparent, to Francis, at the moment when he intended to bastardise her by repudiating her mother? That monarch still insisted on their union; and the most that Wolsey could obtain in the conferences in April was that the marriage should take place either with the king or his second son, the duke of Orleans. Henry would not consent to the first part of this alternative, and therefore imposed on his minister the task of persuading Francis to be satisfied with the second, or to break off the intended marriage altogether. It was with many misgivings that the cardinal had accepted the commission. He knew that the advice came from his political enemies, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and the lord Rochford [Anne Boleyn's father], all warm advocates for the divorce; and he foresaw that they would improve the opportunity of his

[1527 A.D.]

absence to undermine his credit with the king, by insinuating that he was an enemy to it. Perhaps he might have succeeded in his attempt to avoid this mission had not the news arrived of the recent occurrences in Italy. The king, though he felt, or affected to feel, the deepest grief for the misfortunes of the pontiff, was not blind to the benefits which might be derived from his captivity.

Hitherto the king had concealed his thoughts respecting a divorce from the knowledge of the queen, and with that view had sworn to secrecy every individual to whom they had been communicated. But Catherine's eyes had witnessed his partiality for her maid, and her jealousy at last discovered the whole intrigue, June 30th. In a fit of passion she reproached him to his face with the baseness of his conduct, attributing it, however, to the policy of the cardinal, and to his hostility to her on account of her family. After a "shorte tragedie," Henry appeased her. He appealed to her piety, and protested that his only object was to search out the truth and to tranquillise his own conscience. She replied that she came a virgin to his bed; that she would never admit that she had been living in incest for eighteen years; and that she would have, what could not in justice be denied her, the aid of both native and foreign counsel to defend her right. From that moment all her proceedings were strictly watched; for it was become of importance to cut her off from all communication with the emperor, as long as that prince kept the pontiff in his custody. Still, in defiance of every precaution, she found the means of sending information to the archduchess in Flanders, and also to her nephew in Spain.

WOLSEY'S EMBASSY TO AMIENS (1527 A.D.)

In the mean while the cardinal had set out on his embassy, July 1st, 1527, having previously begged of the king by letter to defend him during his absence against those who might represent him as a covert opponent of the divorce. Crossing the sea, he entered France July 11th, where he was received with all the distinction due to a crowned head, because he had been appointed locum tenens of the king.[1] On his representation that no peace could be hoped for in Europe unless the French king should marry Leonora, Francis consented, though not without a real or pretended struggle, to waive the claim to the princess Mary. It was agreed that she should marry the duke of Orleans, a boy eight years old, but that the articles of marriage—Mary throughout the negotiation was considered heir-apparent—should not be settled till the young prince had attained the age of puberty; and that if, for any reason, or on account of any event which might come to pass, the marriage did not take place, that failure should not interrupt the friendship between the crowns nor invalidate any provision of the treaties concluded between them. The two kings were made to unite in a declaration that, as long as the pontiff remained in captivity, they would neither consent to the convocation of the general council, nor admit any bull or breve issued by Clement in derogation of their rights, or of the rights of their subjects; that during the same period the concerns of each national church should be conducted by its own bishops.

[1] Letters from Wolsey to the king are included in *State Papers*, published by order of government. Prof. J. S. Brewer *b*, the learned and accurate editor of this invaluable collection of historical materials, remarks that this appears to be the first occasion of Wolsey's adopting the style of "majesty" in addressing Henry VIII. English kings had till now been satisfied with "your highness," or "your grace." *l*

Whilst the ambassador was employed in these treaties, Henry, at the persuasion of Wakefield, professor of Hebrew in the university of Oxford, had resumed the plan so recently abandoned, and had resolved to rest his cause on the prohibition in Leviticus. With this view a treatise was composed. The materials may have been furnished by others, but the king laboured assiduously at the work himself, and fortified his case with every argument and authority which his reading or ingenuity could supply.[1] The result was such as might have been anticipated. He convinced himself by his own reasoning; he believed that no impartial judge could pronounce against him; he began to look upon every man as an enemy who dared to doubt of the success of his cause. In this temper of mind it was with deep displeasure that he read the letters of the cardinal from France, detailing the difficulties which must arise from the observance of judicial forms, the opposition of the emperor, and the obstinacy, the protests, and the appeals of Catherine. Henry rejected these suggestions, and let him know that they were thought to proceed more from a wish to gratify his own ambition than to promote the cause of his sovereign. The king's distrust was now deeply rooted; he refused to give his confidence to the agents employed by Wolsey, resolved to negotiate with the pope through an envoy of his own, and selected for that mission his secretary Knight.

Soon afterwards the king took an opportunity of communicating to Wolsey his fixed determination to marry Anne Boleyn. The minister received the intelligence with grief and dismay. The disparity of her birth, the danger of being supplanted by a rival family, the loss of the French interest, which he hoped to secure by a future marriage with a French princess, and the additional difficulties which this resolution would throw in the way of the divorce, crowded upon his mind. On his knees he besought the king to recede from a project which would cover him with disgrace; but, aware of the royal temper, he soon desisted from his opposition, became a convert to the measure which he could not avert, and laboured by his subsequent services to atone for the crime of having dared to dispute the pleasure of his sovereign. The king's case or treatise was now laid before Sir Thomas More, who, pleading his ignorance of theology, suspended his judgment; and before Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, who, having maturely weighed the arguments on both sides, gave an opinion unfavourable to the divorce. It was to no purpose that the cardinal employed his eloquence and authority, that he repeatedly held assemblies of prelates and divines; few could be induced to pronounce in favour of the king. With the nation at large the royal cause was unpopular.

NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE POPE

One great point, which exercised and perplexed the ingenuity of the royal advisers, was to effect the divorce in so firm and legal a manner that no objection might be afterwards raised to the legitimacy of the king's issue by a subsequent marriage. For three months instructions were issued and revoked, amended and renewed, to Knight, the royal agent in Italy, to Wolsey's agents, the three brothers Da Casale, and to Staphilæo, dean of the Rota, whose approbation of the divorce had been obtained in his late visit to London. The emperor, on the other hand, had professed a determination to support

[1] Henry in one of his letters to Anne writes, that his book maketh substantially for his purpose—that he had been writing it four hours that day—and then concludes with expressions too indelicate to be transcribed.

the honour of his aunt, and demanded of the pontiff—who, to procure provisions, had been compelled to admit the imperialists into the castle of St. Angelo, June 7th—an inhibition to prevent the cause from being tried before any judge in England, with a promise that he would not consent to any act preparatory to a divorce without the previous knowledge of Charles himself. To the last of these demands Clement assented; but he refused the first, on the ground that it was contrary to the established usage.

In the mean while a French army commanded by Lautrec, and accompanied by Sir Robert Jerningham, the English commissary, had crossed the Alps for the avowed purpose of liberating the pope from confinement. Clement contrived to escape one evening in the disguise of a gardener, and reached in safety the strong city of Orvieto. There the first who waited on him were the English envoys. They congratulated the pontiff on the recovery of his liberty, but required his immediate attention to the requests of their sovereign. To Clement nothing could have happened more distressing than this untimely visit. Bound to Henry by the ties of gratitude, he was unwilling to disoblige his benefactor; with his capital and his states in the possession of the imperialists, he dreaded to provoke the resentment of the emperor. The envoys presented to him for signature two instruments, by the first of which he would empower Wolsey (in case of objection to Wolsey they were permitted to substitute Staphilæo) to hear and decide the cause of the divorce; by the second he would grant to Henry a dispensation to marry, in the place of Catherine, any other woman whomsoever, even if she were already promised to another, or related to himself within the first degree of affinity.

This dispensation was thought necessary to secure the intended marriage with Anne Boleyn from two objections which might afterwards be brought against it. 1. A suspicion was entertained that she had been actually contracted to Percy, and was therefore his lawful wife. On this account the dispensation was made to authorize the king's marriage with any woman, *etiamsi talis sit, quæ prius cum alio contraxerit, dummodo illud carnali copula non fuerit consummatum.* 2. Mary Boleyn had been Henry's mistress. Now the relationship between sister and sister is as near as the relationship between brother and brother; whence it was argued that, if Henry, as he contended, could not validly marry Catherine, on the supposition that she had been carnally known by his brother Arthur, so neither could Anne validly marry Henry, because he had carnally known her sister Mary. On this account the following clause was introduced. *Etiamsi illa tibi alias secundo aut remotiore consanguinitatis aut primo affinitatis gradu, etiam ex quocumque licito seu illicito coitu proveniente, invicem conjuncta sit, dummodo relicta fratris tui non fuerit.* Thus the king was placed in a most singular situation, compelled to acknowledge in the pontiff a power which he at the same time denied, and to solicit a dispensation of the very same nature with that which he maintained to be invalid. In delivering these instruments to Knight, the pope observed that he had sacrificed the considerations of prudence to those of gratitude; that his safety, perhaps his life, now depended on the generosity of the king.

In the mean time Wolsey urged his sovereign to the faithful performance of those engagements which he had lately contracted with the king of France.[i]

At the beginning of 1528 war was formally declared against the emperor by France and England. This war against Charles was most unpopular in England. The clothiers could not sell their broadcloths; the bulk of the people, who were suffering from a great dearth of corn, could not obtain their wonted supplies out of Flanders. The conduct of the emperor towards Eng-

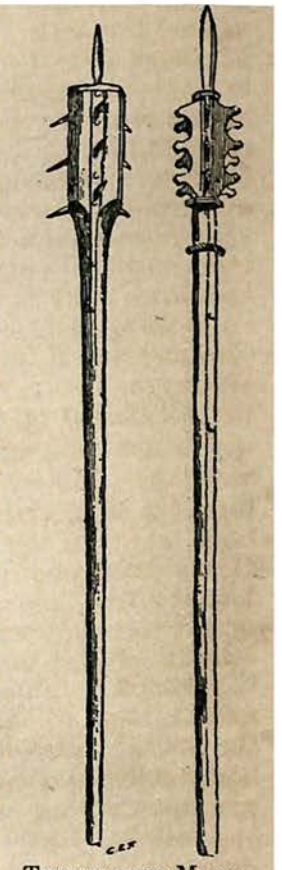
land was marked by extreme moderation. He had thrown the blame of the quarrel upon Wolsey, alleging that he had provoked the war because the emperor would not satisfy his rapacity or place him by force in the chair of St. Peter. Of the members of the French commission for the investment of Henry with the order of St. Michael, Jean du Bellai, bishop of Bayonne, remained as ambassador. His correspondence with the French government during the eventful years of 1528–9 presents us with incidental views of the state of England, the politics of the court, and the feelings of the people, more precise and life-like than we can derive from any other source. This clear-sighted bystander saw more of the game than the players. On the 16th of February, 1528, Bellai [m] writes, "I think that he (the cardinal) is the only one in England who desires the war in Flanders." He describes how the London merchants had refused to go upon 'Change, so that, the manufacturers being unable to sell their cloth, there might be revolt in the provinces. On the 23rd, he says, that those who would gladly see Wolsey come to ruin, rejoice when everything goes wrong, and say, "These are the works of the legate." The government did not wholly set itself against the popular voice. An armistice was concluded between England and the Netherlands, June 15th, 1528, whilst hostilities went on as between England and Spain.

Meanwhile, in February, 1528, upon the urgent representations of Stephen Gardiner and Edward Fox, Clement had granted the commission authorising Wolsey, as legate, with the aid of one of the English prelates, to inquire into the sufficiency of the dispensation for Henry's marriage with his brother's widow, and to pronounce accordingly upon the validity or invalidity of that marriage. Wolsey shrank from this fearful responsibility, the more so that the king expressed himself satisfied. He had to encounter technical objections which in the ardour of his political views he had overlooked. When Henry knew of his honest doubts he chafed with indignation. Wolsey obtained a new commission from the pope, dated in June, 1528, in which Cardinal Campeggio was associated with him to try this great question of the legality of the marriage. The bishop of Bayonne, before the arrival of Campeggio in England, says that Wolsey had to endure much anxiety in this matter, upon which Henry had set his heart.[d] If gratitude and affection led the pontiff to favour the king of England, the experience of what he had lately suffered taught him to fear the resentment of the emperor. Charles was not wanting in the defence of his aunt; his ambassador systematically opposed every overture which was made by Gardiner, and each prince had significantly hinted that his subsequent obedience to the see of Rome would depend on the treatment which he should receive. To add to his perplexity, victory had now deserted the French for the imperial banner. Italy lay prostrate at the feet of Charles.

In these circumstances Clement resolved to prolong the controversy, in the hope that some unforeseen event might occur to relieve him from his embarrassment; and for that purpose the infirmities of Campeggio might, it was thought, prove of considerable service. The legate was instructed to proceed by slow journeys; to endeavour to reconcile the parties; to advise the queen to enter a monastery; to conduct the trial with due caution, and according to the established forms; but at all events to abstain from pronouncing judgment till he had consulted the apostolic see; for, though his holiness was willing to do anything in his power to afford satisfaction to Henry, yet in a cause which had given rise to so many scandalous remarks, and in which one imprudent step might throw all Europe into a flame, it was necessary for him to proceed with due reflection and caution.

[1528 A.D.]

Anne was careful to employ every art to confirm her empire over her lover, and lavished protestations of gratitude on the cardinal to animate his exertions in her favour. After a tedious journey, which had been repeatedly suspended by fits of the gout, Campeggio reached London, October 7th, 1528, but in such a state of suffering and weakness that he was carried in a litter to his lodgings, where he remained for several days confined to his bed. Previously to his arrival a sense of decency had induced the king to remove his mistress a second time from court. He lived with the queen apparently on the same terms as if there had been no controversy between them. They continued to eat at the same table and to sleep in the same bed. Catherine carefully concealed her feelings, and appeared in public with that air of cheerfulness which she used to display in the days of her greatest prosperity.[1]



TWO-HANDED MACE, SIXTEENTH CENTURY
(Called Henry VIII Walking-Stick)

A fortnight elapsed before the legate was sufficiently recovered to leave his house. By the king he was most graciously received, October 22nd; but the caution of the Italian proved a match for all the arts both of Henry and Wolsey. Though the minister harassed him with daily conferences, and the king honoured him with repeated visits; though his constancy was tempted by flattery and promises; though his son received the honour of knighthood, and to himself an offer was made of the rich bishopric of Durham, he kept his real sentiments an impenetrable secret, and never suffered himself to be betrayed into an unguarded expression. Campeggio, after he had been introduced to Henry, waited on the queen, October 27th, first in private and then in the company of Wolsey and four other prelates. He exhorted her in the name of the pontiff to enter a convent, and then explained to her the objections against the validity of her marriage. Catherine replied with modesty and firmness, that it was not for herself that she was concerned, but for one whose interests were more dear to her than her own; that the presumptive heir to the crown was her daughter Mary, whose right should never be prejudiced by the voluntary act of her mother; that she thought it strange to be thus interrogated without previous notice on so delicate and important a subject; that she was a weak, illiterate woman, a stranger without friends or advisers, while her opponents were men learned in the law, and anxious to deserve the favour of their sovereign; and that she therefore demanded as a right the aid of counsel of her own choice, selected from the subjects of her nephew. This request was partially granted; and in addition to certain English prelates and canonists, she was permitted to choose two foreign advocates, provided they were natives of Flanders, and not of Spain.

A few days later, November 8th, the king undertook to silence the murmurs of the people, and summoned to his residence in the Bridewell the members of the council, the lords of his court, and the mayor, aldermen, and prin-

[1] Ne a les voir ensemble se scauroit on de riens appercevoir; et jusqu'a cette heure n'ont que un lict, et une table—says the bishop of Bayonne.[m] We notice this passage because our modern historians tell us that for some years the delicacy of Henry's conscience had compelled him to abstain from Catherine's bed.

cipal citizens. Before them he enumerated the several injuries which he had received from the emperor, and the motives which induced him to seek the alliance of the king of France. Then, taking to himself credit for delicacy of conscience, he described the scruples which had long tormented his mind on account of his marriage with the widow of his deceased brother. These he had at first endeavoured to suppress; but they were revived and confirmed by the alarming declaration of the bishop of Tarbes in the presence of his council. To tranquillise his mind he had recourse to the only legitimate remedy. He consulted the pontiff, who had appointed two delegates to hear the cause, and by their judgment he was determined to abide. He would therefore warn his subjects to be cautious how they ventured to arraign his conduct. The proudest among them should learn that he was their sovereign, and should answer with their heads for the presumption of their tongues. Yet, with all this parade of conscious superiority, he did not refuse the aid of precaution. A rigorous search was made for arms, and all strangers, with the exception of ten merchants from each nation, were ordered to leave the capital.[i]

ANNE BOLEYN
(1507–1536)

This banishment of strangers of three nations from the capital applied, we may suppose, to Flemings, Spaniards, and Germans. Its effect must have produced the most extensive derangement of commercial affairs, if, as is said, "more than fifteen thousand Flemings would in consequence be removed." The people were suspected of a disposition to revolt. "There has been a search for fire-arms and cross-bows," says the bishop of Bayonne,[m] "and wherever they are found in the city they are taken away, so that they are left with no worse weapon than the tongue." With the great there was less indignation: "As to the nobles, the king has made them so understand his fantasy that they speak more soberly than they were wont to do."

Amidst all this open and suppressed dislike of the proceedings of the court, the national spirit was surging up at the notion of foreign dictation. The emperor, knowing his popularity in England, had threatened that he would expel Henry from his kingdom by his own subjects. Wolsey repeated this before an assembly of a hundred gentlemen. They were silent; but one at last said, "By those words the emperor has lost a hundred thousand hearts in England." Wolsey laboured hard to make Charles hated and Francis beloved in England; "but," says the French ambassador, "it is a hard thing to strive against nature."[d]

It was now expected that the legates would proceed to the trial; but delays were sought and created, not by the pontiff but by the king himself.

Ever since the breaking up of the French army before Naples the war had languished in Italy. and the undisputed ascendancy maintained by the

[1528-1529 A.D.]

emperor enabled that prince to treat with generosity his feeble opponent, the Roman pontiff. Henry received this intelligence of the emperor's moderation with alarm; he suspected the existence of a secret understanding between Charles and Clement, complained in bitter terms of the supineness and ingratitude of Francis, and, December 8th, despatched two new agents to Rome, Sir Francis Bryan, master of the henchmen, and Peter Vannes, his secretary for the Latin tongue. They had received instructions to retain the ablest canonists in Rome as counsel for the king, and to require, with due secrecy, their opinions on the following questions: 1, Whether, if a wife were to make a vow of chastity and enter a convent, the pope could not, of the plenitude of his power, authorise the husband to marry again; 2, whether, if the husband were to enter into a religious order that he might induce his wife to do the same, he might not be afterwards released from his vow and at liberty to marry; 3, and whether, for reasons of state, the pope could not license a prince to have, like the ancient patriarchs, two wives, of whom one only should be publicly acknowledged and enjoy the honours of royalty.

The Pope's Opposition to Henry's Plans.

The reader is aware that the objections to the original dispensation were of two sorts: one denying the power of the pontiff to dispense in such cases, the other denying the truth of the allegations on which the bull of Julius had been founded. Henry had wavered from one to the other, but of late relied chiefly on the latter. To his surprise, December 20th, Catherine exhibited to him the copy of a *brève* of dispensation, which had been sent to her from Spain. It was granted by the same pope, was dated on the same day, but was worded in such manner as to elude the objections made to the bull. The king and his advisers were perplexed. The ground on which they stood was suddenly cut from under their feet. The very commission of the legates empowered them to determine the validity of the bull only; and it was, moreover, found that the pollicitation itself was not absolute but conditional. Henry grew peevish and suspicious, and repeated mortifications announced to the minister the precarious tenure by which he held the royal favour. The king's agents sometimes cajoled, sometimes threatened the pontiff; they forced their way to his sick-bed, and exaggerated the danger to his soul, should he die without doing justice to Henry; they accused him of ingratitude to his best friend, and of indifference to the prosperity of the church. To all their remonstrances he returned the same answer, that he could not refuse to Catherine what the ordinary forms of justice required; that he was devoted to the king, and eager to gratify him in any manner conformably with honour and equity; and that his advice would be for the king to proceed without loss of time to the trial and determination of the cause within his own realm.

But in proportion as the prospect of success grew fainter, the passion of Henry was seen to increase. Within two months after the removal of his mistress from court, he dismissed Catherine to Greenwich, and required Anne Boleyn to return. But she affected to resent the manner in which she had been treated; his letter and invitation were received with contempt; and if she at length yielded, it was not to the command of the king, but to the tears and entreaties of her father. To soothe her pride, Henry gave her a princely establishment; allotted her apartments richly furnished, and contiguous to his own; and exacted of his courtiers that they should attend her daily levees, in the same manner in which they had attended those of the queen. It is

plain from the king's letters, that though she had indulged him in liberties which no modest woman would grant, she had not hitherto gratified his passion; but after her return to court it was rumoured that she occupied the place of the queen in private as well as public, in bed as well as at board, and it was believed that the hope or the fear of her pregnancy would compel Henry to cut short all delay and to proceed immediately with his suit. Gardiner was hastily recalled from Rome to be the leading counsel for the king; a license under the broad seal was issued May 30th, 1529, empowering the legates to execute their commission; and when Wolsey solicited the appointment of ambassador at the congress of Cambray, he was told to remain at home and aid his colleague in the discharge of his judicial functions. On the part of the English cardinal there was no want of industry and expedition; but Campeggio obstinately adhered to established forms, and neither the wishes of the king, nor the entreaties of Wolsey, nor the exhortations of Francis, could accelerate his progress.*i*

THE LEGATINE COURT AND THE QUEEN'S TRIAL (1529 A.D.)

Seven months had elapsed between the arrival of Cardinal Campeggio in London and the opening of the legatine court which he and Wolsey were authorised to hold.

At length, on the 18th of June, 1529, the court of the legates was solemnly opened, by reading the commission of the pope to the judges of the cause. "That done, the crier called the king, by the name of 'King Henry of England, come into the court, etc.' With that the king answered, 'Here, my lords.' Then he called also the queen, by the name of 'Catherine, queen of England, come into the court, etc.' who made no answer to the same." This is the account which Cavendish [o] gives. Burnet [c] denies that the king appeared, except by proxy, and says that the queen withdrew after reading a protest against the competency of the judges. He is clearly in error. There are many collateral proofs that the king was present. Cavendish makes the queen, kneeling, thus address the king, "in broken English":

"Sir, I beseech you for all the loves that hath been between us, and for the love of God, let me have justice and right; take of me some pity and compassion, for I am a poor woman and a stranger born out of your dominions. I have here no assured friend, and much less indifferent counsel; I flee to you as to the head of justice within this realm. Alas! sir, wherein have I offended you, or what occasion of displeasure have I designed against your will and pleasure, intending (as I perceive) to put me from you? I take God and all the world to witness, that I have been to you a true, humble, and obedient wife, ever conformable to your will and pleasure, that never said or did anything to the contrary thereof, being always well pleased and contented with all things wherein you had any delight or dalliance, whether it were in little or much. I never grudged in word or countenance, or showed a visage or spark of discontentation. I loved all those whom ye loved only for your sake, whether I had cause or no, and whether they were my friends or my enemies. This twenty years I have been your true wife or more, and by me ye have had divers children, although it hath pleased God to call them all out of this world, which hath been no default in me."

The remainder of Catherine's speech dwells upon the circumstances of her second marriage—the wisdom of Henry VII and of Ferdinand, who would not have promoted it had it not been good and lawful. The queen then rose,

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and "took her way strait out of the house." Henry commanded the crier to call her again, of which she was informed by her receiver, Master Griffith, who supported her with his arm. "On, on," quoth she, "it maketh no matter; for it is no indifferent court for me, therefore I will not tarry. Go on your ways." Henry, according to the same authority, made a speech, touching his griefs and necessities and Catherine's goodness.[d]

Notwithstanding the queen's appeal, the cause proceeded, and on her refusal to appear in person or by her attorney, she was pronounced contumacious. Several sittings were held, but the evidence and the arguments were all on the same side. The king's counsel laboured to prove three allegations: 1, That the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had been consummated; whence they inferred that her subsequent marriage with Henry was contrary to the divine law; 2, that supposing the case admitted of dispensation, yet the bull of Julius II had been obtained under false pretences; and 3, that the *brève* of dispensation, produced by the queen, which remedied the defects of the bull, was an evident forgery. As Catherine declined the jurisdiction of the court, no answer was returned; but if the reader impartially weigh the proceedings, which are still upon record, he will admit that on the first two points the royal advocates completely failed; and that the third, though appearances were in their favour, was far from being proved. Wolsey had his own reasons to urge his colleague to a speedy decision; but Campeggio, unwilling to pronounce against his conscience, and afraid to irritate the king, solicited the pope by letter to call the cause before himself.

The legates had been careful to prolong the trial by repeated adjournments, till they reached that term when the summer vacation commenced, according to the practice of the Rota. On the 23rd of July they held the last session; the king attended in a neighbouring room, from which he could see and hear the proceedings, and his counsel in lofty terms called for the judgment of the court. But Campeggio replied that judgment must be deferred till the whole of the proceedings had been laid before the pontiff; that he had come there to do justice, and no consideration should divert him from his duty. He was too old and weak and sickly to seek the favour or fear the resentment of any man. The defendant had challenged him and his colleague as judges, because they were the subjects of her opponent. To avoid error, they had therefore determined to consult the Apostolic See, and for that purpose did then adjourn the court to the commencement of the next term, in the beginning of October.

At these words the duke of Suffolk, as had been preconcerted, striking the table, exclaimed with vehemence that the old saw was now verified: "Never did cardinal bring good to England!"[1] Though Wolsey was aware of the danger, his spirit could not brook this insult. Rising with apparent calmness, he said, according to Cavendish:[o] "Sir, of all men living, you have least reason to dispraise cardinals; for if I, a poor cardinal, had not been, you would not at this present have had a head upon your shoulders wherewith to make such a brag in disrepute of us, who have meant you no harm, and have given you no cause of offence." The court was now dissolved, and in less than a fortnight it was known that Clement had revoked the commission of the legates on the fifteenth of the same month.

[1 "The two cardinals gazed at each other in wonderment at this speech. Could they realise that his language was an implied declaration of war on the part of the laity against the state influence of the church and foreign influence?" says Von Ranke,[p] who notes that Henry, who had, in contradiction to English traditions, ruled thus far mainly through ecclesiastics to the disgust of the lay nobility, but now turned to the latter as a defence against the two cardinals."]

WOLSEY IN DISGRACE (1529 A.D.)

Henry seemed to bear the disappointment with a composure of mind which was unusual to him. But Wolsey's good fortune had now abandoned him; it was in vain that the cardinal laboured to recover the royal favour. The proofs of his disgrace became daily more manifest. He was suffered to remain the whole month of August at the Moore without an invitation to court; on matters of state his opinion was seldom asked, and then only by special messengers; even letters addressed to him were intercepted, opened, and perused by Henry. But most he had reason to fear the arts of the woman who, the last year, so solemnly assured him that her gratitude should be commensurate with her life. It was not long since Anne had measured her influence with his, and had proved victorious. For some offence Wolsey had driven Sir Thomas Cheney from court. Cheney appealed to the king's mistress, and Henry reprimanded the cardinal and recalled the exile. Now she openly avowed her hostility, and eagerly seconded the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and her father, the viscount Rochford, in their united attempts to precipitate the downfall of the minister. They insinuated that he had never been in earnest in the prosecution of the divorce, and had uniformly sacrificed the interests of his sovereign to those of the king of France.

Aware of their hostility, the cardinal rested all his hopes on the result of a personal interview and, after many disappointments, was at last gratified. He obtained permission to accompany Campeggio when that prelate took leave of the king at Grafton, September 19th. The Italian was received by the officers of the court with the attention due to his rank; the fallen minister found to his surprise that, though an apartment had been ordered for his companion, none was provided for himself. He was introduced into the "presence." Every tongue foretold his disgrace—every eye watched his reception. To the general surprise, when he knelt, the king graciously raised him up with both hands, led him aside in a friendly manner, and conversed with him familiarly for a considerable time. The cardinal dined with the ministers; Henry with the lady Anne in her chamber; but after dinner he sent for Wolsey again, conducted him by the hand into his closet, and kept him in private conference till it was dark. At his departure—for he slept at a gentleman's house in the neighbourhood—he received a command to return on the following morning. Wolsey's enemies now trembled for their own safety; they were relieved from their apprehensions by the ascendancy of Anne Boleyn, who extorted from her lover a promise that he would never more speak to the cardinal. When Wolsey returned in the morning the king was already on horseback, and having sent a message to him to attend the council, and then depart with Campeggio, rode out in the company of the lady Anne and dined at Hartwell Park. After that day he and Wolsey never met each other.

When the Michaelmas term came, the two cardinals separated. The Italian set out on his return to Rome, but met with an unexpected affront at Dover. The officers of the customs burst into his apartment, October 1st, rifled his trunks, and charged him with being in possession of Wolsey's treasure. The charge was false and it was thought that the real object of the search was to seize certain papers which it might be the king's interest to possess.[1]

[1] These papers may have been the decretal bull, or letters from Wolsey to the pope, or Henry's letters to Anne Boleyn, which had come by some unknown means into the hands of Campeggio. But he had already sent the latter to Rome, where they may still be seen in the

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Nothing, however, was found; and Campeggio, after a strong remonstrance on his part and an unmeaning apology on that of the officers, was suffered to set sail. A worse fate awaited his English colleague. On the very day, October 9th, on which Wolsey opened his court as chancellor, Hales, the attorney-general, filed two bills against him in the King's Bench, charging him with having, as legate, transgressed the statute of the 16th of Richard II, commonly called the Statute of Præmunire.[1] Nothing could be more iniquitous than this prosecution. It was doubtful whether the legatine court could be brought within the operation of the statute; it was certain that the cardinal had previously obtained the royal license, and was therefore authorised to hold it both by immemorial usage and the sanction of parliament. This stroke, though it was not unexpected, plunged him into despair. The reader may form an accurate notion of his present situation by the following extract from a letter written by the bishop of Bayonne,[m] an eye-witness:

"I have been to visit the cardinal in his distress, and have witnessed the most striking change of fortune. He explained to me his hard case in the worst rhetoric that was ever heard. Both his tongue and his heart failed him. He recommended himself to the pity of the king and madame (Francis and his mother) with sighs and tears and at last left me without having said anything near so moving as his appearance. His face is dwindled to one-half its natural size."

He knew the stern and irritable temper of his prosecutor; to have maintained his innocence would have been to exclude the hope of forgiveness; and there was, moreover, a "night-crow," to use his own expression, that possessed the royal ear and misrepresented the most harmless of his actions. On these accounts he submitted without a murmur to every demand. October 17th he resigned the great seal into the hands of the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk; transferred to the king the whole of his personal estate, valued at 500,000 crowns, saying that, as he owed all to the bounty of his sovereign, so he restored all with pleasure to his benefactor; and when he found that Henry insisted on an entire and unconditional submission, granted to him, by indenture, the yearly profits of his benefices, ordered his attorney to plead guilty to the indictment, and threw himself without reserve on the royal mercy. It was now intimated to him that the king meant to reside at York Place during the parliament, and that he might retire to Esher, a seat belonging to his bishopric of Winchester.

When he entered his barge he was surprised to behold the river covered with boats and lined with spectators. Both the courtiers and the citizens had crowded together to behold his arrest and commitment to the Tower; but he disappointed their curiosity, landed at Putney, and, as he ascended the hill, was met by Norris, a groom of the chamber, who brought him a secret but gracious message from Henry, not to despair but to remember that the king could at any time give him more than he had now taken away. The cardinal instantly alighted from his mule, sunk on his knees, and uttered a fervent prayer for the prosperity of his sovereign.[2] This incident, which

Vatican library, seventeen in number; but without dates. [Friedmann e states that the decretal had already been destroyed to prevent Henry's seizing it and using it as authority, now that the pope regretted ever signing it].

[1 This statute had been passed in 1353 to prevent the carrying of suits to the papal court, though the pope's name was not mentioned.]

[2 He parted with his poor fool upon Putney Heath—the faithful fool, "who took on and fired so in such a rage when he saw that he must needs depart," even though he was sent to make sport for a jovial king, instead of abiding with a humiliated priest. [It required six men to tear the buffoon away.] Wolsey reached his desolate house of Esher, wholly unprovided with common necessaries—with "beds, sheets, tablecloths, cups, or dishes." It is ten

proved to Wolsey that his case was not yet hopeless, alarmed his opponents. They had gone too far to desist with safety; they must either complete his ruin, or submit to be afterwards the victims of his resentment. Hence they laboured to keep alive the royal displeasure against him.

Still the king's partiality for his former favourite seemed to be proof against all the representations of the council and the arts of his mistress. He continued to send to the cardinal from time to time consoling messages and tokens of affection, though it was generally by stealth, and sometimes during the night. When the court pronounced judgment against him, he took him under the royal protection; and when articles of impeachment, enumerating forty-four real or imaginary offences, and signed by fourteen peers and the law officers of the crown, had been introduced into the house of lords, and passed from it to the house of commons, he procured them to be thrown out by the agency of Cromwell, who from the service of the cardinal had risen to that of the king.[i] The articles exhibited by the lords against Wolsey—such as his writing to Rome, "Ego et Rex meus"—his putting the cardinal's hat on his York groat—his sending large sums to Rome—and similar charges of ecclesiastical assumption, were evidently held insufficient to sustain any accusation of offence "to the prince's person or to the state," as Wolsey himself alleged. It was not Henry's purpose then to crush Wolsey. We may be sure that Cromwell would not have dared to defend him if the king had willed his condemnation. The future was too doubtful to allow the king utterly to destroy a cardinal of the Roman see whilst there was anything to hope in the matter of the divorce from the decision of the pope.[d]

The anguish of Wolsey's mind, however, rapidly consumed the vigour of his constitution. About Christmas he fell into a fever, which obstinately defied the powers of medicine. When Henry heard of his danger, he exclaimed, "God forbid that he should die. I would not lose him for twenty thousand pounds." He immediately ordered three physicians to hasten to Esher; repeatedly assured the cardinal of his unabated attachment, and, no longer concealing his anxiety from Anne Boleyn, compelled her to send to the sick man a tablet of gold for a token of reconciliation. It was ultimately agreed that Wolsey should retain the administration, temporal as well as spiritual, of the archiepiscopal see of York, but make over to the crown, for the term of his natural life, all the profits, all advowsons, and all nominations to offices, spiritual or secular, in his gift, as bishop of Winchester and abbot of St. Albans, and that in return he should receive a general pardon, an annuity of one thousand marks from the bishopric of Winchester, and a release from all moneys due to the king for his maintenance since the day of his conviction.

When he had assented to every demand, his vicinity to the court alarmed the jealousy of his enemies, and a peremptory order to reside within his archbishopric drove him, notwithstanding his entreaties and remonstrances, to a distance of two hundred miles. Henry, to soften the rigour of his exile, had recommended him in the warmest terms to the attention of the northern nobility, and Wolsey by his conduct and generosity quickly won their esteem. His thoughts seemed entirely devoted to the spiritual and temporal concerns of his station. He made it his favourite employment to reconcile families at variance—a tedious and expensive office, as he frequently satisfied the injured

years since he was wont to say to the Venetian ambassador, "I shall do so and so." He now writes to Stephen Gardiner, praying him to extend his benevolence towards him, and begging for pecuniary help from the sovereign who has stripped him of everything. These are his abject words: "Remember, good Mr. Secretary, my poor degree, and what service I have done, and how now, approaching to death, I must begin the world again."[d]

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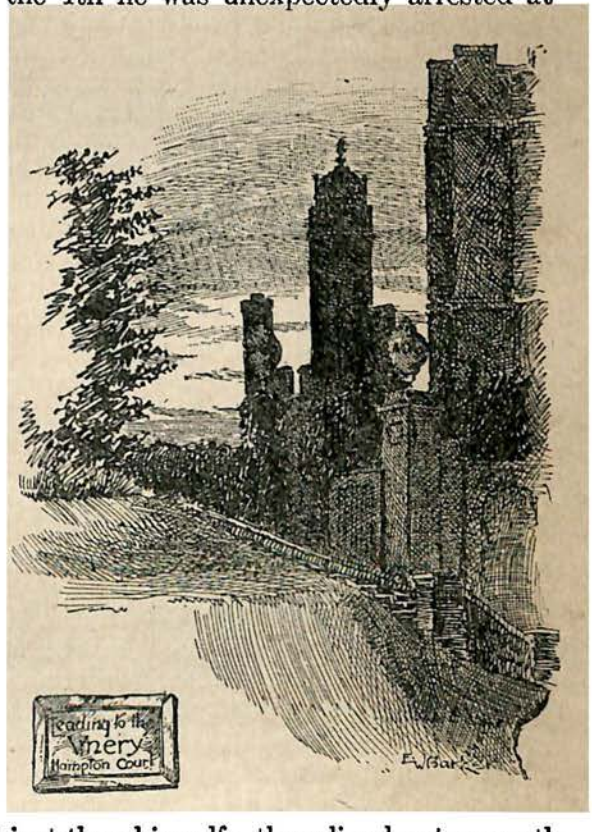
or discontented party out of his own purse. Every gentleman in the county was welcome to his table, which was plentifully, though not extravagantly, supplied; and, in repairing the houses and buildings belonging to his see, he gave employment to three hundred workmen. The more he was known the more he was beloved; the men to whom in prosperity he had been an object of hatred, applauded his conduct under adversity.

WOLSEY'S ARREST AND DEATH (1530 A.D.)

The cardinal had invited the nobility of the county to assist at his installation on the 7th of November; on the 4th he was unexpectedly arrested at Cawood on a charge of high treason. What was the particular crime alleged against him we know not; but the king asserted that his very servants had accused him of practising against the government both within and without the realm; and it is probable that the suspicion of Henry was awakened by the correspondence of the cardinal with the pope and the king of France. If we may believe Cavendish,[o] he wrote to them to reconcile him with Henry. It is most improbable that the cardinal could have committed any act of treason since his pardon in February; and a man must be credulous indeed to believe it on the mere testimony of the despatches sent by his enemies to ambassadors abroad. Such despatches with general charges were always sent on similar occasions to justify the government in the eyes of foreign princes. Wolsey betrayed no symptoms of guilt; the king had not, he maintained, a more loyal subject than himself; there lived not on earth the man who could look him in the face and charge him with untruth; nor did he seek any other favour than to be confronted with his accusers.



His health (he suffered much from the dropsy) would not allow him to travel with expedition. He said to the abbot of Leicester, as he entered the gate of the monastery, "Father abbot, I am come to lay my bones among you." He was immediately carried to his bed; and the second day, seeing Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, in his chamber, he addressed him in these well-known words: "Master Kingston, I pray you have me commended to his majesty; and beseech him on my behalf to call to mind all things that have passed between us, especially respecting good Queen Catherine and himself; and then shall his grace's conscience know whether I have offended him or not. He is a prince of most royal courage; rather than miss any part of his will, he will endanger one-half of his kingdom; and I do assure you, I

have often kneeled before him, sometimes for three hours together, to persuade him from his appetite, and could not prevail. And, Master Kingston, had I but served God as diligently as I have served the king, he would not have given me over in my gray hairs. But this is my just reward for my pains and study, not regarding my service to God, but only my duty to my prince." Having received the last consolations of religion, he expired the next morning, 1530, in the sixtieth year of his age.*i*

Cavendish, after the funeral, repaired to London, and was sent for by the king to come to Hampton Court. Henry was shooting at the rounds in the park. The gentleman-usher leaned against a tree, when Henry came suddenly behind him and slapped him on the shoulder, telling him to wait till he had made an end of his game. Cavendish then discoursed with him for more than an hour. One rankling grief was upon the sovereign's mind, with reference to the friend and adviser of twenty years. A sum of fifteen hundred pounds had been entered in Wolsey's accounts, which entry the earl of Northumberland had seen. Kingston had pressed the dying man to account for the money, who said that he had borrowed it to distribute amongst his servants, and for his own burial, and had placed it in the hands of an honest man. The chief business of this magnanimous king with Cavendish was to obtain the knowledge where this treasure was hidden, and Cavendish told him. "Well, then," quoth the king, "let me alone, and keep this gear secret between yourself and me, and let no man be privy thereof; for if I hear any more of it, then I know by whom it is come to knowledge." He had broken the great heart of his too faithful servant; but he thought only of the contents of the money-bags, to be appropriated to jewels for my lady Anne and to wagers with Domingo.*d*

VARYING ESTIMATES OF WOLSEY

Henry Hallam

If we justly regard with detestation the memory of those ministers who have aimed at subverting the liberties of their country, we shall scarcely approve the partiality of some modern historians towards Cardinal Wolsey; a partiality, too, that contradicts the general opinion of his contemporaries. Haughty beyond comparison, negligent of the duties and decorums of his station, profuse as well as rapacious, obnoxious alike to his own order and to the laity, his fall had long been secretly desired by the nation and contrived by his adversaries. His generosity and magnificence seem rather to have dazzled succeeding ages than his own.

But, in fact, his best apology is the disposition of his master. The latter years of Henry's reign were far more tyrannical than those during which he listened to the counsels of Wolsey; and though this was principally owing to the peculiar circumstances of the latter period, it is but equitable to allow some praise to a minister for the mischief which he may be presumed to have averted. Had a nobler spirit animated the parliament which met at the era of Wolsey's fall, it might have prompted his impeachment for gross violations of liberty. But these were not the offences that had forfeited his prince's favour, or that they dared bring to justice. They were not absent, perhaps, from the recollection of some of those who took a part in prosecuting the fallen minister. We can discover no better apology for Sir Thomas More's participation in impeaching Wolsey on articles so frivolous that they have

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served to redeem his fame with later times, than his knowledge of weightier offences against the common weal which could not be alleged, and especially the commissions of 1525.q

Edward A. Freeman

For fourteen years, from 1515 to 1529, ecclesiastical statesmanship was in truth at its highest pitch in the person of Thomas Wolsey, archbishop, cardinal, and chancellor. During the administration of this famous man, we are instinctively reminded of the joint rule of an earlier Henry and an earlier Thomas; but the fate of the two great chancellors was widely different. No English minister before Wolsey, and few after him, ever attained to so great an European position. He dreamed of the popedom, while his master dreamed of the empire. In his home administration Wolsey carried out the policy which had become usual since Edward IV, and summoned parliament as seldom as possible. On the other hand, his administration of justice won the highest general confidence, and his hand was far from heavy on the maintainers of the new religious doctrines.

On the whole his position is rather European than English. He is more like the great cardinals who ruled in other lands than anything to which we are used in England. The purely English work of Henry's reign was done by the hands of men of another kind. The era of the lay statesmen now begins in the mightiest and most terrible of their number, Thomas Cromwell. From this time the highest offices are still occasionally held by churchmen, even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century. But the holding of office by churchmen now becomes exceptional; lay administration is the rule.r

J. A. Froude

If there were no longer saints among the clergy, there could still rise among them a remarkable man, and in Cardinal Wolsey the king found an adviser who, holding a middle place between an English statesman and a Catholic of the old order, was essentially a transition minister. Wolsey could not bind himself to the true condition of the church. He was too wise to be deceived by outward prosperity; he knew well that there lay before it, in Europe and at home, the alternative of ruin or amendment; and therefore he familiarised Henry with the sense that a reformation was inevitable, and dreaming that it could be effected from within, by the church itself inspired with a wiser spirit, himself fell the first victim of a convulsion which he had assisted to create, and which he attempted too late to stay. A man who loved England well, but who loved Rome better, Wolsey has received but scanty justice from Catholic writers since he sacrificed himself for a Catholic cause.

Like other men of genius, Wolsey also combined practical sagacity with an unmeasured power of hoping. As difficulties gathered round him, he encountered them with the increasing magnificence of his schemes, and after thirty years' experience of public life he was as sanguine as a boy. Armed with this little lever of the divorce, he saw himself, in imagination, the rebuilder of the Catholic faith and the deliverer of Europe. The king being remarried and the succession settled, he would purge the church of England, and convert the monasteries into intellectual garrisons of pious and learned men, occupying the land from end to end. The feuds with France should cease forever, and, united in a holy cause, the two countries should restore the papacy, put down the German heresies, depose the emperor, and establish in his place some faithful servant of the church. Then Europe once more at peace, the

hordes of the Crescent, which were threatening to settle the quarrels of Christians in the west as they had settled them in the east—by the extinction of Christianity itself—were to be hurled back into their proper barbarism.

These magnificent visions fell from him in conversations with the bishop of Bayonne,[m] and may be gathered from hints and fragments of his correspondence. Extravagant as they seem, the prospect of realising them was, humanly speaking, neither chimerical nor even improbable. He had but made the common mistake of men of the world who are the representatives of an old order of things at the time when that order is doomed and dying.

If we look at the matter, however, from a more earthly point of view, the causes which immediately defeated Wolsey's policy were not such as human foresight could have anticipated. We ourselves, surveying the various parties in Europe with the light of our knowledge of the actual sequel, are perhaps able to understand their real relations; but if in 1527 a political astrologer had foretold that within two years of that time the pope and emperor who had imprisoned him would be cordial allies, that the positions of England and Spain toward the papacy would be diametrically reversed, and that the two countries were on the point of taking their posts, which they would ever afterwards maintain, as the champions respectively of the opposite principles to those which at that time they seemed to represent, the prophecy would have been held scarcely less insane than a prophecy six or even three years before the event, that in the year 1854 England would be united with an emperor Napoleon for the preservation of European order.[s]

Leopold Von Ranke

Henry VIII's resolve to summon parliament was of almost greater importance to progress than the change of ministry. During the fourteen years of his administration Wolsey had summoned parliament but once, and that when he needed an extraordinary grant of funds for the war in alliance with the emperor against France. The parliament and the nation had always complained against Wolsey's oppressive and extravagant management of finances. His fall and the summoning of a parliament seemed a renewal of parliamentary principles in general.

Wolsey cannot be counted among statesmen of the first rank, either mentally or morally; yet his position and ability, his ambition and his political scheme, what he accomplished and what he suffered, his triumph and his tragedy, have gained him an immortal name in English history. His effort to bind the royal power to the papacy by strongest bonds, rent them asunder forever. The moment he was dead the clergy was made subject to the crown, a subjection which could only mean a final breach. Indeed, the whole clerical body was involved in Wolsey's guilt.[p]

CHAPTER IV

THE DIVORCE FROM ROME

[1530–1535 A.D.]

> If Henry VIII had died previous to the first agitation of the divorce, his loss would have been deplored as one of the heaviest misfortunes which had ever befallen the country, and he would have left a name which would have taken its place in history by the side of that of the Black Prince or of the conqueror of Agincourt. Left at the most trying age, with his character unformed, with the means at his disposal of gratifying every inclination, and married by his ministers when a boy to an unattractive woman far his senior, he had lived for thirty-six years almost without blame, and bore through England the reputation of an upright and virtuous king. We must allow him, therefore, the benefit of his past career, and be careful to remember it when interpreting his later actions.
>
> Unbroken prosperity and early independence of control had been his most serious misfortune. He had capacity, if his training had been equal to it, to be one of the greatest of men. With all his faults about him, he was still perhaps the greatest of his contemporaries; and the man best able of all living Englishmen to govern England, had been set to do it by the conditions of his birth.—J. A. Froude.[b]

The eventful history of this great minister, Wolsey, has led us into the autumn of the year succeeding his disgrace; it will be necessary to revert to that event, and to notice the changes occasioned by his removal from the royal councils. The duke of Norfolk became president of the cabinet; the duke of Suffolk, earl marshal, and the viscount Rochford, soon afterwards created earl of Wiltshire, retained their former places. To appoint a successor to Wolsey in the chancery was an object of great importance. The office was at length given to Sir Thomas More, the treasurer of the household and chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster. Sir William Fitzwilliam succeeded

More and Dr. Stephen Gardiner was made secretary to the king, who believed him to have inherited the abilities of the cardinal, and would have raised him perhaps to equal power could he have been induced to relinquish his profession as a churchman. These six formed the privy council; but, if we may believe the account given by the French ambassador Du Bellai,[d] Anne Boleyn was the real minister, who through her uncle and father ruled in the cabinet, and by the influence of her charms exercised the most despotic sway over the heart and mind of her lover.

SIR THOMAS MORE SUCCEEDS WOLSEY

It may justly excite surprise that More should accept this dangerous office. With a delicate conscience and a strong sense of duty, he was not a fit associate for less timorous colleagues; the difficulties which in the course of two years compelled him to retire from court must even now have stared him in the face; and it was still in his power to avoid, but uncertain if he could weather, the storm. As a scholar he was celebrated in every part of Europe, and as a lawyer he had long practised with applause and success. From the office of under-sheriff or common sergeant Henry had called him to court, had employed him in different embassies, and had rewarded him with the lucrative preferments which have already been mentioned. The merit of More was universally acknowledged; even Wolsey declared that he knew no one more worthy to be his successor; but there were few instances in which the seals had been intrusted to any but dignified churchmen, none in which they had been given to a simple knight.[e]

PARLIAMENT ATTACKS CHURCH ABUSES

There had not been a parliament called since 1523. During the legatine rule of Wolsey the pecuniary exactions of the church had become oppressive to all ranks of the people. The spirituality had grown essentially worldly minded, and any attempt to resist their encroachments was stigmatised with the terrible name of heresy. In the six weeks of their session the commons asserted their determination to set some bounds to a power which was more obnoxious, because more systematic in its pecuniary inflictions, than the illegal subsidies and compulsory loans of the crown. There was a certain point of reform to which More would go, but not a step beyond. The reformers of doctrine were as obnoxious to him as to Wolsey. But, though a rigid Catholic in doctrine and discipline, More was too wise and honest not to see that the rapacity of the officials of the church, and the general laxity as to pluralities and non-residence, were shaking the foundations of ecclesiastical authority even more than the covert hostility of the dreaded Lutherans. We cannot doubt that it was with his sanction that three important statutes were passed in this parliament of the 21st year of Henry.

The statutes themselves furnish a sufficient evidence of their necessity. "An act concerning fines and sums of money to be taken by the ministers of bishops and other ordinaries of the holy church for the probate of testament" declares "that the said unlawful exactions of the said ordinaries and their ministers be nothing reformed nor amended, but greatly augmented and increased." This was a grievance which touched every owner of property.

[1530-1531 A.D.]

But there was another species of exaction which fastened upon the dead with the rapacity of the vulture, and reached even the humblest in the land. This was the taking of mortuaries, or corpse presents. The chronicler Hall, reciting this grievance, says, "The children of the defunct should all die for hunger, and go a-begging, rather than they would of charity give to them the sely cow which the dead man ought owned, if he had only one." By these two statutes the fees upon probates and the demand for mortuaries were brought within reasonable limits. There were other causes of complaint against the ecclesiastics. It was objected that spiritual persons occupied farms; bought and sold at profit various kinds of produce; kept tan-houses and breweries—all which practices were declared unlawful.

That the ecclesiastics would stoutly resist such attacks upon long-continued abuses, which in their minds had assumed the shape of rights, was a necessary result of their extensive power. No vital blow had as yet touched the strong fabric of their prosperity, but this assault upon its outworks portended danger close at hand. Their resistance was as unwise as it was useless. During the progress of the discussions in parliament on these bills there was much railing on both sides. In this first great quarrel of the church and the commons there were wounds inflicted which never healed. On every side there were the evidences of the vast endowments of the English church—splendid cathedrals, rich abbeys, shrines of inestimable value, bishops and abbots surrounded with baronial splendour, ample provision for the working clergy. And yet all the wealth of this church, acknowledged to be greater than that of any other church in Christendom, could not protect the people from the irritating demands which were generally made at the season of family affliction, and pressed too often upon the widow and the fatherless. These oppressions were more keenly felt because, however the commons might disavow the accusation, there was a doubt, very widely spread, of the infallibility of the church, which doubt Bishop Fisher denominated "lack of faith." It was not only the dislike of proctors, and summoners, and apparitors—a dislike as old as the days of Chaucer—which influenced many sober and religious persons, but the craving for some higher teaching than that which led to the burning of the English Testament in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Many copies of Tyndale's translation had been brought into the country, "which books the common people used and daily read privily; which the clergy would not admit, for they punished such persons as had read, studied, or taught the same, with great extremity." Wolsey made strenuous efforts to restrain the printing of the Scripture in the people's tongue, as we learn from a most interesting letter of Anne Boleyn to Cromwell after she became queen: "Whereas we be credibly informed that the bearer hereof, Richard Herman, merchant and citizen of Antwerp, in Brabant, was in the time of the late lord cardinal put and expelled from his freedom and fellowship of and in the English house there, for nothing else, as he affirmeth, but only for this—that he did both with his goods and policy, to his great hurt and hindrance in this world, help to the setting forth of the New Testament in English." The queen therefore prays the powerful secretary to restore "this good and honest merchant" to his liberty and fellowship. It is painful to think that whilst this toleration sprang out of the kind heart and clear understanding of "Mistress Anne," the equally kind nature of Sir Thomas More was so crusted over by his rigid habits of submission to the discipline of the church, that for the use and study of Tyndale's and Joy's Testaments "he imprisoned and punished a great number, so that for this cause a great rumour and controversy rose daily amongst the people."

PERSECUTION FOR HERESY

These persecutions against the possessors of the Testament were a part of that system of accusations for heresy which had rendered England a terrible country for earnest men and women to live in, who sought a higher guide to duty than the absolute direction of the priest. Contrary to the statute of Henry IV, which, however to be condemned as sanctioning the persecution of the Lollards, required that they should be openly proceeded against, accused persons were now subjected to secret examination; were detained in custody for unlimited periods; were discharged without amends; or consigned to the stake if condemned of heresy, or to make purgation and bear a fagot to their shame and undoing. Lucky were those who thus escaped upon their submission. Those of the heroic mould, who could look death in the face for conscience sake—as James Bayham did, who refused to accuse his friends in the Temple, or to show where his books were, recanting his former abjuration—such had to abide the fires of Smithfield, and find an honourable place in the Protestant martyrology.

THE KING'S DEBTS REPUDIATED

Wolsey was a bold financier, and his projects, as we have seen, were not always successful when he attempted to raise money without the instrumentality of parliament. But when Wolsey was gone, there appeared less scrupulous managers of the royal revenues than the unhesitating cardinal. The king had obtained very large sums, by way of loan, from public bodies and from individuals, in 1525, when the insurrections of Suffolk compelled him to withdraw the demand for a sixth of every man's substance. Those who had lent the money—and Wolsey had used his rhetoric most unsparingly to swell the number—"reckoned surely of the payment of the same, and therefore some made their wills of the same, and some other did set it over to other for debt." The lords and commons had the audacity to renounce all claims to these loans, not only for themselves but for every man to whom the king was indebted, in consideration of his highness's constant labours to defend his kingdom, to uphold the church, and to establish peace amongst his subjects. It required all the insolent despotism of a Tudor to humiliate the parliament to an assertion that the enormous revenues which the Plantagenets had never hesitated to spend for public objects, were to be deemed as private funds, "which his grace might have kept and reserved to his own use." The parliament which had accomplished such salutary reforms, and also perpetrated such gross injustice, was prorogued on the 17th of December, 1529. Domingo and Palmer were two hangers-on of the court, who made the king thus pay for their powers of amusement—far more ignoble servants than his fools, Somers, Sexton, and Williams.

After the Christmas revelries Henry has serious business on his hand. The disguisings and interludes of Greenwich, with Mistress Anne ever the gayest of the throng, whilst the queen sits in her solitary chamber, make the king more and more impatient on the subject of the divorce. On the 23d of January we find that the sum of £1743. 8s. 0d. is paid "by the king's commandment for the depechement of my lord Wiltshire and others, in their journey towards the emperor." "My lord of Wiltshire" was Anne Boleyn's father. The "others" were Doctor Stokesley, elected bishop of London, and

[1530-1531 A.D.]

Dr. Henry Lee, the king's almoner. With them were also "divers doctors both of law and divinity." Amongst these was Thomas Cranmer, who occupies so prominent a part in the history of the Reformation.

APPEAL TO THE UNIVERSITIES AND THE POPE (1530 A.D.)

The pope was at Bologna, an unwilling agent in the humiliation of Italy. The war with the imperialists had desolated the fairest spots of Lombardy. Clement, the weak and vacillating bishop of Rome, but the patriotic Italian prince, had, amidst this misery, to place the crown on the head of Charles, as king of Lombardy and emperor of the Romans. The ceremony took place at Bologna on the 24th of February. Before the emperor departed from Bologna the earl of Wiltshire had arrived. He had a difficult office to perform—that of moving the pope to a decided course, in the presence of Charles, who had very sufficient reasons for strenuously resisting the demands of Henry. He had to conciliate the emperor, by offering the restitution of Queen Catherine's original dowry. He had to work upon the pope's fears, by intimating that "the defender of the faith" would pursue his own career, if the holy see was inimical, without bending to its authority. To the father of Anne Boleyn the emperor objected that he was an interested party in the case; and although the earl replied with spirit, that he was there only as the subject and servant of his master, and to express the scruples of his conscience and his firm intention no longer to live in sin, Charles maintained a resolute attitude of hostility to the whole proceeding. The unhappy pope was in a fearful perplexity. He said to the bishop of Tarbes,[g] several times, that he cared not how the marriage of Henry should be accomplished, by dispensation of the legate in England, or otherwise. All that he desired was to shift his personal responsibility. The embassy returned home, having effected nothing.

The declarations which were gathered from the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and from universities and ecclesiastical bodies in France and Italy, were favourable to the desires of the king of England, as they pronounced against the lawfulness of his marriage with his brother's widow. It has been a subject of historical contention whether these opinions were given with perfect fairness, or whether intimidation and bribery were not resorted to. Into this discussion it is scarcely necessary for us to enter. There are some characteristic letters of Henry which clearly enough show that the younger members of the university of Oxford were frightened into a submission which the seniors readily yielded. When such a sovereign sent to the convocation his command that they should not lean "to wilful and sinister opinions of your own several minds," and desired the heads of houses to conduce and frame the young persons into order and conformity—for "if the youth of the university will play masteries as they begin to do, we doubt not but they shall well perceive that *non est bonum irritare crabrones*" [it is not good to disturb a hornets' nest]—then, we may be sure, it was quite unnecessary surreptitiously to affix to the decision the university seal gotten out "by strange subtil means," as Queen Catherine intimated. Cambridge also admitted the unlawfulness of the marriage, according to the divine law, but gave no answer upon the question whether the pope had power to grant a dispensation.

In March, 1531, these opinions were laid before the house of commons; and More, as chancellor, said: "Now you of this commons house may report in your countries what you have seen and heard, and then all men shall

openly perceive that the king has not attempted this matter of will or pleasure, as some strangers report, but only for the discharge of his conscience and surety of the succession of the realm." More, in his inmost heart, disliked the whole measure, and these official words must have come very hesitatingly from his lips. The religious plea, "for the discharge of his conscience," and the political plea of the "surety of the succession of the realm," were the self-deceptions with which Henry covered the impulses of his own passions, prompting him to the grossest cruelty and injustice.

The able historian Froude,[b] who sets up the state necessity as an excuse for many of the enormities of this reign, considers that this question was one "vitally affecting the interests of a great nation"; and avers that "the laity, with the alternative before them of civil war and the returning miseries of the preceding century, could brook no judgment which did not answer to their wishes." Is it to be believed that the remote possibility of a disputed succession had thus interested the laity—by which term we understand the body of the people—to become enthusiastic supporters of the king's personal desire to put away the companion of more than half his life—the mother of a daughter to whom their allegiance would have been readily transferred on the event of the king's death, without the slightest chance of civil war? The English people were not then, nor have they been at any time, so ready to encounter a great present difficulty for a contingent danger. The general opinion is pretty clearly set forth by the contemporary chronicler, Hall:[f] "When these determinations were published, all wise men in the realm much abhorred this marriage; but women, and such as were more wilful than wise or learned, spake against the determination, and said that the universities were corrupt, and enticed so to do—which is not to be thought." The foreign Protestants were decidedly hostile to what was held, by friend and by foe, not as a religious question or a national question, but was denominated "the king's cause."

We are entering upon a great field of history, in which, amidst the most crooked and uncertain paths, we have to feel our way at every step. The passions and prejudices which belonged to such a mighty change still survive, in a modified shape. They still give a colour to our political feelings and religious life. Let us endeavour to tell this wondrous story with a strict regard to the evidences upon which a true narration must be founded. Henry was in dread of being cited to Rome, and in April, 1531, desires his ambassador, Doctor Bennet, to use every means "to put over the process as long as ye may"; and yet, "as of yourself privily to say to the pope, that ye be advertised from your friends out of England, such as be learned in the laws and of our council, that it were the plainest entry the pope might make to the destruction of his whole authority, to strike upon this point to call us to Rome." The king desired that the cause should be decided in an indifferent place, by indifferent judges. The emperor was wholly opposed to the process being removed from Rome, and urged the pope to make no more delays in the matter.

Yet at this period was the king so far from connecting his impatience of the papal power with any favour to the doctrines of the reformers, that he has instructed Vaughan, his ambassador in the Netherlands, "to advise a young man named Frith to leave his wilful opinions and errors, and to return into his native country"; and, through Cromwell, has also desired that good and wholesome exhortations for his conversion and amendment should be given to Tyndale. Frith did return, and, as Cranmer very unfeelingly wrote in 1533, was "to go unto the fire." Tyndale remained in the Netherlands, to be first imprisoned, and then strangled, by the persecutors of the reformers,

there, in 1536, after having published his admirable translations of the Scriptures, which the "defender of the faith" proscribed.

Sir Thomas More was a thoroughly conscientious minister, but he was in a false position. He held the great seal only about two years and a half, and then resigned his office, May 16, 1532. Retiring, with small provision of fortune, but richly endowed with a contented and happy nature, he wrote to Erasmus that "he had obtained what, from a child, he had continually wished—that, being freed from business and public affairs he might live for a time only to God and himself." During his tenure of high place the persecution of heretics was not violent. Erasmus[c] has said that it was a sufficient proof of his clemency that while he was chancellor no man was put to death "for these pestilent dogmas."[1] But he took part in the examination of heretics before the council, sanctioned their imprisonment, and caused a boy and a bedlamite to be whipped for "ungracious heresy," according to his own statement. That More, at this period, should have manifested a devoted attachment to the doctrines of the church without entertaining some of its persecuting spirit, was scarcely to be expected, even from his beautiful nature.

PROGRESS OF THE DIVORCE

In Germany the king's agents had derived little benefit either from the Catholics or the reformers. Luther and Melanchthon openly condemned his plan of a divorce, but were willing to indulge him with power to contract a second marriage pending the life of his first wife, after the practice of the ancient patriarchs. This novel doctrine some months later found an advocate even in Rome. A grave divine—who he was, or at whose instigation he acted, we know not—advised the pontiff to issue a dispensation empowering the king to marry a second wife. So much Clement communicated to Henry's agents. There was something in his manner so reserved and unusual that it awakened suspicion. But he eluded every attempt to draw from him further explication, and some days later informed them that his council had considered the question, and had determined, that it was not in his power to grant any such dispensation.

Foiled in Germany, the king rested his hopes on France and her fourteen universities; but when he claimed the assistance of his French brother, that prince artfully replied that he dared not provoke the resentment of the emperor till he had paid two millions of crowns, the ransom of his sons, who were detained as hostages in Spain. The impatience of Henry swallowed the bait. He advanced to Francis four hundred thousand crowns as a loan, postponed for an unlimited period the payment of five hundred thousand already due to him from that monarch, and sent to him the "lily of diamonds," which Charles and Maximilian had formerly pawned to Henry VII for the sum of fifty thousand crowns. In due course of time the princes were liberated, and Francis, now his own master, displayed his gratitude to Henry by labouring to procure from the faculty of theology in Paris an answer in favour of the divorce. But the opposition was numerous and obstinate, and the contest between the crown and the faculty lasted for several months, till a spurious

[1 Aubrey,[y] however, says that "there were five holocausts at Smithfield during his chancellorship, besides similar horrors in provincial towns." He quotes More's own epitaph for himself, "*furibus, homicidis, hæretique molestus, i. e.* hard, or troublesome, to thieves, murderers, and heretics. His own words repudiate the suspicion of leniency." Froude[b] also says, "No sooner had the seals changed hands than the Smithfield fires recommenced."]

decree was fabricated by order of Francis, and was afterwards published by Henry as the real decision of the university of Paris.

It had been originally intended to lay before the pontiff a mass of opinions and subscriptions as the united voice of the Christian world pronouncing in favour of the divorce. But Clement knew (and Henry was aware that he knew) the arts by which they had been purchased or extorted, and both were sensible that, independently of other considerations, they did not reach the real merits of the question; for all of them were founded on the supposition that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had actually been consummated—a disputed point which the king was unable to prove, and which the queen most solemnly denied. In the place of these opinions it was deemed more prudent to substitute a letter to the pope, July 30th, 1530, subscribed by the lords spiritual and temporal, and by a certain number of commoners, in the name of the whole nation. This instrument complains in forcible terms of Clement's partiality and tergiversation. What crime had the king of England committed that he could not obtain what the most learned men and the most celebrated universities declared to be his right? The kingdom was threatened with the calamities of a disputed succession, which could be averted only by a lawful marriage; and yet the celebration of that marriage was prevented by the affected delays and unjust partiality of the pontiff. Nothing remained but to apply the remedy without his interference. It might be an evil, but it would prove a less evil than the precarious and perilous situation in which England was now placed.

CANTERBURY

To this menacing remonstrance Clement had replied, September 27th, 1530, with temper and firmness, that the charge of partiality would have come with more truth and a better grace from the opposite party; that he had pushed his indulgence for the king beyond the bounds of law and equity, and had refused to act on the queen's appeal till the whole college of cardinals unanimously charged him with injustice; that, if he had not since proceeded with his cause, it was because Henry had appointed no attorney to plead for him, and because his ambassadors at Bologna had asked for additional time. Bennet was ordered to follow Clement to Rome, where he was joined by the bishop of Tarbes, now created a cardinal, and empowered to act as envoy from the king of France on the behalf of Henry. They were instructed to propose the following expedients to the pontiff. They requested him to appoint a court of three English bishops, or, if there existed any objection to the bishops, to convert the convocation of the province of Canterbury into a

[1530 A.D.]

court, with full power to hear and determine the cause of the divorce without reserve or appeal. He replied that, in as far as regarded himself, he would readily appoint such a court, but that he could not do it in justice nor according to law without the consent of the queen, who had already commenced proceedings both in the court of the signature and in the consistory.

It was then asked whether, on the supposition that Henry should make use of such remedies as in his conscience he thought lawful, Clement would bind himself to remain passive, and refuse to interfere at the request of Catherine; a question to which he returned an indignant answer, as if he looked upon it as an insult. They insisted on the evils to the church which might ensue from the displeasure of two such powerful monarchs, but he replied, "that if such inconvenience should follow, he had lever it should follow for doing his duty than the like should follow for lack of not doing it." There remained but one resource, to request that he would stay the proceedings in the Roman courts, for the purpose of gaining time for an amicable compromise between the parties. To this he consented, but for three weeks only, and the cardinal and Bennet wrote to Henry, detailing these particulars, and informing him that Clement, though he interposed every obstacle in his power, would soon be compelled, through the urgent solicitations of the imperialists, to issue an inhibitory breve, forbidding all archbishops or bishops, courts or tribunals, to give judgment in the matrimonial cause against Catherine.

THE RISE OF CROMWELL

The mistress and her advocates were rescued from danger by the boldness and ingenuity of Cromwell. The subsequent elevation of Cromwell to the highest honours in the state reflects an interest on the more obscure portion of his private life. His father was a fuller in the neighbourhood of the capital. The son in his early youth served as a trooper in the wars of Italy; from the army he passed to the service of a Venetian merchant; and after some time, returning to England, exchanged the counter for the study of the law. Wolsey had employed him to dissolve the monasteries which had been granted for the establishment of his colleges, a trust which he discharged to the satisfaction of his patron, at the same time that he enriched himself. His principles, however, if we may believe his own assertions, were of the most flagitious description. He followed Wolsey to Esher, but despairing of the fortune of the fallen favourite, hastened to court, purchased with presents the protection of the ministers, and was confirmed in that office under the king which he had before held under the cardinal—the stewardship of the lands of the dissolved monasteries.

The day after the king's intention had transpired, Cromwell, who, to use his own words, was determined to "make or mar," solicited and obtained an audience. He felt, he said, his own inability to give advice, but neither affection nor duty would suffer him to be silent when he beheld the anxiety of his sovereign. It might be presumption in him to judge; but he thought the king's difficulties arose from the timidity of his counsellors, who were led astray by outward appearances and by the opinions of the vulgar. The learned and the universities had pronounced in favour of the divorce. Nothing was wanting but the approbation of the pope. That approbation might indeed be useful to check the resentment of the emperor; but if it could not be obtained, was Henry to forego his right? Let him rather imitate the princes of Germany, who had thrown off the yoke of Rome; let him, with the

authority of parliament, declare himself the head of the church within his own realm. At present England was a monster with two heads. But were the king to take into his own hands the authority now usurped by the pontiff, every anomaly would be rectified, the present difficulties would vanish, and the churchmen, sensible that their lives and fortunes were at his disposal, would become the obsequious ministers of his will.

Henry listened with surprise and pleasure to a discourse which flattered not only his passion for Anne Boleyn, but his thirst of wealth and greediness of power. He thanked Cromwell, and ordered him to be sworn of his privy council.

THE KING BECOMES "SUPREME HEAD OF THE CHURCH" (1531 A.D.)

It was evident that the adoption of this title would experience considerable opposition from the clergy; but the cunning of Cromwell had already organised a plan which promised to secure their submission. When the statutes of præmunire were passed, a power was given to the sovereign to modify or suspend their operation at his discretion; and from that time it had been customary for the king to grant letters of license or protection to particular individuals who meant to act or had already acted against the letter of these statutes. Hence Wolsey had been careful to obtain a patent under the great seal, authorising him to exercise the legatine authority; nor did any person during fifteen years presume to accuse him of violating the law. When, however, he was indicted for the supposed offence, he refused to plead the royal permission, and through motives of prudence suffered judgment to pass against him.

Now, on the ground of his conviction, it was argued that all the clergy were liable to the same penalty, because by admitting his jurisdiction they had become, in the language of the statute, his fautors and abettors; and the attorney-general was instructed to file an information against the whole body in the court of King's Bench. The convocation hastily assembled, February 7th, 1531, and offered a present of one hundred thousand pounds in return for a full pardon. To their grief and astonishment, Henry refused the proposal, unless in the preamble to the grant a clause were introduced acknowledging the king "to be the protector and only supreme head of the church and clergy of England." Three days were consumed in useless consultation. The grant [called the Act of Appeals] was made March 2nd, 1531; but in the enumeration of the motives on which it was grounded was inserted within a parenthesis the following clause: "of which church and clergy we acknowledge his majesty to be the chief protector, the only and supreme lord, and, as far as the law of Christ will allow, the supreme head." The northern convocation adopted the same language, and voted for the same purpose a grant of eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds.

It is plain that the introduction of the words, "as far as the law of Christ will allow," served to invalidate the whole recognition; since those who might reject the king's supremacy could maintain that it was not allowed by the law of Christ. But Henry was yet wavering and irresolute; he sought to intimidate the court of Rome, but had not determined to separate from its communion; it was therefore thought sufficient to have made a beginning; the qualifying clause might be afterwards expunged, whenever the occasion required. In the mean while the inhibitory brief had been signed by Clement, and published with the usual solemnity in Flanders, January 5th, 1531. That it might make the less impression on the minds of the people, the new chan-

cellor, attended by twelve peers, went to the lower house; the answers of the universities were read; above a hundred papers, said to contain the opinions of theologians and canonists, were exhibited; and the members were exhorted, on their return to their homes, to acquaint their neighbours with the justice of the royal cause.

After the prorogation, May 31st, several lords were deputed to wait on the queen, and to request that, for the quiet of the king's conscience, she would refer the matter to the decision of four temporal and four spiritual peers. "God grant him a quiet conscience," she replied, "but this shall be your answer: I am his wife, lawfully married to him by order of holy church; and so I will abide until the court of Rome, which was privy to the beginning, shall have made thereof an end." A second deputation was sent July 14th, with an order for her to leave the palace at Windsor. "Go where I may," she answered, "I shall still be his lawful wife." In obedience to the king, she repaired to Ampthill, where, if she was no longer treated as queen, she no longer witnessed the ascendancy of her rival.

By this time the imperialists had acquired a decided superiority at Rome; but their progress was checked by the obstacles which Clement's secret partiality for the king of England repeatedly threw in their way. They prayed judgment against him, on the ground that he refused to plead; the pontiff, to elude the demand, requested Henry to appoint an agent with the office of excusator, who might show cause for his absence. Sir Edward Carne was sent, but with verbal instructions, and without powers in writing.[1] If Clement was mortified with this omission, he was still more distressed when he received a letter from Catherine announcing her formal expulsion from court, and praying the pontiff no longer to refuse her justice. In the most forcible but affectionate terms he wrote to the king, January 25, 1532, and painted the infamy which by his late conduct he had stamped on his own character. He had married a princess of distinguished virtue and allied in blood to the first sovereign in Europe; and now, after the lapse of more than twenty years, he had ignominiously driven her from his court, to introduce in her place another woman with whom he lived openly, and to whom he transferred the conjugal affection due to his wife. Let him recall his queen and dismiss her rival. It was what he owed to himself; but Clement would receive it as a favour, the most signal favour which Henry had ever conferred on the apostolic see.

ANNATES OR FIRST-FRUITS ABOLISHED

But the time was past when the king sought to conciliate; his present object was intimidation, and with that purpose he had assembled the parliament. The annates or first-fruits, which were paid to the Roman see from most nations in Europe, formed the chief fund for the support of the cardinals in attendance on the pontiff. An act was passed for the abolition of this ecclesiastical impost. In the preamble it was stated that the annates had been originally established for the defence of Christendom against the infidels; that they had been insensibly augmented, till they became a constant drain on the wealth of the nation;[2] and that it was necessary to provide an immediate remedy before the decease of the present bishops, of whom many were far

[1] Henry's consent was given only after he had been assured by the university of Orleans and the faculty of law at Paris, that he was not obliged to appear at Rome, and that it was not necessary to furnish the excusator with powers for the performance of his office.]

[2] The amount was estimated at £4,000 per annum, on an average of many years.

advanced in years. It was therefore enacted that, if any prelate hereafter should presume to pay first-fruits to the see of Rome, he should forfeit his personalities to the king, and the profits of his see as long as he held it; that if, in consequence of the omission, the necessary bulls were refused, he should nevertheless be consecrated by the archbishop, or two other bishops, as was usual in ancient times; and that if on such account any censures or interdicts were issued by the pope, they should be utterly disregarded.

It was not, however, that Henry sought to save the money, for he would eagerly have purchased the divorce with more costly sacrifices; nor that he wished to proceed to an open rupture with the court of Rome, for he still held out hopes of a reconciliation. But his real object was to influence the resolves of the pontiff by considerations of interest. Hence the rigour of the act was mitigated by the following provisions: 1. That for the expediting of his bulls, each bishop might lawfully pay fees after the rate of five per cent. on the amount of his yearly income; and 2, that (in order to come to an amicable composition with the pope) it should be at the option of the king to suspend or modify, to annul or enforce, the present statute by his letters patent, which in this instance should have the force of law. At the same time Cromwell ventured to proceed a step further in the prosecution of his plan for annexing to the crown the supreme jurisdiction in ecclesiastical concerns. An address was procured from the house of commons, complaining that the convocations of the clergy, without consulting the other estates, often enacted laws which regarded temporal matters, and which, though contrary to the statutes of the realm, were notwithstanding enforced by spiritual censures and prosecutions for heresy.

This address was sent by Henry to the convocation May 10th, 1532, and was followed by a requisition that the clergy should promise never more to enact, publish, or enforce their constitutions without the royal authority or assent; and that they should submit all those now in force to the consideration of a committee of thirty-two members, half laymen and half clergymen, to be chosen by the king, and to have the power of determining what constitutions ought to be abolished and what ought to be retained. Though Gardiner composed an eloquent answer to the address; though the clergy maintained that they had received from Christ authority to make such laws as were necessary for the government of their flocks in faith and morals, an authority admitted by all Christian princes, founded in Scripture, and "defended with most vehement and expugnable reasons and authorities by his majesty himself in his most excellent book against Luther"; though they consented to promise that in consideration of his zeal and wisdom they would never make any new constitutions during his reign without his assent, and were willing to submit the consideration of the old constitutions to the judgment of his grace alone, the king was inexorable; and after many discussions, a form of submission, which he consented to accept, was carried by large majorities, May 15th, 1532. The clause limiting the promise to the duration of the present reign was rejected, but the king was added to the committee, and the assent of the clergy was said to be grounded on their knowledge of his superior learning and piety.

These proceedings, so hostile to the authority of the clergy and the interests of the pontiff, were immediately communicated to Carne at Rome. He had demanded to be admitted as excusator, and was opposed by the imperialists; the arguments of counsel were heard on both sides; and Clement, having spun out the discussion for some months, pronounced against the claim, and, July 13th, summoned the king to proceed with the cause in November. When the

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day came, Carne protested against the summons; but the pontiff rejected the protest, and requested Henry to appear by his attorney; in which case delegates might be appointed to take informations in England, though the final judgment must be reserved to the Roman see. At the same time he signed a breve, complaining that, in defiance of public decency, the king continued to cohabit with his mistress, declaring both of them excommunicated unless they should separate within a month after the receipt of the present letter; and, in case they should presume to marry, pronouncing such marriage invalid, and confirming his former prohibition against it. It seems, however, that for some reason, which is unknown, the publication of this breve was suspended.

HENRY AND ANNE VISIT FRANCE (1532 A.D.)

During the summer Henry had renewed his former treaties with France, and, in addition, had concluded a defensive alliance against any subsequent aggression on the part of the emperor. He had frequently solicited an interview with Francis; he now repeated his request in so urgent a manner, that the French king, though with considerable reluctance, acquiesced. But Anne Boleyn also sought to be of the party; and the ambassador was secretly employed to procure for her an invitation from Francis, who on his part might be accompanied by the queen of Navarre. Whether he succeeded is very uncertain; at the appointed time the two kings repaired, the one to Calais, the other to Boulogne.[1] As Henry had requested the meeting, he paid the first visit, October 21st; and at the end of four days Francis returned with him to Calais, where he remained the same time. On Sunday evening, November 28th, after supper, the door was suddenly thrown open; twelve persons in masks and female dresses entered the room, and each singled out a gentleman to dance. Henry after some time took off the visors of the maskers, and it appeared that Francis had danced with Anne Boleyn. He conversed with her for some minutes apart, and the next morning sent her as a present a jewel valued at fifteen thousand crowns.

While the royal attendants were amused with reports of a confederacy against the Turks, the two princes communicated to each other in secret the real or imaginary wrongs which they had suffered from the pontiff, and concerted measures to confine within narrower limits the pretensions of the Holy See. But they came to the discussion with far different feelings. The irritation of Henry sought to set at defiance the papal authority. Francis laboured, while he concealed his object, to effect a reconciliation between his friend and the pope. The king of England reluctantly acquiesced in the more temperate advice of the French king, to invite Clement to meet the two monarchs at Marseilles, where they might settle their existing differences in an amicable manner. Henry promised that he would attend in person, or by the first nobleman in his realm, and that in the interval he would abstain from every act which might tend to widen the breach between himself and the pope; and Francis despatched to Rome the cardinals of Grammont and Tournon to arrange the preliminaries of the meeting, and wrote a letter to Clement protesting against the insult which he had offered to all crowned heads by citing the king of England out of his dominions.

[1] Henry wished both monarchs to be on a footing of equality, and desired that, if he brought Anne, Francis should bring the queen of Navarre; for he would not meet the queen of France, the emperor's sister. Francis, however, did not comply with his whim, and was not accompanied by any lady.

THE SECRET MARRIAGE OF THE KING (1533 A.D.)

Five years had now rolled away since Henry first solicited a divorce, three since he began to cohabit with Anne Boleyn, and still he appeared to have made but little progress towards the attainment of his object.[1] The reader, who is acquainted with the impetuosity of his character, will perhaps admire his patience under so many delays and miscarriages; he may discover its true cause in the infecundity of Anne, which had hitherto disappointed the king's most anxious wish to provide for the succession to the throne. Instead of making her his wife, he had in September last granted to her, and to the heirs male of her body forever, the dignity of marchioness of Pembroke, with an annuity to her of one thousand pounds for life out of the bishopric of Durham, and of another thousand out of several manors belonging to the crown; but four months later she proved to be in a condition to promise him an heir; and the necessity of placing beyond cavil the legitimacy of the child induced him to violate the pledge which he had so solemnly given to the king of France.

On the 25th of January, 1533, at an early hour, Dr. Rowland Lee, one of the royal chaplains, received an order to celebrate mass in a room in the west turret of Whitehall. There he found the king attended by Norris and Henneage, two of the grooms of the chamber, and Anne Boleyn, accompanied by her train-bearer Anne Savage, afterwards Lady Berkeley. We are told that Lee, when he discovered the object for which he had been called, made some opposition; but Henry calmed his scruples with the assurance that Clement had pronounced in his favour, and that the papal instrument was safely deposited in his closet.[2] As soon as the marriage ceremony had been performed, the parties separated in silence before it was light; and the father of Anne, now earl of Wiltshire and viscount Rochford, was despatched to announce the event, but in the strictest confidence, to Francis.

At the same time he was instructed to dissuade that king from consenting to the intended marriage of his second son with the niece of Clement; or, if it could not be prevented, to prevail on him to make it a condition of the marriage that the pope should proceed no further in his censures against Henry. Then, if Clement did him justice, the recent proceeding would prove of no detriment; if not, he was determined to set the papal authority at defiance. But, contrary to his hopes, the interview was postponed; the

[1] This charge of cohabitation has given offence.—See Hallam (*i*). Yet, if there were no other authority, the very case itself would justify it. A young woman between twenty and thirty listens to declarations of love from a married man who has already seduced her sister; and on his promise to abstain from his wife and to marry her, she quits her parental home and consents to live with him under the same roof, where for three years she is constantly in his company at meals, in his journeys, on occasions of ceremony, and at parties of pleasure. Can it betray any great want of candour to dispute the innocence of such intimacy between the two lovers? Their contemporaries seem to have had no scruple on that head. "The king," writes Carlo Capello on May 13th, 1532, "loses no opportunity of despatching matters, because, as is reported, my Lady Anne is heavy with child—Perche, come si dice, Madama Anna e gravida." [Friedmann *k* thinks that the creation of Anne as marchioness of Pembroke marks the date when she became the king's mistress, exacting the title of nobility for herself and her heirs as a guaranty. She had previously purchased a false pedigree tracing to a Norman knight, and for this had been openly ridiculed in court.]

[2] Burnet *m* treats this account as one of the fictions of Sanders *n*; but it is taken from a manuscript history of the divorce presented to Queen Mary, thirty years before the work of Sanders was published, and agrees perfectly with the attempt to keep the marriage secret for two or three months. Lee was made bishop of Chester, was translated to Lichfield and Coventry, and honoured with the presidentship of Wales. [Friedmann *k* believes that the priest was rather George Brown, an Augustinian friar, for whose services on this occasion Chapuis *l* says he was made general of the mendicant friars.]

pregnancy of the bride became visible; and on Easter eve orders were given that she should receive the honours due to the queen consort. The marriage was thus acknowledged April 12th; still the date of its celebration remained involved in mystery, and, to encourage the notion that the child had been conceived in wedlock, a report was artfully circulated that the nuptials had occurred at an earlier period, immediately after the separation of the two kings at Calais.[1]

THE RISE OF CRANMER

Archbishop Warham, who had been driven from court by the ascendancy of Wolsey, was zealously attached to the ancient doctrines and the papal authority; his death, August 23rd, 1532, in the course of the last summer had empowered the king to raise to the first dignity in the English church a prelate of opposite principles, and more devoted to the will of his sovereign. Thomas Cranmer, at the recommendation of Henry, had been taken into the family of the Boleyns, and had assisted the father and the daughter with his services and advice: his book in favour of the divorce, the boldness with which he had advocated the royal cause at Rome, and the industry with which he had solicited signatures in Italy, had raised him in the esteem of the king; and soon after his return he had been appointed orator ad Cæsarem, or ambassador attendant on the emperor. Both Henry and Anne flattered themselves that, by selecting him for the successor of Warham, they would possess an archbishop according to their own hearts. There was, however, one objection which might have proved fatal to his elevation with a prince who till his last breath continued to enforce with the stake and the halter the observance of clerical celibacy. Cranmer after the death of his wife had taken orders; but during one of his agencies abroad he had suffered himself to be captivated with the charms of a young woman, the niece of Osiander or of his wife, had married her in private, and had left her in Germany with her friends.

Whether this marriage had come to the knowledge of Henry, or was considered by him invalid according to the canon law, is uncertain; but, "to the surprise and sorrow of many," he resolved to raise Cranmer to the archbishopric, and appointed Doctor Hawkins to succeed him in the embassy. From Mantua, where the emperor then held his court, Cranmer returned to England; the papal confirmation was asked and obtained; the necessary bulls were expedited in the usual manner, and in a very few days after their arrival the consecration followed, March 30th. But by what casuistry could the archbishop elect, who was well acquainted with the services expected from him, reconcile it with his conscience to swear at his consecration canonical obedience to the pope, when he was already resolved to act in opposition to the papal authority?

With the royal approbation he called four witnesses and a notary into the chapter-house of St. Stephen's at Westminster, and in their presence

[1] Hence the marriage is dated on the 14th of November, 1532, the day when Henry and Anne sailed from Calais, by almost all our historians. But Godwin *o* and Stowe *p* have assigned it to the 25th of January, the feast of the Conversion of St. Paul; and that they are right is incontestably proved from a letter still extant, written by Archbishop Cranmer to his friend Hawkins, the ambassador to the emperor. After an account of the coronation, he proceeds thus: "But, nowe, sir, you may nott ymagyne that this coronacion was before her marriage, for she was married much about Sainte Paule's daye laste, as the condicion thereof dothe well appere by reason she ys nowe somewhat bigge with chylde. Notwithstanding yt hath byn reported thorowte a great parte of the realme that I maried her, which was plainly false: for I myself knewe not therof a fortnyght after yt was donne."

declared that by the oath of obedience to the pope, which for the sake of form he should be obliged to take, he did not intend to bind himself to anything contrary to the law of God or prejudicial to the rights of the king, or prohibitory of such reforms as he might judge useful to the church of England. From the chapter-house, attended by the same persons, he proceeded to the steps of the high altar, declared in their presence that he adhered to the protestation which he had already read in their hearing, and then took the pontifical oath. The consecration followed; after which, having again reminded the same five individuals of his previous protest, he took the oath a second time, and received the pallium from the hands of the papal delegates. This extraordinary transaction gave birth to an animated controversy: the opponents of the archbishop branding him with the guilt of fraud and perjury, his advocates labouring to wipe away the imputation, and justifying his conduct by the extraordinary circumstances in which he was placed. We will only observe that oaths cease to offer any security, if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations, made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested.[1]

With an archbishop subservient to his pleasure, Henry determined to proceed with the divorce. The previous arrangements were intrusted to the industry of Cromwell. To prevent Catherine from opposing any obstacle to the proceedings meditated by Cranmer, an act of parliament was passed forbidding, under the penalty of præmunire, appeals from the spiritual judges in England to the courts of the pontiff; and, to furnish grounds for the intended sentence, the members of the convocation were divided into two classes, of theologians and canonists, and each was ordered to pronounce on a question separately submitted to its decision. Of the former it was asked, March 26th, whether a papal dispensation could authorise a brother to marry the relict of his deceased brother in the case where the first marriage had been actually consummated; of the latter, whether the depositions taken before the legates amounted to a canonical proof that the marriage between Arthur and Catherine had been consummated. The two questions were debated for some days in the absence of the new archbishop; he then took his seat; the votes were demanded, and on both questions answers favourable to the king were carried by large majorities.

As soon as the convocation had separated, April 2nd, a hypocritical farce was enacted between Henry and Cranmer. The latter, as if he were ignorant of the object for which he had been made archbishop, wrote a most urgent letter to the king, representing the evils to which the nation was exposed from a disputed succession, and begging to be informed if it were the pleasure of the sovereign that he should hear the cause of the divorce in the archiepiscopal court. This letter, though its language was sufficiently humble, and sufficiently intelligible, did not satisfy the king or his advisers; and Cranmer was compelled, in a second letter of the same date, to take the whole responsibility on himself. It was, he was made to say, a duty which he owed to God and the king to put an end to the doubts respecting the validity of Henry's marriage; wherefore prostrate at the feet of his majesty he begged permission to hear and determine the cause, and called on God to witness that he had no other object in making this petition than the exoneration of

[1] The archbishop himself, in excuse of his duplicity, wrote afterwards to Queen Mary that his chief object was to be at liberty to reform the church. Pole answered: "To what did this serve but to be foresworn before you did swear? Other perjurers be wont to break their oath after they have sworn; you break it before. Men forced to swear *per vim et metum* may have some colour of defence, but you had no such excuse."—STRYPE.*g*

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his own conscience and the benefit of the realm. There was no longer any demur. The king graciously assented to his request; but at the same time reminded the primate that he was nothing more than the principal minister of the spiritual jurisdiction belonging to the crown, and that "the sovereign had no superior on earth, and was not subject to the laws of any earthly creature." It was in vain that the French ambassador remonstrated against these proceedings as contrary to the engagements into which Henry had entered at Boulogne and Calais.

CRANMER ANNULS THE MARRIAGE

Catherine was cited to appear before Cranmer at Dunstable, within four miles of Ampthill, where she resided, and a post was established to convey with despatch the particulars of each day's transactions to Cromwell. At the appointed time the archbishop, with the bishop of Lincoln as his assessor, and the bishop of Winchester and seven others as counsel for the king, opened the court, May 8th, and hastened the trial with as much expedition as was permitted by the forms of the ecclesiastical courts. In his letters to Cromwell the primate earnestly entreated that the intention of proceeding to judgment might be kept an impenetrable secret. Were it once to transpire, Catherine might be induced to appear, and, notwithstanding the late statute, to put in an appeal from him to the pontiff—a measure which would defeat all their plans and entirely disconcert both himself and the council. On Saturday, May 10th, the service of the citation was proved, and the queen, as she did not appear, was pronounced "contumacious." On the following Monday, after the testimony of witnesses that she had been served with a second citation, she was pronounced "verily and manifestly contumacious"; and the court proceeded in her absence to read depositions, and to hear arguments in proof of the consummation of the marriage between her and Prince Arthur.

On the Saturday she received a third citation to appear and hear the judgment of the court. Catherine took no notice of these proceedings, for she had been advised to abstain from any act which might be interpreted as an admission of the archbishop's jurisdiction. Cranmer waited for the first open day (it was Ascension week), and on the Friday pronounced his judgment, that the marriage between her and Henry was null and invalid, having been contracted and consummated in defiance of the divine prohibition, and therefore without force or effect from the very beginning.[1] This decision was communicated to the king in a letter from the primate, who with much gravity exhorted him to submit to the law of God, and to avoid those censures which he must incur by persisting in an incestuous intercourse with the widow of his brother.

But what, it was then asked, must be thought of his present union with Anne Boleyn? How could he have lawfully effected a new marriage before the former was lawfully annulled? Was the right of succession less doubtful now than before? To silence these questions Cranmer held another court at Lambeth, May 28th, and having first heard the king's proctor, officially declared that Henry and Anne were and had been joined in lawful matrimony; that their marriage was and had been public and manifest, and that he,

[1] It appears from Bedyl's letter to Cromwell that the whole process had been "devysed affore the kinges grace" and that "my lord of Cauntrebury handled himself very well."

moreover, confirmed it by his judicial and pastoral authority.[1] These proceedings were preparatory to the coronation, June 1st, of the new queen,[2] which was performed with unusual magnificence, attended by all the nobility of England, and celebrated with processions, triumphal arches, and tournaments. The honours paid to his consort gratified the pride of the king; her approaching parturition filled him with the hope of what he so earnestly wished, a male heir to the crown.[e]

We have already had occasion, and shall have further occasion, to state some of the conclusions of Froude, which have been most bitterly controverted by more judicial historians. He has been accused of a constitutional and determined inaccuracy. His literary power, however, has never been denied, and the present moment is especially appropriate for an example of it, for, in the words of William Hunt,[r] "Few more brilliant pieces of historical writing exist than his description of the coronation procession of Anne Boleyn through the streets of London; and to have once read is to remember forever the touching and stately words in which he compares the monks of the London Charterhouse preparing for death with the Spartans at Thermopylæ." For the details of the coronation pageant, Froude [b] drew liberally on Cranmer's letter to the emperor's ambassador, and on Hall *f*, who was apparently an eye-witness.[a]

FROUDE'S ACCOUNT OF ANNE BOLEYN'S CORONATION

On the 19th of May Anne was conducted to the Tower in state by the lord mayor and the city companies, with one of those splendid exhibitions upon the water which in the days when the silver Thames deserved its name, and the sun could shine down upon it out of the blue summer sky, were spectacles scarcely rivalled in gorgeousness by the world-famous wedding of the Adriatic. The river was crowded with boats, the banks and the ships in the pool swarmed with people; and fifty great barges formed the procession, all blazing with gold and banners. The queen herself was in her own barge, close to that of the lord mayor, and in keeping with the fantastic genius of the time, she was preceded up the water by "a foyst or wafter full of ordnance, in which was a great dragon continually moving and casting wildfire, and round about the foyst stood terrible monsters and wild men, casting fire and making hideous noise." So, with trumpets blowing, cannon pealing, the Tower guns answering the guns of the ships, in a blaze of fireworks and splendour, Anne Boleyn was borne along to the great archway of the Tower, where the king was waiting on the stairs to receive her.

[1] We conceive that, immediately after judgment pronounced by Cranmer, Henry and Anne were married again. Otherwise Lee, archbishop of York, and Tunstall, bishop of Durham, must have asserted a falsehood when they told Catherine that, "after his highness was discharged of the marriage made with her, he contracted new marriage with his dearest wife Queen Anne." It is plain, from all that precedes and follows this passage, that they mean, after the divorce publicly pronounced by Archbishop Cranmer. Of a private divorce preceding the marriage in January, neither they nor any others, their contemporaries, had any notion. But a second marriage after the judgment of the court was necessary, otherwise the issue of Anne could not have been legitimate.

Henry had indeed been aware of the irregularity of marrying her before a divorce from Catherine; but he justified his conduct by declaring, according to Burnet,[m] that he had examined the cause in "the court of his own conscience, which was enlightened and directed by the spirit of God, who possesseth and directeth the hearts of princes"; and as he was convinced that "he was at liberty to exercise and enjoy the benefit of God for the procreation of children in the lawful use of matrimony, no man ought to inveigh at this his doing."

[2] We may here observe that this was the last coronation during Henry's reign. Of his four following wives not one was crowned.

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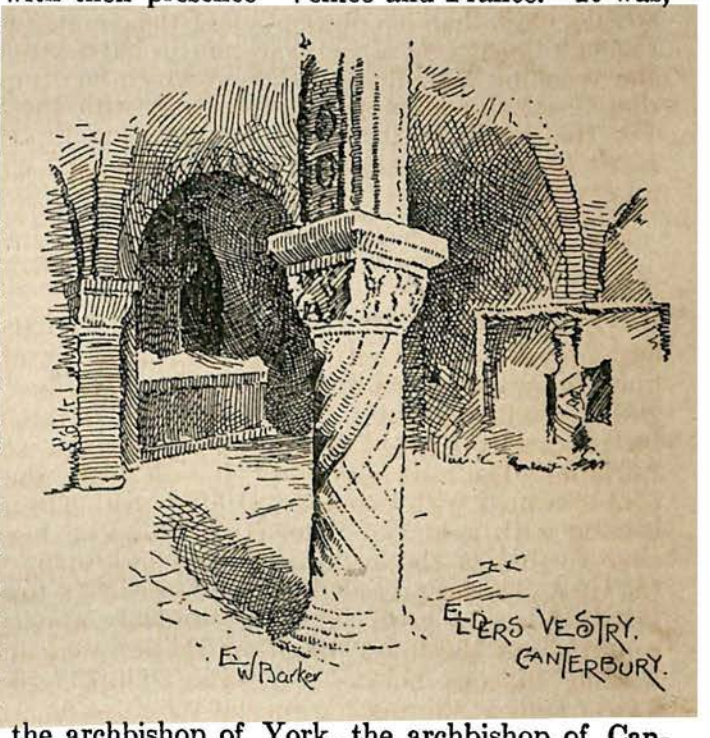
And now let us suppose eleven days to have elapsed, the welcome news to have arrived at length from Dunstable, and the fair summer morning of life dawning in treacherous beauty after the long night of expectation. No bridal ceremonial had been possible; the marriage had been huddled over like a stolen love-match, and the marriage feast had been eaten in vexation and disappointment. These past mortifications were to be atoned for by a coronation pageant which the art and the wealth of the richest city[1] in Europe should be poured out in the most lavish profusion to adorn.

On the morning of the 31st of May the families of the London citizens were stirring early in all houses. At length the Tower guns opened, the grim gates rolled back, and under the archway in the bright May sunshine the long column began slowly to defile. Two states only permitted their representatives to grace the scene with their presence—Venice and France. It was, perhaps, to make the most of this isolated countenance that the French ambassador's train formed the van of the cavalcade. After them followed a troop of English gentlemen, two and two, and then the knights of the Bath, "in gowns of violet, with hoods purfled with miniver like doctors." Next, perhaps at a little interval, the abbots passed on, mitred, in their robes; the barons followed in crimson velvet, the bishops then, and then the earls and marquises, the dresses of each order increasing in elaborate gorgeousness. All these rode on in pairs. Then came alone Audley, lord chancellor, and behind him the Venetian ambassador and the archbishop of York, the archbishop of Canterbury, and Du Bellay, bishop of Bayonne and of Paris, not now with bugle and hunting-frock, but solemn with stole and crozier. Next, the lord mayor, with the city mace in hand, and Garter in his coat of arms; and then Lord William Howard, the duke of Norfolk's brother, marshal of England. The officers of the queen's household succeeded the marshal in scarlet and gold, and the van of the procession was closed by the duke of Suffolk, as high constable, with his silver wand. It is no easy matter to picture to ourselves the blazing trail of splendour which in such a pageant must have drawn along the London streets—those streets which now we know so black and smoke-grimed, themselves then radiant with masses of colour, gold, and crimson, and violet. Yet there it was, and there the sun could shine



[1 This statement seems to be greatly exaggerated, as London had at this time, according to Friedmann,[k] only about 90,000 inhabitants, while Milan and Ghent were nearly three times as large, and Paris had 400,000 inhabitants. Rome, Bruges, Venice, Genoa, and Naples were all larger than London, which was in the third class in population and distinctly so in wealth.]

upon it, and tens of thousands of eyes were gazing on the scene out of the crowded lattices.

Glorious as the spectacle was, perhaps, however, it passed unheeded. Those eyes were watching all for another object, which now drew near. In an open space behind the constable there was seen approaching "a white chariot," drawn by two palfreys in white damask which swept the ground, a golden canopy borne above it making music with silver bells; and in the chariot sat the observed of all observers, the beautiful occasion of all this glittering homage; fortune's plaything of the hour, the queen of England—queen at last—borne along upon the waves of this sea of glory, breathing the perfumed incense of greatness which she had risked her fair name, her delicacy, her honour, her self-respect, to win; and she had won it. There she sat, dressed in white tissue robes, her fair hair flowing loose over her shoulders, and her temples circled with a light coronet of gold and diamonds —most beautiful, loveliest, most favoured, perhaps, as she seemed at that hour, of all England's daughters. Alas! "within the hollow round" of the coronet,

> Kept death his court, and there the antick sat,
> Scoffing her state and grinning at her pomp.
> Allowing her a little breath, a little scene
> To monarchise, be feared, and kill with looks,
> Infusing her with self and vain conceit,
> As if the flesh which walled about her life
> Were brass impregnable; and humoured thus,
> Bored through her castle walls; and farewell, queen!

Fatal gift of greatness! so dangerous ever! so more than dangerous in those tremendous times when the fountains are broken loose of the great deeps of thought, and nations are in the throes of revolution; when ancient order and law and tradition are splitting in the social earthquake; and as the opposing forces wrestle to and fro, those unhappy ones who stand out above the crowd become the symbols of the struggle and fall the victims of its alternating fortunes. And what if into an unsteady heart and brain, intoxicated with splendour, the outward chaos should find its way, converting the poor silly soul into an image of the same confusion; if conscience should be deposed from her high place, and the Pandora box be broken loose of passions and sensualities and follies; and at length there be nothing left of all which man or woman ought to value, save hope of God's forgiveness. Three short years have yet to pass, and again, on a summer morning, Queen Anne Boleyn will leave the Tower of London—not radiant then with beauty; on a gay errand of coronation, but a poor wandering ghost, on a sad tragic errand, from which she will never more return.

But let us not cloud her short-lived sunshine with the shadow of the future. She went on in her loveliness, the peeresses following in their carriages, with the royal guard in their rear. In Fenchurch Street she was met by the children of the city schools; and at the corner of Gracechurch Street a masterpiece had been prepared of the pseudo-classic art, then so fashionable, by the merchants of the Steelyard. A Mount Parnassus had been constructed, and a Helicon fountain upon it playing into a basin with four jets of Rhenish wine. On the top of the mountain sat Apollo with Calliope at his feet, and on either side the remaining Muses, holding lutes or harps, and singing each of them some "posy" or epigram in praise of the queen, which was presented, after it had been sung, written in letters of gold. From Gracechurch Street the procession passed to Leadenhall, where there was a spectacle in better taste,

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of the old English Catholic kind, quaint perhaps and forced, but truly and even beautifully emblematic. There was again a "little mountain," which was hung with red and white roses; a gold ring was placed on the summit, on which, as the queen appeared, a white falcon was made to "descend as out of the sky"—"and then incontinent came down an angel with great melody, and set a close crown of gold upon the falcon's head; and in the same pageant sat Saint Anne with all her issue beneath her; and Mary Clopas with her four children, of the which children one made a goodly oration to the queen, of the fruitfulness of Saint Anne, trusting that like fruit should come of her."

With such pretty "conceits," at that time the honest tokens of an English welcome, the new queen was received by the citizens of London. These scenes must be multiplied by the number of the streets, where some fresh fancy met her at every turn. To preserve the festivities from flagging, every fountain and conduit within the walls ran all day with wine; the bells of every steeple were ringing; children lay in wait with songs, and ladies with posies, in which all the resources of fantastic extravagance were exhausted; and thus in an unbroken triumph—and to outward appearance received with the warmest affection—she passed under Temple Bar, down the Strand by Charing Cross to Westminster Hall. The king was not with her throughout the day, nor did he intend to be with her in any part of the ceremony. She was to reign without a rival, the undisputed sovereign of the hour.

Saturday being passed in showing herself to the people, she retired for the night to "the king's manor house at Westminster," where she slept. On the following morning, June 1st, between eight and nine o'clock, she returned to the hall, where the lord mayor, the city council, and the peers were again assembled. She was dressed in purple velvet furred with ermine, her hair escaping loose, as she usually wore it, under a wreath of diamonds. She was conducted up to the high altar and anointed queen of England, and she received from the hands of Cranmer, fresh come in haste from Dunstable, with the last words of his sentence upon Catherine scarcely silent upon his lips, the golden sceptre and St. Edward's crown.

Did any twinge of remorse, any pang of painful recollection, pierce at that moment the incense of glory which she was inhaling? Did any vision flit across her of a sad mourning figure which once had stood where she was standing, now desolate, neglected, sinking into the darkening twilight of a life cut short by sorrow? Who can tell? At such a time, that figure would have weighed heavily upon a noble mind, and a wise mind would have been taught by the thought of it, that although life be fleeting as a dream, it is long enough to experience strange vicissitudes of fortune. But Anne Boleyn was not noble and was not wise—too probably she felt nothing but the delicious, all-absorbing, all-intoxicating present; and if that plain, suffering face presented itself to her memory at all, we may fear that it was rather as a foil to her own surpassing loveliness. Two years later she was able to exult over Catherine's death; she is not likely to have thought of her with gentler feelings in the first glow and flush of triumph.

Anne Boleyn had been the subject of public conversation for seven years, and Henry no doubt desired to present his jewel in the rarest and choicest setting. Yet to our eyes, seeing, perhaps, by the light of what followed, a more modest introduction would have appeared more suited to the doubtful nature of her position. At any rate, we escape from this scene of splendour very gladly as from something unseasonable. It would have been well for Henry VIII if he had lived in a world in which women could have been dis-

pensed with, so ill he succeeded, in all his relations with them. With men he could speak the right word, he could do the right thing; with women he seemed to be under a fatal necessity of mistake.[b]

BIRTH OF PRINCESS ELIZABETH

In the eighth month after the performance of the nuptial ceremony Anne bore the king a child, September 7th, 1533; but that child, to his inexpressible disappointment, was a female, the princess Elizabeth, who afterwards ascended the throne.[e]

The birth of Elizabeth was doubly unfortunate for Anne Boleyn, as it seems to have turned the king against her, since he had made such confident preparations for a son. The people rejoiced with bonfires, and, as Friedmann[k] points out, the helpless king could only fume, knowing that they were celebrating "not the fact that Anne had borne him a child, but the fact that the child was but a girl." If a woman must succeed, the public sympathy was all for Mary, Catherine's child.[a]

THOMAS CRANMER
(1489–1556)

As soon as Cranmer had pronounced judgment, Catherine had received an order from the king to be content with the style of dowager princess of Wales; her income was reduced to the settlement made on her by her first husband, Arthur; and those among her dependants who gave her the title of queen were irrevocably dismissed from her service. Still to every message and menace she returned the same answer: that she had come a clean maid to his bed; that she would never be her own slanderer, nor own that she had been a harlot for twenty years; that she valued not the judgment pronounced at Dunstable at a time when the cause was still pending "by the king's license" at Rome—pronounced, too, not by an indifferent judge, but by a mere shadow, a man of the king's own making; that no threats should compel her to affirm a falsehood; and that "she feared not those which have the power of the body, but Him only that hath the power of the soul." Henry had not the heart to proceed to extremities against her. His repudiated wife was the only person who could brave him with impunity.

In foreign nations the lot of Catherine became the object of universal commiseration; even in England the general feeling was in her favour. The men, indeed, had the prudence to be silent, but the women loudly expressed their disapprobation of the divorce; till Henry, to check their boldness by the punishment of their leaders, committed to the Tower the wife of the viscount Rochford and the sister-in-law of the duke of Norfolk. At Rome, Clement was daily importuned by Charles and Ferdinand to do justice to their aunt, by his own ministers to avenge the insult offered to the papal authority; but his irresolution of mind and partiality for the king of Eng-

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land induced him to listen to the suggestions of the French ambassadors, who advised more lenient and conciliatory measures. At length, that he might appear to do something, on July 11th he annulled the sentence given by Cranmer, because the cause was at the very time pending before himself, and excommunicated Henry and Anne, unless they should separate before the end of September, or show cause by their attorneys why they claimed to be considered as husband and wife.

When September came he prolonged the term, at the request of the cardinal of Tournon, to the end of October; and embarking on board the French fleet, sailed to meet Francis at Marseilles, where, he was assured, a conciliation between Henry and the church of Rome would be effected.[e] When the meeting took place, Henry regretted his having promoted it, and did what he could to render it of no effect. The duke of Norfolk, who was a zealous Catholic, and seems to have hoped for a reconciliation with the church, was suddenly recalled from France, and the bishop of Winchester and Bryan were left to attend the conference at Marseilles. Francis refused to proceed with any other business until the pope had promised him to stretch his authority to the utmost in order to satisfy the king of England; but the surprise and displeasure of both were great upon learning that the two English ambassadors had no authority from their court to treat or to enter into any definitive arrangement.

Apparently at the suggestion of Francis, they spoke of referring the matter to a consistory, from which all the cardinals holding preferments under the emperor were to be excluded as partial judges; but early in November, before Clement could give an answer to this proposition, Bonner arrived from England, and appealed, in the name of his master, from the pope to a general council of the church. This was rudely putting an end to the solemn conference[1] at Marseilles, and the pope returned into Italy; but, before he went, he arranged a marriage (which afterwards proved a great curse to France) between his niece, Catherine de'Medici, and the duke of Orleans, the second son of the French monarch. The young lady had no money and the unlucky match was otherwise considered very unequal. Francis told Henry that he had consented to it solely on his account, and to make up his quarrel with Rome; but this was not quite true, though such consideration may have had some weight.

Henry was vacillating and impatient, and Cromwell and others of his council had fully made up their minds to prevent any reconciliation with Rome; some of them acting from a sincere conviction of a spiritual kind, and some, it must be admitted, from a mere longing after the property and power of the church.

The persecution of Queen Catherine was carried on more keenly than ever, that unfortunate woman (to use the language of the courtiers) "still persisting in her great stomach and obstinacy." The highest in rank, the most martial and chivalrous in reputation, durst not refuse themselves to the vile office of insulting a helpless woman. It was a very awkward time for absent-minded parsons, and for old men who could not easily get out of the routine of praying for Queen Catherine, which they had been in the habit of doing for twenty-five years. A mere slip of the tongue was considered of sufficient moment to be circumstantially reported by a bishop to a minister of state.

[1] The French king had a project of forming a grand coalition against the emperor. Henry was to be a principal member, and the pope was to give it his sanction, and to co-operate *vi et armis* in Italy.

THE SEPARATION FROM ROME (1534 A.D.)

Soon after the Christmas holidays parliament met for the despatch of very important business; and before it rose (on the 30th of March) it wholly broke the ties which for so many centuries had united England with Rome. Acting on the impulse already received, the parliament prohibited every kind of payment and every kind of appeal to the pope, confirmed Henry's title of supreme head of the English church, and vested in the king alone the right of appointing to all bishoprics and of deciding in all ecclesiastical causes. The royal assent to the bills which abolished the papal power in England was given on the 30th of March; and as the definitive sentence of the Roman consistory was not pronounced until the 23rd of March, it seems certain that the bills were not produced by that decision. They had been drawn up by Cromwell some months before; they had been passed through the commons and the lords before the 20th of March (the reader will attend to dates); and when Henry gave the finishing stroke to them it was not possible that the news of the proceedings at Rome could have reached London.

These last proceedings, in a business which had seemed to be interminable, were very simple. Notwithstanding the expectations of the bishop of Paris, the pope, awed by the still growing power of the emperor in Italy, found himself obliged to entertain the appeal of the emperor's aunt, and to refer the whole matter to a consistory; and on the 23rd of March, nineteen out of twenty-two cardinals pronounced Catherine's marriage valid and indissoluble, and hereupon the pope gave sentence. In the same parliament which proclaimed the spiritual independence of England, the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn was fully established as lawful; the princess Mary, the daughter of Catherine, was set aside as illegitimate, and the succession was vested in the children of Queen Anne. It was also enacted that anything written, printed, or done, to the slander of the second marriage, or of the children therefrom proceeding, should be high treason, and that all persons of age should swear obedience to this same act of succession.[t]

Of the act 26th Henry VIII, cap. 13 (called the Act of Treasons), whereby, for the better security of the realm, it was enacted "That any person who, by words, writing, or otherwise, deprives the king or queen of any one of their just titles, shall be held guilty of high treason," Froude[b] says: "The terrible powers which were thus committed to the government lie on the surface of this language; but comprehensive as the statute appears, it was still further extended by the lawyers. In order to fall under its penalties, it was held not to be necessary that positive guilt should be proved in any one of the offences specified; it was enough if a man refused to give satisfactory answers when subjected to official examination. At the discretion of the king or his ministers, the active consent to the supremacy might be required of any person on whom they pleased to call, under penalty to the recusant of the dreadful death of a traitor.

"So extreme a measure can only be regarded as a remedy for an evil which was also extreme; and as on the return of quiet times the parliament made haste to repeal a law which was no longer required, so in the enactment of that law we are bound to believe that they were not betraying English liberties in a spirit of careless complacency, but that they believed truly that the security of the state required unusual precautions. The nation was standing with its sword half-drawn in the face of an armed Europe, and it was no time to permit dissensions in the camp. Toleration is good, but even the

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best things must abide their opportunity; and although we may regret that, in this grand struggle for freedom, success could only be won by the aid of measures which bordered upon tyranny, yet here also the even hand of justice was but commending the chalice to the lips of those who had made others drink it to the dregs. They only were likely to fall under the treason act who for centuries had fed the rack and the stake with sufferers for opinions."[a]

STATUTE OF HERESY AND THE HOLY MAID OF KENT

It was little matter now whether the king were excommunicated and England placed under an interdict. There could be no effectual reconciliation with Rome. Practically, the final separation was accomplished. The people were appealed to, and the appeal touched them in one of the most sensitive parts of their nationality. They forgot the origin of the contest, and looked only to its results as their deliverance from a thraldom. The time was come for renouncing the authority of the bishop of Rome; but true religious freedom appeared as distant as in the reign of Henry IV, when the Lollards were regarded as public enemies. The statute of the 25th of Henry VIII, "for punishment of heresy," declares that speaking against the pope or his decrees is not heresy; but that heretics, upon lawful conviction and refusal to abjure, or after abjuration shall relapse, "shall be committed to lay power to be burned in open places, for example of other, as hath been accustomed."

The "act for the establishment of the king's succession" brought within the penalties of treason all the covert hostility of many of the people to the divorce and the second marriage. The attainder and execution of Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Kent, and of some who believed in her, and the charges against Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More in connection with this delusion, furnish a remarkable illustration of the spirit that prevailed in this dangerous crisis.

In the parish of Aldington there dwelt a servant-girl, afterwards a nun of the priory of St. Sepulchre in Canterbury, named Elizabeth Barton. In the words of the statute for her attainder, she "happened to be visited with sickness, and by occasion thereof brought in such debility and weakness of her brain, because she could not eat nor drink by a long space, that in the violence of her infirmity she seemed to be in trances, and spake and uttered many foolish and idle words." In this parish where Elizabeth Barton dwelt there was a chapel dedicated to the Virgin, called Court-a-Street, and it was pretended that there she was miraculously restored to health. At a season of less public excitement, her "foolish and idle words" would have taken some ordinary course. But the feeble mind of this woman was impressed by the talk of those around her, and her fantastic dreams took the perilous shape of revelations about the divorce then impending.

Out of the ravings of this poor servant-girl, who afterwards, at the instance of Warham, became a professed nun, was got up a mighty charge of conspiracy, in which Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More were implicated. The ravings of this woman were of the most extravagant nature. She saw the king, Anne Boleyn, and the earl of Wiltshire walking in a garden, and a little devil whispering in the lady's ear to send her father with a great bribe to the emperor. She saw evil spirits struggling for Wolsey's soul after his decease. She saw persons whom the angel of God had appointed to be at her death, when she should receive the crown of martyrdom. The act of attainder of

Elizabeth Barton, and others, enters into a most minute history of what are deemed their treasonable practices; and Richard Maister, the parson of Aldington, and Edward Bocking, are stated to have written books to persuade the people that she was a holy person, and then to have suggested to her that she should have a revelation that if the king were divorced and married again he should no longer be king,'" and that he should die a villain's death."

Of this alleged conspiracy, as principal traitors, the nun, the parson of Aldington, the cellarer of Christ Church, and five other persons, were tried in the Star Chamber, and suffered the penalties of treason on the 21st of April, 1534. One of these, Henry Gould, is declared, in the act of attainder, to have related the pretended revelations "to the lady Catherine, the princess dowager, to animate her to make commotions in this realm against our said sovereign lord." He is accused of saying that she should prosper and do well, and that the lady Mary, the king's daughter, should prosper and reign. Of misprision of treason, others were arraigned; for that, believing in the revelation of the king's death, they had concealed it from him.

Amongst these, the most eminent person was Fisher, bishop of Rochester. He was the only prelate who had the courage to refuse to sign a declaration, in 1527, that the king's marriage was unlawful. He stood alone in the convocation in resisting the denial of the pope's supremacy. That he should have provoked the bitter hostility of Henry and his ministers was an inevitable result of this firmness. If we doubt his judgment we must admire his conscientiousness. By the statute concerning Elizabeth Barton, he was attainted, with five others, "of misprision and concealment of treason." Sir Thomas More narrowly escaped. He had conversed with the nun of Kent in the convent of Sion. He was examined before the council. It is said that his name was originally introduced into the bill of attainder. But if as brave as Fisher, the ex-chancellor was more wary. He was released. When his daughter had obtained information that his name was put out of the bill, he replied to her joyful congratulations, "In faith, Meg, *quod differtur non aufertur*—what is postponed is not abandoned."

THE ACTS OF SUCCESSION AND SUPREMACY

The "act for the establishment of the king's succession" contained a final clause that all the nobles of the realm, spiritual and temporal, and all other subjects of full age, should take an oath to maintain and defend this act, and, upon their refusal so to do, should be held guilty of misprision of treason. The oath, which was taken by some lords and commoners in parliament before its prorogation on the last day of March, 1534, was to be taken by all who were called upon to appear before the commissioners appointed by the king. On the 13th of April Sir Thomas More was summoned to attend before the archbishop of Canterbury and the other commissioners at Lambeth.

As he left his house at Chelsea—that house which Erasmus described as something more noble than the academy of Plato, "a school and exercise of the Christian religion"—he had a presentiment that he should never return to it. He could not trust himself to kiss and bid farewell to those he loved, as he was wont to do when he entered his boat. He passed out of his garden to the river-side, suffering none of his household to follow, "but pulled the wicket after him and shut them all from him." The strength of his love might have triumphed over his resolve to dare the worst rather than to affirm what he did not honestly believe. His soul triumphed in that hour of strug-

gle, and he whispered to his son-in-law, "I thank our Lord, the field is won!" The result of his examinations at Lambeth was his committal to the Tower, after being kept in ward four days.

More and Fisher would not swear to the preamble, although they would swear to defend the succession. They were committed to the Tower, under a despotic authority which was subsequently introduced into a statute, that the certificate of the commissioners setting forth a refusal to take the oath "should be taken as strong and as available in the law as an indictment of twelve men lawfully found of the same refusal." In prison they remained till the summer of 1535, till the time was ripe for that final deliverance which has no terrors for the just. Meanwhile they were attainted by the parliament that assembled on the 3rd of November, 1534, of misprision of treason, and were convicted "to all intents and purposes" as if they had been "lawfully attainted by the order of the common law."

The parliament thus assembled in November, 1534, had some root-and-branch work to perform at the bidding of their imperious master. The first law which they passed was "an act concerning the king's highness to be supreme head of the church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all errors, heresies, and abuses in the same." This is a short statute, but of high significance. There was no power now to stand between the people of England and the exercise of unbridled despotism. The most arbitrary man that had ever wielded the large prerogatives of sovereignty had now united in his own person the temporal and spiritual supremacy. The ecclesiastical authority which had regulated the English church for eight hundred years was gone. The feudal organisation which had held the sovereign in some submission to ancient laws and usages of freedom was gone. The crown had become all in all. The whole system of human intercourse in England was to be subordinated to one supreme head—king and pope in one.

The most enslaving terror was to uphold this system throughout the land. The sheriff in every county was to be a spy upon the clergy, and to report if they truly spoke of the king as supreme head of the church, without any cloak or colour. No Amurath of the Turks could write more insolently to his provincial slaves than Henry of England wrote to his sheriffs, that if they failed in this service, "Be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the world beside shall take by you example, and beware, contrary to their allegiance to disobey the lawful commandment of their sovereign lord and prince." The higher clergy were terrified into the most abject prostration before this spiritual lord.

The new dignity of the king was to conduce as much to his profit as his honour. The lords and commons crawl at his feet in this parliament of 1534-35, and humbly request that he will be pleased, as their "most gracious sovereign lord, upon whom and in whom dependeth all their joy and wealth," to receive the first-fruits of all spiritual dignities and promotions, and also an annual pension of one-tenth part of all the possessions of the church. A subsidy granted in the same parliament followed the accustomed precedent. But the dangers of every man's position were multiplied in new definitions of treason. It was now enacted, not only that those who desired or practised any bodily harm to the king or queen should be deemed traitors, but that whoever, by writing or words, published that the king was a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown, should be subject to the penalties of high treason. There was one further little sentence in this statute which was far more dangerous than that which made it treason to call the king ill names. Whoever sought to deprive the king, the queen, or their

heirs-apparent "of the dignity, title, or name of their royal estates," was now declared to be a traitor. To deny the king the title of supreme head of the church was, therefore, treason. To refuse to swear to the succession was only misprision of treason. The act for the supremacy had no such terrible penalty.

This one line of the statute of new treasons, thus brought in so gently and covertly, would have brought half England to the block if conscience had prevailed over panic-stricken lip-service. Strong as English convictions may be, at this day, that such rough and cruel handling of long-cherished opinions was to be ultimately productive of inestimable blessings, we cannot shut our eyes to the certainty that these enactments must have produced a temporary misery and political degradation never equalled by any action of the government from the days of the conquest. The act no doubt sealed up the lips of the people, and bitter thoughts were left to smoulder in their bosoms; but the clause which made it treason to deprive the king of any name or dignity was so administered as to render silence itself treasonable. If under examination a satisfactory answer was not given as to the king's title of supreme head of the church, the gibbet or the block was ready for the offender.[i]

Some of the monks—the poorest orders were the boldest—refused either to take the oath or to proclaim in their churches and chapels that the pope was Antichrist. The system pursued in regard to them was very simple and expeditious: they were condemned of high treason and hanged, their fate in the latter respect being sometimes, but not always, milder than that allotted to the Lutherans and other Protestants, who were burned. Cromwell had no bowels for the poor monks, and the gentler and more virtuous Cranmer seems to have done little or nothing to stop these atrocious butcheries. A jury now and then hesitated to return a verdict, but they were always bullied into compliance by Cromwell and his agents, who sometimes threatened to hang them instead of the prisoners. On the 5th of May John Houghton, prior of the Charterhouse in London; Augustine Webster, prior of the Charterhouse of Belval; Thomas Lawrence, prior of the Charterhouse of Exham; Richard Reynolds, a doctor of divinity and a monk of Sion; and John Hailes, vicar of Thistleworth, were drawn, hanged, and quartered at Tyburn, their heads being afterwards set over the city gates. On the 18th of June, Exmew, Middlemore, and Nudigate, three other Carthusian monks, suffered for the same cause. On all these conscientious men, who preferred death to what they considered a breach of their duty as Catholic priests, the horrible sentence of the law was executed in all its particulars. They were cut down alive, had their bowels torn out, and were then beheaded and dismembered.

They suffered on account of the oath of supremacy; but between the executions there was an atrocious interlude of a more doctrinal nature. On the 25th of May there were examined in St. Paul's nineteen men and five women, natives of Holland, who had openly professed the doctrines of the Anabaptists, and denied the real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the bread and wine of the sacrament. Fourteen of them were condemned to the flames: two, a man and woman, suffered in Smithfield; the remaining twelve were sent to other towns, there to be burned for example's sake and for the vivid manifestation of the king's orthodoxy.[t]

FROUDE ON THE CATHOLIC MARTYRS

Here we are to enter upon one of the grand scenes of history: a solemn battle fought out to the death, yet fought without ferocity, by the champions of rival principles. Heroic men had fallen, and were still fast falling, for what

was called heresy; and now those who had inflicted death on others were called upon to bear the same witness to their own sincerity. England became the theatre of a war between two armies of martyrs, to be waged, not upon the open field, in open action, but on the stake and on the scaffold, with the nobler weapons of passive endurance. While we exult in that chivalry with which the Smithfield martyrs bought England's freedom with their blood, so we will not refuse our admiration to those other gallant men whose high forms, in the sunset of the old faith, stand transfigured on the horizon, tinged with the light of its dying glory.

Secretary Bedyll complained to Cromwell of the obstinacy of certain friars and monks, who, he thought, would confer a service on the country by dying quietly, lest honest men should incur unmerited obloquy in putting them to death. Among these, the brethren of the London Charterhouse were especially mentioned as recalcitrant, and they were said at the same time to bear a high reputation for holiness. In a narrative written by a member of this body, we are brought face to face, at their time of trial, with one of the few religious establishments in England which continued to deserve the name. The writer was a certain Maurice Channey,[v] probably an Irishman. He went through the same sufferings with the rest of the brethren, and was one of the small fraction who finally gave way under the trial. He was set at liberty, and escaped abroad; and in penance for his weakness, he left on record the touching story of his fall, and of the triumph of his bolder companions.

He commences with his own confession. He had fallen when others stood. He was, as he says, an unworthy brother, a Saul among the prophets, a Judas among the apostles, a child of Ephraim turning himself back in the day of battle; for which his cowardice, while his brother monks were saints in heaven, he was doing penance in sorrow, tossing on the waves of the wide world. The early chapters contain a loving, lingering picture of his cloister life—to him the perfection of earthly happiness. A thousand years of the world's history had rolled by, and these lonely islands of prayer had remained still anchored in the stream; the strands of the ropes which held them, wearing now to a thread, and very near their last parting, but still unbroken. His pages are filled with the old familiar stories of visions and miracles; of strange adventures befalling the chalices and holy wafers; of angels with wax candles—innocent phantoms which flitted round brains and minds fevered by asceticism.

Such was the society of the monks of the Charterhouse, who, in an era too late for their continuance, and guilty of being unable to read the signs of the times, were summoned to wage unequal battle with the world. From the commencement of the divorce cause they had espoused instinctively the queen's side; they had probably, in common with their affiliated house at Sion, believed unwisely in the nun of Kent; and, as pious Catholics, they regarded the reforming measures of the parliament with dismay and consternation. The regular clergy through the kingdom had bent to the storm. The conscience of the London Carthusians was less elastic; they were the first and, with the exception of More and Fisher, the only recusants.

In the opening of the following year (1535) the first uncertainty was at an end; it was publicly understood that persons who had previously given cause for suspicion might be submitted to question. When this bitter news was no longer doubtful, the prior called the convent together and gave them notice to prepare for what was coming. They lay already under the shadow of treason; and he anticipated, among other evil consequences of disobedience, the immediate dissolution of the house. "Then all who were present," says

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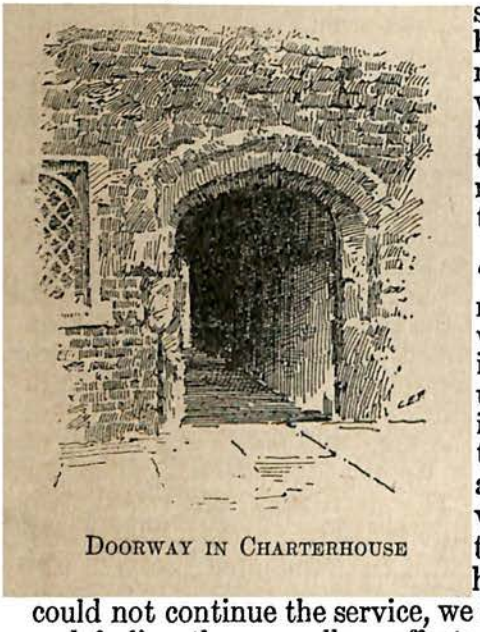
Channey, "burst into tears, and cried with one voice, 'Let us die together in our integrity, and heaven and earth shall witness for us how unjustly we are cut off.' So then, bidding us prepare for the worst, that the Lord when he knocked might find us ready, he desired us to choose each our confessor, and to confess our sins one to another, giving us power to grant each other absolution.

"Then rising from his place he went direct to the eldest of the brethren, who was sitting nearest to himself, and kneeling before him, begged his forgiveness for any offence which in heart, word, or deed he might have committed against him. Thence he proceeded to the next, and said the same; and so to the next, through us all, we following him and saying as he did, each from each imploring pardon."

Thus, with unobtrusive nobleness, did these poor men prepare themselves for their end; not less beautiful in their resolution, not less deserving the everlasting remembrance of mankind, than those three hundred who in the summer morning sat combing their golden hair in the passes of Thermopylæ. We will not regret their cause; there is no cause for which any man can more nobly suffer than to witness that it is better for him to die than to speak words which he does not mean. Nor, in this their hour of trial, were they left without higher comfort.



DOORWAY IN CHARTERHOUSE

"The third day after," the story goes on, "was the mass of the Holy Ghost, and God made known his presence among us. For when the host was lifted up, there came as it were a whisper of air, which breathed upon our faces as we knelt. Some perceived it with the bodily senses; all felt it as it thrilled into their hearts. And then followed a sweet, soft sound of music, at which our venerable father was so moved, God being thus abundantly manifest among us, that he sank down in tears, and for a long time could not continue the service, we all remaining stupefied, hearing the melody, and feeling the marvellous effects of it upon our spirits, but knowing neither whence it came nor whither it went. Only our hearts rejoiced as we perceived that God was with us indeed." Comforted and resolute, the brotherhood awaited patiently the approach of the commissioners.

We are instinctively inclined to censure an interference with persons who at worst were but dreamers of the cloister, and whose innocence of outward offences we imagine might have served them for a shield. Unhappily, behind the screen-work of those poor saints a whole Irish insurrection was blazing in madness and fury, and in the northern English counties were some sixty thousand persons ready to rise in arms. In these great struggles men are formidable in proportion to their virtues. The noblest Protestants were chosen by the Catholics for the stake. The fagots were already growing which were to burn Tyndale, the translator of the Bible. It was the habit of the time, as it is the habit at all times of danger, to spare the multitude but to strike the leaders, to make responsibility the shadow of power, to choose for punishment the most efficacious representatives of the spirit which it was necessary to subdue.

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The influence of the Carthusians, with that of the two great men who were following the same road to the same goal, determined multitudes in the attitude which they would assume and in the duty which they would choose. The Carthusians, therefore, were to be made to bend; or, if they could not be bent, to be made examples in their punishment as they had made themselves examples in their resistance. They were noble and good; but there were others in London good and noble as they, who were not of their fold, and whose virtues, thenceforward more required by England than cloistered asceticisms, had been blighted under the shadow of the papacy. The Catholics had chosen the alternative either to crush the free thought which was bursting from the soil, or else to be crushed by it; and the future of the world could not be sacrificed to preserve the exotic graces of mediæval saints. They fell, gloriously and not unprofitably. They were not allowed to stay the course of the Reformation, but their sufferings, nobly borne, sufficed to recover the sympathy of after-ages for the faith which they professed.

On the 4th of May the execution took place at Tyburn, under circumstances which marked the occasion with peculiar meaning. The punishment in case of high treason was very terrible. The English were a hard, fierce people, and with these poor sufferers the law of the land took its course without alleviation or interference. But another feature distinguished the present execution. For the first time in English history, ecclesiastics were brought out to suffer in their habits, without undergoing the previous ceremony of degradation. Thenceforward the world knew that, as no sanctuary any more should protect traitors, so the sacred office should avail as little; and the hardest blow which it had yet received was thus dealt to superstition, shaking from its place in the minds of all men the key-stone of the whole system. To the last moment escape was left open, if the prisoners would submit. As one by one they went to their death, the council, at each fresh horrible spectacle, urged the survivors to have pity on themselves; but they urged them in vain. The faces of these men did not grow pale; their voices did not shake; they declared themselves liege subjects of the king and obedient children of holy church, "giving God thanks that they were held worthy to suffer for the truth." All died without a murmur. The stern work was ended with quartering the bodies; and the arm of Houghton was hung up as a bloody sign over the archway of the Charterhouse, to awe the remaining brothers into submission.

So fell the monks of the London Charterhouse, splintered to pieces—for so only could their resistance be overcome—by the iron sceptre and the iron hand which held it. They were, however, alone of their kind. There were many, perhaps, who wished to resemble them, who would have imitated their example had they dared. But all bent except these. If it had been otherwise, the Reformation would have been impossible, and perhaps it would not have been needed.

The king was not without feeling. It was no matter of indifference to him that he found himself driven to such stern courses with his subjects; and as the golden splendour of his manhood was thus suddenly clouding, "he commanded all about his court to poll their heads," in public token of mourning; "and to give them example, he caused his own head to be polled, and from thenceforth his beard to be knotted, and to be no more shaven."

The friars of Charterhouse suffered for their Catholic faith, as Protestants had suffered and were still to suffer for theirs. In this same month of May in the same year the English annals contain another entry of no less sad significance.

THE EXECUTION OF FISHER AND MORE

After the execution of the Carthusians it became a question what should be done with Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and Sir Thomas More. They had remained for a year in the Tower undisturbed. It was a hard case, for the bishop was sinking into the grave with age and sickness, and More had the highest reputation of any living man. But they had chosen to make themselves conspicuous as confessors for Catholic truth; though prisoners in the Tower, they were in fact the most effectual champions of the papal claims, and if their disobedience had been passed over, the statute could have been enforced against no one. The same course was followed as with the Carthusian monks. On the 7th of May a deputation of the council waited on the prisoners in the Tower for an acknowledgment of the supremacy. They refused: Fisher, after a brief hesitation, peremptorily; More declining to answer, but also giving an indirect denial. After repeated efforts had been made to move them, and made in vain, their own language, as in the preceding trials, furnished material for their indictment; and the law officers of the crown who were to conduct the prosecution were the witnesses under whose evidence they were to be tried. It was a strange proceeding, to be excused only, if excused at all, by the pressure of the times.

Yet five weeks elapsed and the government still hesitated. Once more Fisher was called upon to submit, with the intimation that if he refused he must bear the consequences. His reply remained what it had been, and on the 17th of June he was taken down in a boat to Westminster Hall, where the special commission was sitting. The proceedings at his trial are thus briefly summed up in the official record: "Thursday, after the feast of St. Barnabas, John Fisher was brought to the bar by Sir William Kingston, constable of the Tower. Pleads not guilty. Venire awarded. Verdict—guilty. Judgment as usual in cases of treason."

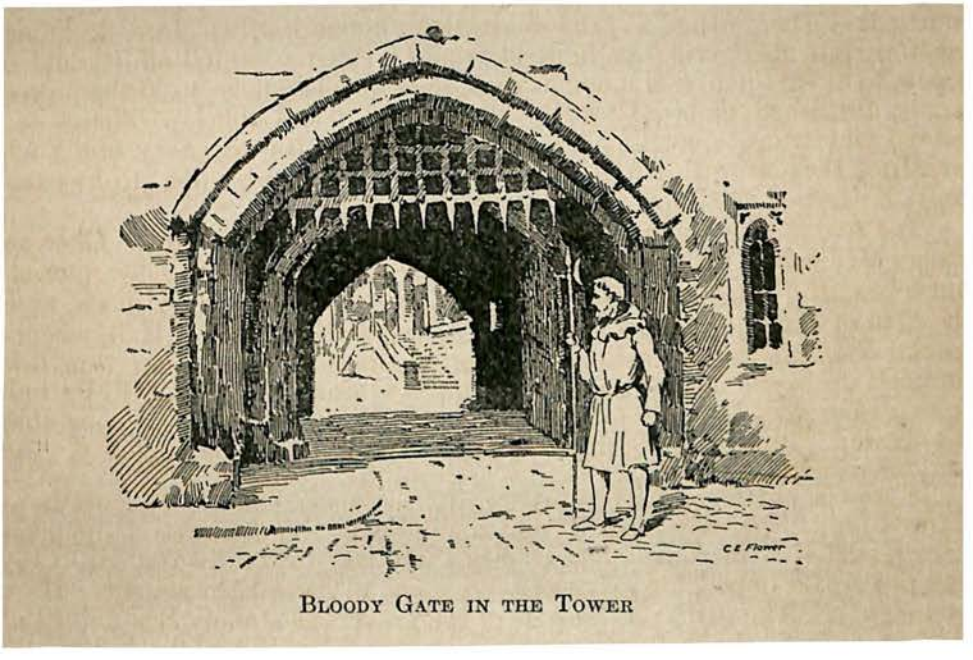
It was a swift sentence, and swiftly to be executed. Five days were allowed him to prepare himself; and the more austere features of the penalty were remitted with some show of pity. He was to die by the axe. Mercy was not to be hoped for. It does not seem to have been sought. He was past eighty. The earth on the edge of the grave was already crumbling under his feet, and death had little to make it fearful. When the last morning dawned, he dressed himself carefully—as he said, for his marriage day. The distance to Tower Hill was short. He was able to walk, and he tottered out of the prison gates, holding in his hand a closed volume of the New Testament. The crowd flocked about him, and he was heard to pray that, as this book had been his best comfort and companion, so in that hour it might give him some special strength and speak to him as from his Lord. Then opening it at a venture, he read: "This is life eternal, to know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom Thou hast sent." It was the answer to his prayer, and he continued to repeat the words as he was led forward.

On the scaffold he chanted the *Te Deum*, and then, after a few prayers, knelt down, and meekly laid his head upon a pillow where neither care nor fear nor sickness would ever vex it more. Many a spectacle of sorrow had been witnessed on that tragic spot, but never one more sad than this, never one more painful to think or speak of. When a nation is in the throes of revolution, wild spirits are abroad in the storm; and poor human nature presses blindly forward with the burden which is laid upon it, tossing aside

[1535 A.D.]

the obstacles in its path with a recklessness which, in calmer hours, it would fear to contemplate.

Sir Thomas More followed, his fortunes linked in death, as in life, to those of his friend. He was left to the last—in the hope, perhaps, that the example would produce an effect which persuasion could not. But the example, if that was the object, worked to far other purpose. From More's high-tempered nature such terrors fell harmless, as from enchanted armour. Death to him was but a passing from one country to another, and he had all along anticipated that his prison was the ante-chamber of the scaffold. He had indeed taken no pains to avoid it. On the 7th of May he was examined by the same persons who examined Fisher, and he was interrogated again and again in subsequent interviews. His humour did not allow him to answer questions directly: he played with his catechists, and did not readily furnish them with materials for a charge. At length sufficient evidence was obtained.



BLOODY GATE IN THE TOWER

On the 26th of June a true bill was found against him by the grand jury of Middlesex; and on the 1st of July the high commission sat again in Westminster Hall, to try the most illustrious prisoner who ever listened to his sentence there.

The sentence was inevitable. It was pronounced in the ordinary form, but the usual punishment for treason was commuted, as it had been with Fisher, to death upon the scaffold; and this last favour was communicated as a special instance of the royal clemency. More's wit was always ready. "God forbid," he answered, "that the king show any more such mercy unto any of my friends; and God bless all my posterity from such pardons." The pageant was over, for such a trial was little more. As the procession formed to lead back the "condemned traitor" to the Tower, the commissioners once more adjured him to have pity on himself, and offered to reopen the court if he would reconsider his resolution. More smiled, and replied only a few words of graceful farewell. He then left the hall, and to spare him the exertion of the walk he was allowed to return by water.

At the Tower steps one of those scenes occurred which have cast so rich a pathos round the closing story of this illustrious man. "When Sir Thomas," writes the grandson, William Roper,[x] "was now come to the Tower wharf, his best beloved child, my aunt Roper, desirous to see her father, whom she feared she should never see in this world after, to have his last blessing, gave there attendance to meet him; whom as soon as she had espied she ran hastily unto him, and without consideration or care for herself, passing through the midst of the throng and guard of men, who with bills and halberts compassed him around, there openly in the sight of them all embraced him, and took him about the neck and kissed him, not able to say any word but 'Oh, my father! oh, my father!' He, liking well her most natural and dear affection towards him, gave her his fatherly blessing; telling her that whatsoever he should suffer, though he were innocent, yet it was not without the will of God; and that He knew well enough all the secrets of her heart, counselling her to accommodate her will to God's blessed pleasure, and to be patient for his loss.

"She was no sooner parted from him and had gone scarce ten steps, when she, not satisfied with the former farewell, like one who had forgot herself, ravished with the entire love of so worthy a father, having neither respect to herself nor to the press of people about him, suddenly turned back and ran hastily to him, and took him about the neck and divers times together kissed him; whereat he spoke not a word, but, carrying still his gravity, tears fell also from his eyes; yea, there were very few in all the troop who could refrain hereat from weeping, no, not the guards themselves. Yet at last with a full heart she was severed from him, at which time another of our women embraced him; and my aunt's maid Dorothy Collis did the like, of whom he said after, it was homely but very lovingly done."

More's relation with his daughter forms the most beautiful feature in his history. His letters to her in early life are of unequalled grace, and she was perhaps the only person whom he very deeply loved. He never saw her again. The four days which remained to him he spent in prayer and in severe bodily discipline. On the night of the 5th of July, although he did not know the time which had been fixed for his execution, yet with an instinctive feeling that it was near, he sent her his hair shirt and whip, as having no more need of them, with a parting blessing of affection.

About nine of the clock, July 6th, he was brought by the lieutenant out of the Tower, his beard being long, which fashion he had never before used, his face pale and lean, carrying in his hands a red cross, casting his eyes often towards heaven. He had been unpopular as a judge, and one or two persons in the crowd were insolent to him; but the distance was short and soon over, as all else was nearly over now. The scaffold had been awkwardly erected, and shook as he placed his foot upon the ladder. "See me safe up," he said to Kingston. "For my coming down I can shift for myself." He began to speak to the people, but the sheriff begged him not to proceed, and he contented himself with asking for their prayers, and desiring them to bear witness for him that he died in the faith of the holy Catholic church, and a faithful servant of God and the king. He then repeated the Miserere psalm on his knees.

When he had ended and risen, the executioner, with an emotion which promised ill for the manner in which his part in the tragedy would be accomplished, begged his forgiveness. More kissed him. "Thou art to do me the greatest benefit that I can receive," he said. "Pluck up thy spirit, man, and be not afraid to do thine office. My neck is very short. Take

heed, therefore, that thou strike not awry for saving of thine honesty." The executioner offered to tie his eyes. "I will cover them myself," he said; and binding them in a cloth which he had brought with him, he knelt and laid his head on the block. The fatal stroke was about to fall, when he signed for a moment's delay while he moved aside his beard. "Pity that should be cut," he murmured; "that has not committed treason." With which strange words, the strangest perhaps uttered at such a time, the lips most famous through Europe for eloquence and wisdom closed forever.[b]

THE AFTERMATH OF MORE'S DEATH

The love of Margaret Roper continued to display itself in those unavailing tokens of tenderness to her father's remains by which affection seeks to perpetuate itself; ineffectually, indeed, for the object, but effectually for the softening of the heart and for the exalting of the soul. She procured the head to be taken down from London Bridge, where odious passions had struggled in pursuit of an infernal immortality by placing it. She kept it during her life as a sacred relic, and was buried with this object of fondness in her arms nine years after. Erasmus[c] called her the ornament of Britain, and the flower of the learned matrons of England, at a time when education consisted only of the revived study of ancient learning. This great scholar survived More only a few months, but composed a beautiful account of his martyrdom, though, with his wonted timidity, under an imaginary name.

Perhaps the death of no individual ever produced, merely on account of his personal qualities, so much sorrow and horror as that of Sir Thomas More. A general cry sounded over Europe. The just fame of the sufferer, the eloquent pen of his friend Erasmus,[1] the excusable pride of the Roman church in so glorious a martyr, and the atrocious effrontery of the means used to compass his destruction, contributed to spread the utmost indignation. The more considerate portion of men began to pause at the sight of the first illustrious blood spilt in religious divisions already threatening part of the horrors of which they soon after became the occasion. Giovio,[w] an Italian historian, compared the tyranny of Henry to that preternatural wickedness which the Grecian legends had embodied under the appellation of Phalaris. Cardinal Pole lashed the frenzy of his kinsman with vehement eloquence, bewailing the fate of the martyr in the most affecting strains of oratory. Englishmen abroad everywhere found their country the object of execration. Harvey, the resident at Venice, reported the anger of the Italians at the death of men of such honour and virtue. "They openly speak," he says, "of Catherine being put to death, and of the princess Mary speedily following her mother." He declares that all he hears disgusts him with public life, and disposes him to retire from such scenes.

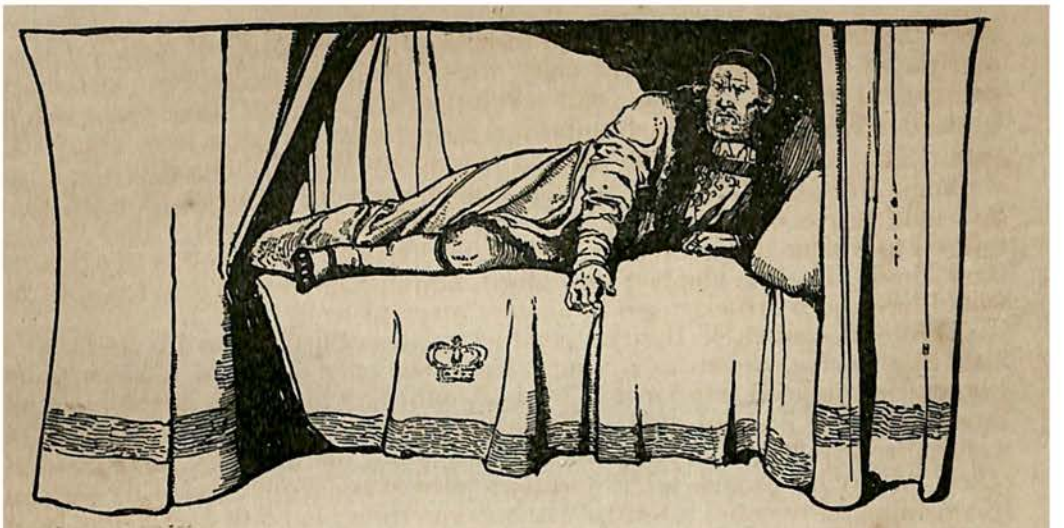
Had Henry VIII died in the twentieth year of his reign, his name might have come down to us as that of a festive and martial prince, with much of the applause which is lavished on gaiety and enterprise, and of which some fragments, preserved in the traditions of the people, too long served to screen the misrule of his later years from historical justice. But the execution of

[1] In the month of August Erasmus wrote to a friend that the English were now living in such a state of terror that they durst not write to foreigners or receive letters from them. In fact, in all foreign countries where civilisation had made progress, the fate of Fisher, and still more of that admirable wit and scholar, the author of the *Utopia*, excited universal execration; and there, at least, men could speak their minds loudly.[t]

More marks the moment of the transition of his government from joviality and parade to a species of atrocity which distinguishes it from any other European tyranny. This singular revolution in his conduct has been ascribed to the death of Wolsey, which unbridled his passions and gave loose rein to his rage. That this was not the opinion formed by Wolsey himself of the king, we know from his dying words, who knew his master enough to foretell that he would prove unmanageable when his passions were roused. Had Wolsey refused to concur in the divorce, he was not likely to have been better treated than More. Had he stepped into blood, he must have waded onward, or he would have been struck down in his first attempt to fly.

The total change of Henry's conduct relates still more to his deeds as a man than to his system as a king. He is the only prince of modern times who carried judicial murder into his bed, imbruing his hands in the blood of those whom he had caressed. Perhaps no other, since the emancipation of women from polygamy, put to death two wives for infidelity, divorced another, whom he owned to be faultless, after twenty-four years of wedded friendship, and rejected a fourth without imputing blame to her, merely from an impulse of personal disgust. The acts of Henry which the order of time now requires to be related must have been much more his own than those of his political counsellors.[s]

At Rome both Fisher and More were considered as martyrs in the cause of the church; and as Henry had shown by many other measures that he was determined to keep no terms with the papacy, on the 30th of August Paul III put his hand to a bull which allowed him ninety days to repent and appear at Rome in person, or by proxy; and in case of default, pronounced him and all his fautors and abettors excommunicated—declared him to have forfeited his crown, and his children by Anne Boleyn and their children to be incapable of inheriting it. Going still further, the pope enjoined all Christian priests and monks whatsoever to quit Henry's dominions; absolved his subjects from their oaths of allegiance, and commanded them to take up arms against him. He also dissolved all Henry's treaties and alliances with Christian princes; prohibited all Christian nations from trading with England, and exhorted them to make war upon him until he should cease his schism and rebellion against the church. But it was deemed expedient to keep this thunder in reserve for the present, and so the pope suppressed the bull for a season. It was, however, known in England that the instrument had been drawn up, and this circumstance only exasperated the court and a large portion of the country. Henry was apprehensive of the power of the emperor, and he now opened negotiations with the Protestants of Germany, whose doctrines he had pronounced to be damnable.[t]



CHAPTER V

THE LAST YEARS OF HENRY VIII

[1535–1547 A.D.]

THE separation from Rome was effected in a way in which such a man was likely to effect it. It sprang from a purely personal and even a sensual motive. Henry threw off the authority of the pope simply because he was tired of a staid and elderly wife, and had fallen in love with a flighty young woman. But the moment the thing was done, he justified his acts to himself in reforming the church according to the ideas of the better men around him. Many of the great houses of modern England, the Russells, the Herberts, the Wriothesleys, owe their origin to that splendid court. Over them all towered the king's stately form, "the majestic lord that broke the bonds of Rome," and whose course through life was accompanied by the frequent thud of the executioner's axe. The spirit of the Renaissance of the new learning, as it was called in England, was not a spirit of liberty.—S. R. GARDINER.[b]

HENRY had now obtained the great object of his ambition. His supremacy in religious matters had been established by act of parliament; it had been admitted by the nation at large—the members of every clerical and monastic body had confirmed it by their subscriptions, and its known opponents had atoned for their obstinacy by suffering the penalties of treason. Still the extent of his ecclesiastical pretensions remained subject to doubt and discussion. That he meant to exclude the authority hitherto exercised by the pontiffs was sufficiently evident; but most of the clergy, while they acknowledged the new title assumed by the king, still maintained that the church had inherited from her founder the power of preaching, of administering the sacraments, and of enforcing spiritual discipline by spiritual censures—a power which, as it was not derived from, so neither could it be dependent on, the will of the civil magistrate. Henry himself did not clearly explain, perhaps knew not how to explain, his own sentiments. If on the one hand he was willing to push his ecclesiastical prerogative to its utmost

limits, on the other he was checked by the contrary tendency of those principles which he had published and maintained in his treatise against Luther. In his answer to the objections proposed to him by the convocation at York, he clothed his meaning in ambiguous language, and carefully eluded the real point in discussion.

Another question arose respecting the manner in which the supremacy was to be exercised. As the king had neither law nor precedent to guide him, it became necessary to determine the duties which belonged to him in his new capacity, and to establish an additional office for the conduct of ecclesiastical affairs. At its head was placed the man whose counsels had first suggested the attempt, and whose industry had brought it to a successful termination.

CROMWELL MADE VICAR-GENERAL (1535 A.D.)

Cromwell[1] already held the offices of chancellor of the exchequer and of first secretary to the king. He was, after some delay, appointed "the royal vicegerent, vicar-general, and principal commissary, with all the spiritual authority belonging to the king as head of the church, for the due administration of justice in all cases touching the ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and the godly reformation and redress of all errors, heresies, and abuses in the said church." As a proof of the high estimation in which Henry held the supremacy, he allotted to his vicar the precedence of all the lords spiritual and temporal, and even of the great officers of the crown. In parliament Cromwell sat before the archbishop of Canterbury; he superseded that prelate in the presidency of the convocation. It was with difficulty that the clergy suppressed their murmurs when they saw at their head a man who had never taken orders nor graduated in any university; but their indignation increased when they found that the same pre-eminence was claimed by any of his clerks, whom he might commission to attend as his deputy at their meetings.

Their degradation, however, was not yet consummated. It was resolved to probe the sincerity of their submission, and to extort from them a practical acknowledgment that they derived no authority from Christ, but were merely the occasional delegates of the crown. We have on this subject a singular letter from Leigh and Ap Rice, two of the creatures of Cromwell, to their master. On the ground that the plenitude of ecclesiastical jurisdiction was vested in him as vicar-general, they advised that the powers of all the dignitaries of the church should be suspended for an indefinite period. If the prelates claimed authority by divine right, they would then be compelled to produce their proofs; if they did not, they must petition the king for the restoration of their powers, and thus acknowledge the crown to be the real fountain of spiritual jurisdiction. This suggestion was eagerly adopted; the archbishop, by a circular letter, informed the other prelates that the king, intending to make a general visitation, had suspended the powers of all the ordinaries within the realm; and these, having submitted with due humility during a month, presented a petition to be restored to the exercise of their usual authority.

In consequence a commission was issued to each bishop separately, authorising him, during the king's pleasure, and as the king's deputy, to do

[1 "Cromwell, after the fall of his master, Wolsey, gained on the affections of Henry VIII till he acquired as great an ascendancy, and nearly as much power, as the cardinal had possessed during the preceding part of the reign; and whatever office he happened to hold, he was looked up to as the mover of the entire machine of the state."—BREWER.c]

[1535 A.D.]

whatever belonged to the office of a bishop besides those things which, according to the sacred writings, were committed to his charge. But for this indulgence a most singular reason was assigned: not that the government of bishops is necessary for the church, but that the king's vicar-general, on account of the multiplicity of business with which he was loaded, could not be everywhere present, and that many inconveniences might arise if delays and interruptions were admitted in the exercise of his authority.

VISITATION AND DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES (1535–1536 A.D.)

Some years had elapsed since the bishop of Paris had ventured to predict that whenever the cardinal of York should forfeit the royal favour, the spoliation of the clergy would be the consequence of his disgrace. That prediction was now verified. The example of Germany had proved that the church might be plundered with impunity; and Cromwell had long ago promised that the assumption of the supremacy should place the wealth of the clerical and monastic bodies at the mercy of the crown. Hence that minister, encouraged by the success of his former counsels, ventured to propose the dissolution of the monasteries; and the motion was received with welcome by the king, whose thirst for money was not exceeded by his love of power; by the lords of the council, who already promised themselves a considerable share in the spoils; and by Archbishop Cranmer. The conduct of the business was intrusted to the superior cunning and experience of the favourite, who undertook to throw the mask of religious zeal over the proceedings.

With this view a general visitation of the monasteries was enjoined by the head of the church; commissioners of inquiry by his lay vicar were selected; and to these in pairs were allotted particular districts for the exercise of their talents and industry. The instructions which they received breathed a spirit of piety and reformation, and were formed on the model of those formerly used in episcopal and legatine visitation; so that, to men not intrusted with the secret, the object of Henry appeared, not the abolition, but the support and improvement of the monastic institute. But the visitors themselves were not men of high standing or reputation in the church. They were clerical adventurers of very equivocal character, who had solicited the appointment, and had pledged themselves to effect, as far as it might be possible, the object of that appointment, that is, the extinction of the establishments which they should visit.[d]

In the height of summer in 1535, three learned doctors set forth upon excursions into various parts of England, each having in his pocket a commission from the "vicegerent of the king in all his ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the realm." Doctor Layton is a most amusing correspondent of the vicegerent, and has capital stories to tell of the prior of Maiden Bradley, in Wilts, about his relics, and of his less ancient realities, namely, six children, of whom his sons "be tall men waiting upon him." The worthy commissioner sent some of the curiosities to Cromwell, such as "Mary Magdalen's girdle." Articles of more intrinsic value were in his keeping: "I have crosses of silver and gold, some which I send you not now, because I have more that shall be delivered me this night by the prior of Maiden Bradley himself." The visitors anticipated that clause of the act for the Suppression, which gave the king "all the ornaments, jewels, goods, and chattels" of the heads of the monastic houses, from the 1st of March, 1535. This was a large power to be intrusted to the visitors, and they never neglected to exercise it. They

had rougher work to perform, which Doctor Layton, at any rate, appears to have set about with hearty goodwill, however odious that work may seem to our more fastidious notions of the office of a gentleman. But we have one painful feeling in reading them—even more painful than the exposure of hypocrisy and licentiousness—the tone in which these matters are spoken of.

Froude[f] says that "tourists, who in their day-dreams among these fair ruins are inclined to complain of the sacrilege which wasted the houses of prayer," may study with advantage the account of the "moral ruin," of which "the outward beautiful ruin was but a symbol and a consequence." May we not add that the historian, who presents this account of the low morality of the ancient clergy, might have also given us the following glimpse of the noble aims of the new statesmen? To Cromwell the learned commissioners wrote, in the same letter which describes the frauds of the abbot, these significant words: "There is a monk of the house, called Marmaduke, to whom Mr. Timms left a prebend in Ripon church, now abiding upon the same prebend, the wisest monk within England of that coat, and well learned —twenty years officer and ruler of all that house—a wealthy fellow, which will give you six hundred marks to make him abbot there, and pay you immediately after the election."

That this mode of propitiating favour was perfectly understood before the final destruction of the monastic houses was resolved upon, may be inferred from a letter of Latimer, of all men; who does not hesitate to write to Cromwell to avert the suppression of the priory of Great Malvern, by saying, "If five hundred marks to the king's highness, with two hundred marks to yourself for your goodwill, might occasion the promotion of his intent, at least way for the time of his life, he doubteth not to make his friends for the same."

Let us not in charity believe that all these men were of lying tongues and evil lives. Let us not imagine that all nuns were sensual and ignorant. The very commissioners themselves speak of many nunneries as above all suspicion.[g]

A bill was introduced, March 4th, 1536, and hurried, though not without opposition, through the two houses,[1] giving to the king and his heirs all monastic establishments the clear yearly value of which did not exceed two hundred pounds, with the property belonging to them both real and personal, vesting the possession of the buildings and lands in those persons to whom the king should assign them by letters patent. It was calculated that by this act about three hundred and eighty communities would be dissolved, and that an addition of thirty-two thousand pounds would be made to the yearly revenue of the crown, besides the present receipt of one hundred thousand in money, plate, and jewels. This parliament, by its obsequious compliance with every intimation of the royal will, had deserved, if any parliament could deserve, the gratitude of the king. To please him it had altered the succession, had new-modelled the whole frame of ecclesiastical government, and had multiplied the prerogatives and added to the revenue of the crown. Commissioners were now named to execute the last act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries.

Their instructions ordered them to proceed to each house within a particular district, to announce its dissolution to the superior and the brotherhood, to make an inventory of the effects, to secure the convent seal and the title-deeds, and to dispose of the inhabitants according to certain rules. But the statute which vested these establishments in the king left it to his

[1] Spelman *mm* tells us that it stuck long in the house of commons, and would not pass till the king sent for the commons, and told them he would have the bill pass, or take off some of their heads.

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discretion to found them anew—a provision which, while it left a gleam of hope to the sufferers, drew considerable sums of money into the pockets of Cromwell and his deputies. The monks of each community flattered themselves with the expectation of escaping from the general shipwreck, and sought by presents and annuities to secure the protection of the minister and the visitors. On the other hand, the favourites, to whom Henry had already engaged to give or sell the larger portion of these establishments, were not less liberal in their offers, nor less active in their endeavours to hasten the dissolution.

The result of the contest was, that more than a hundred monasteries obtained a respite from immediate destruction; and of these the larger number were founded again by the king's letters patent, though each of them paid the price of that favour by the surrender of a valuable portion of its possessions. With respect to the suppressed houses, the superior received a pension for life; of the monks, those who had not reached the age of twenty-four were absolved from their vows and sent adrift into the world without any provision; the others were divided into two classes. Such as wished to continue in the profession, were dispersed among the larger monasteries; those who did not, were told to apply to Cranmer or Cromwell, who would find them employments suited to their capacities. The lot of the nuns was more distressing. Each received a single gown from the king, and was left to support herself by her own industry, or to seek relief from the charity and commiseration of others.[d]

BRIGANTINE JACKET AND ARQUEBUS
(Sixteenth century.)

If we may form an opinion from the preamble of the statute of 1536, by which religious houses not above the yearly value of two hundred pounds were given to the king, the framers of the act, and the parliament which assented to it, intended the suppression of the monasteries there to stop. The statute proposes that the members of the smaller houses shall be removed to "divers great and solemn monasteries of this realm, wherein, thanks be to God, religion is right well kept and observed." This was deliberately asserted, after the visitation had been proceeding for more than six months.

The statute of 1539, simply entitled "An act for dissolution of abbeys," swept the whole monastic system away, without assigning any reason beyond the flagrant untruth, that the abbots, abbesses, and other governors of the houses, "of their own free and voluntary minds, goodwills, and assents, without constraint, coaction, or compulsion," had since the 4th of February, 1536, assigned their possessions to the king, and renounced all title to the same. We merely notice this final act of confiscation here, and pass on to the general course of our narrative.

PARLIAMENT AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

The act for the dissolution of the smaller religious houses was passed in March. The parliament had existed for seven years, during which it had assisted in some of the greatest changes of internal policy which England had ever witnessed. It had laboured, too, as previous parliaments had laboured, in devising remedies for social evils, after the prescriptive fashion of believing that laws could regulate prices, and that industry was to be benefited by enacting how manufacturers should tan leather or dye cloth, and what trades should be carried on in particular towns. It is held to be evidence of the calmness with which the statesmen of this parliament proceeded in their great work of ecclesiastical reform, that they passed "acts to protect the public against the frauds of money-making tradesmen; to provide that shoes and boots should be made of honest leather; that food should be sold at fair prices; that merchants should part with their goods at fair profits." Such battles against "those besetting basenesses of human nature, now held to be so invincible that the influences of them are assumed as the fundamental axioms of economic science," are declared by Froude *f* to be more glorious "than even the English constitution or the English liturgy."

Without looking farther than the records of this parliament, we may venture to suggest that these victories had no permanent influence in making any product cheaper or better, but were the greatest obstacles to improvement, and therefore prevented a wider diffusion of things convenient for man. Was the manufacture of cloth likely to be improved, when the use of various dyeing woods that were brought to Europe after the discovery of America—"Brazil, and such other like subtleties"—was forbidden? Could the yeoman and the labourer obtain a better or a cheaper coat, when graziers and husbandmen were prohibited from weaving, fulling, or shearing cloth in their houses? The statutes for regulating the prices of land confess the utter fruitlessness of such enactments.

One more glimpse at these notable expedients "to compel all classes of persons to be true men" in spite of "the fundamental axioms of economic science." The regulating parliament decrees that flesh is to be sold by weight; that beef and pork are to be sold at a halfpenny a pound, and mutton and veal at three farthings. But there are some others to be consulted in this matter besides the butchers. What if the graziers will not sell fat cattle to the butchers at a proportionate rate? The next session an act is passed to compel them. But one inevitable consequence ensues—it is not remunerative to the graziers to breed and fatten cattle; so in two years more a scarcity ensues, the direct result of the legislation. And then, "the king's highness, well considering the great dearth of all manner of victuals which be now, and since the making of the said statutes," suspends their operations for four years, and leaves graziers and butchers to settle the prices of meat "without pain, imprisonment, forfeiture, or penalty."*g*

During the last three years Catherine with a small establishment had resided on one of the royal manors. In most points she submitted without a murmur to the royal pleasure; but no promise, no intimidation could induce her to forego the title of queen, or to acknowledge the invalidity of her marriage, or to accept the offer made to her by her nephew of a safe and honourable asylum either in Spain or Flanders. It was not that she sought to gratify her pride, or to secure her personal interests; but she still cherished a persuasion that her daughter Mary might at some future period be called to

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the throne, and on that account refused to stoop to any concession which might endanger or weaken the right of the princess. In her retirement she was harassed with angry messages from the king: sometimes her servants were discharged for obeying her orders; sometimes were sworn to follow the instructions which they should receive from the court. Forest, her confessor, was imprisoned and condemned for high treason; the act of succession was passed to defeat her claim; and she believed that Fisher and More had lost their lives merely on account of their attachment to her cause.

Her bodily constitution was gradually enfeebled by mental suffering; and feeling her health decline, she repeated a request, which had often been refused, that she might see her daughter once at least before her death; for Mary, from the time of the divorce, had been separated from the company that she might not imbibe the principles of her mother. But at the age of twenty she could not be ignorant of the injuries which both had suffered, and her resentment was daily strengthened by the jealousy of a hostile queen and the caprice of a despotic father.[1] Henry had the cruelty to refuse this last consolation to the unfortunate Catherine, who from her death-bed dictated a short letter to "her most dear lord, king, and husband." She conjured him to think of his salvation; forgave him all the wrongs which he had done her; recommended their daughter Mary to his paternal protection; requested that her three maids might be provided with suitable marriages, and that her other servants might receive a year's wages. As he perused the letter, the stern heart of Henry was softened; he even shed a tear, and desired the ambassador to bear to her a kind and consoling message. But she died before his arrival, January 8th, 1536; and was buried by the king's direction with becoming pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough. The reputation which she had acquired on the throne did not suffer from her disgrace. Her affability and meekness, her piety and charity, had been the theme of universal praise; the fortitude with which she bore her wrongs raised her still higher in the estimation of the public.

ANNE BOLEYN IN DISGRACE

Four months did not elapse before Catherine was followed to the grave by Anne Boleyn. But their end was very different. The divorced queen died peaceably in her bed; her successful rival died by the sword of the headsman on the scaffold. The obstinacy of Henry had secured, as long as the divorce was in agitation, the ascendancy of Anne; but when that obstacle was removed, his caprice sought to throw off the shackles which he had forged for himself. His passion for her gradually subsided into coldness and neglect.[d] The emperor's ambassador, Chapuys,[h] wrote to his master in strong terms of Anne's despotic will even over the king. His public humiliations at her hand must have rankled in his breast. Besides, he had found another sweetheart—someone not now known. She was not, however, the Margaret Shelton who supplanted her, and was later supplanted by Jane Seymour. Henry had tired of Anne before Catherine's death, and would have divorced her but for the decision of his counsellors that if he divorced Anne, he must take back Catherine. This so enraged Henry that he exclaimed his wish that Catherine and Mary were out of the way. The death of Catherine under suspicious circumstances followed. Chapuys does not hesitate to accuse Henry of having

[1] One great cause of offence was that she persisted in giving to herself the title of princess, and refused it to the infant Elizabeth, whom she called nothing but sister. On this account she was banished from court, and confined to different houses in the country.

her poisoned, and Friedmann[i] finds this contemporary theory in many respects plausible. He inclines to believe that there was some truth in the later charge that Anne Boleyn procured the death of Catherine, but that Henry was implicated. It is necessary to add that Chapuys is not accepted as gospel by all historians. Thus he says that Henry rejoiced at the news of Catherine's death, and wore a white plume and yellow, as did Anne. Others say that the king wept.

But whether Catherine's death had been natural or not, Anne soon realised that it did not improve her status as she had expected. She made overtures of reconciliation with Princess Mary, who repulsed them with scorn. She felt that her only hope was now in pregnancy; the birth of a son alone could win back the smile of the king.[a] The indulgent lover became at last a suspicious and unfeeling master. Thus in the beginning of 1535 we accidentally discover her deeply in disgrace with him, and pitifully imploring the aid of the king of France to reconcile her with her husband. For that purpose she had employed Gontier, a gentleman belonging to the French embassy. We have no clue to the misunderstanding; but it is plain from the graphic description in the despatch of Gontier, that Anne did not always enjoy amidst the splendours of royalty those halcyon days which she had anticipated. But whatever were her griefs at that time, they passed away and were forgotten. She thought no more of becoming a lost woman, and at the death of Catherine made no secret of her joy.[1] Out of respect for the Spanish princess, the king had ordered his servants to wear mourning on the day of her burial; but Anne dressed herself in robes of yellow silk, and openly declared that she was now indeed a queen, since she had no longer a competitor. In this, however, she was fatally deceived.

COSTUME OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Among her maids was one named Jane Seymour, the daughter of a knight of Wiltshire, who, to equal her superior elegance of person, added a gentle and playful disposition, as far removed from the Spanish gravity of Catherine as from that levity of manner which Anne had acquired in the French court.[d]

The season was now at hand when Anne was, in her turn, to experience some of the bitter pangs she had inflicted on her royal mistress. Her agonies were not the less poignant, because conscience must have told her that it was retributive justice which returned the poisoned chalice to her own lips, when she, in like manner, found herself rivalled and supplanted by one of her female

[1 Chapuys [h] states that Anne had often upbraided Henry for cowardice in his mild treatment of Catherine, and had even threatened to put Mary to death herself, if the king went to France and left her regent.]

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attendants. Jane must have been a person of consummate art; for she was on terms of great familiarity with the king before Anne entertained the slightest suspicion of their proceedings. Entering the room unexpectedly one day, the queen surprised Jane, seated on Henry's knee, receiving his caresses with every appearance of complacency. Struck as with a mortal blow at this sight, Anne gave way to a transport of mingled grief and indignation. Henry, dreading his consort's agitation might prove fatal to his hopes of an heir, endeavoured to soothe and reassure her, saying, "Be at peace, sweetheart, and all shall go well for thee." But the cruel shock Anne had sustained brought on the pangs of premature travail; and after some hours of protracted agony, during which her life was in imminent peril, she brought forth a dead son, January 29th.

When the king was informed of this misfortune, instead of expressing the slightest sympathy for the sufferings of his luckless consort, he burst into her apartment and furiously upbraided her "with the loss of his boy." Anne, with more spirit than prudence, passionately retorted "that he had no one to blame but himself for this disappointment, which had been caused by her distress of mind about that wench, Jane Seymour." Henry sullenly turned away, muttering, as he quitted her apartment, that "she should have no more boys by him."

These scenes, which occurred in January, 1536, may surely be regarded as the first act of the royal matrimonial tragedy which four months later was consummated on Tower Hill. Anne slowly regained her health, but not her spirits. She knew the king's temper too well not to be aware that her influence was at an end forever, and that she must prepare to resign not only her place in his affections, but also in his state, to the new star by whom she had been eclipsed. When she found that she had no power to obtain the dismissal of her rival from the royal household, she became very melancholy, and withdrew herself from all the gaieties of the court, passing all her time in the most secluded spots of Greenwich Park.

It is also related that she would sit for hours in the quadrangle court of Greenwich Palace in silence and abstraction, or seeking a joyless pastime in playing with her little dogs and setting them to fight with each other. The king had entirely withdrawn himself from her company ever since her rash retort to his unfeeling reproach, and now they never met in private. She had not the consolation of her infant daughter's innocent smiles and endearments to beguile her lonely sorrow, for the princess Elizabeth was nursed in a separate establishment, and the sweet tie of maternity had been sacrificed to the heartless parade of stately ceremonials. She had alienated the regard and acquired the enmity of her uncle Norfolk. Her royal sister-in-law and early patroness, Mary, queen of France, was no more, and Suffolk, Henry's principal favourite, was one of her greatest foes.*j*

QUEEN ANNE UNDER ARREST (1536 A.D.)

Unfortunately, if Henry had been unfaithful, Anne herself, by her levity and indiscretion, had furnished employment to the authors and retailers of scandal. Reports injurious to her honour had been circulated at court; they had reached the ear of Henry, and some notice of them had been whispered to Anne herself. The king, eager to rid himself of a woman whom he no longer loved, referred these reports to the council, and a committee was appointed to inquire into the charges against the queen. It consisted of the

lord chancellor, the dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, her own father, and several earls and judges; who reported that sufficient proof had been discovered to convict her of incontinence, not only with Brereton, Norris, and Weston, of the privy chamber, and Smeton, the king's musician, but even with her own brother, Lord Rochford. They began with Brereton, whom they summoned on the Thursday before May-day and committed immediately to the Tower. The examination of Smeton followed on the Sunday, and the next morning, May 1st, he was lodged in the same prison.

On that day the lord Rochford appeared as principal challenger in a tilting match at Greenwich, and was opposed by Sir Henry Norris as principal defendant. The king and Anne were both present; and it is said that, in one of the intervals between the courses, the queen, through accident or design, dropped her handkerchief from the balcony; that Norris, at whose feet it fell, took it up and wiped his face with it; and that Henry instantly changed colour, started from his seat, and retired. This tale was probably invented to explain what followed; but the match was suddenly interrupted, and the king rode back to Whitehall with only six persons in his train, one of whom was Norris, hitherto an acknowledged favourite both with him and the queen. On the way Henry rode with Norris apart, and earnestly solicited him to deserve pardon by the confession of his guilt. He refused, strongly maintaining his innocence, and on his arrival at Westminster was conducted to the Tower.

Anne had been left under custody at Greenwich. The next morning she received an order to return by water; but was met on the river by the lord chancellor, the duke of Norfolk, and Cromwell, who informed her that she had been charged with infidelity to the king's bed. Falling on her knees, she prayed aloud that if she were guilty, God might never grant her pardon. They delivered her to Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower. Her brother Rochford had already been sent there; Weston and Smeton followed; and preparations were made to bring all the prisoners to immediate trial.[1] From the moment of her confinement at Greenwich Anne had foreseen her fate, and abandoned herself to despair. Her affliction seemed to produce occasional aberrations of intellect. Sometimes she would sit absorbed in melancholy and drowned in tears, and then suddenly assume an air of unnatural gaiety and indulge in immoderate bursts of laughter. To those who waited on her she said that she should be a saint in heaven; that no rain would fall on the earth till she were delivered from prison; and that the most grievous calamities would oppress the nation in punishment of her death. But at times her mind was more composed, and then she gave her attention to devotional exercises, and for that purpose requested that a consecrated host might be placed in her closet.

The apartment allotted for her prison was the same in which she had slept on the night before her coronation. She immediately recollected it, saying that it was too good for her; then falling on her knees, exclaimed, "Jesus, have mercy on me!" This exclamation was succeeded by a flood of tears, and that by a fit of laughter. To Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, she protested: "I am as clear from the company of man, as for sin, as I am clear from you. I am told that I shall be accused by three men; and I can say no more but nay, though you should open my body." Soon afterwards she

[1] Rochford, Weston, and Norris had stood high in the king's favour. The first two often played with him for large sums at shovel-board, dice, and other games, and also with the lady Anne. Norris was the only person whom he allowed to follow him into his bed-chamber. Smeton, though of mean origin, was in high favour with Henry. He is mentioned innumerable times in the Privy Purse Expenses.

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exclaimed in great anguish: "O Norris, hast thou accused me? Thou art in the Tower with me; and thou and I shall die together. And thou, Mark (Smeton), thou art here too. Mr. Kingston" (turning to the lieutenant), "I shall die without justice." He assured her that, if she were the poorest subject in the realm, she would still have justice; to which she replied with a loud burst of laughter.

Under the mild administration of justice at the present day, the accused is never required to condemn himself; but in former times every artifice was employed to draw matter of proof from the mouth of the prisoner by promises and threats, by private examinations in the presence of commissioners, and ensnaring questions put by the warders and attendants. Whatever was done or uttered within the walls of the Tower was carefully recorded, and transmitted to the council. Of the five male prisoners, four persisted in maintaining their innocence before the council. Smeton, on his first examination, would admit only some suspicious circumstances, but on the second he made a full disclosure of guilt; and even Norris, yielding to the strong solicitation of Sir William Fitzwilliam, followed his example. Anne had been interrogated at Greenwich. With her answers we are not acquainted; but she afterwards complained of the conduct of her uncle Norfolk, who, while she was speaking, shook his head and said, "Tut, tut." At times she was cheerful, laughed heartily, and ate her meals with a good appetite.[1]

From particulars extracted from the letters of the lieutenant, it is indeed plain that her conduct had been imprudent; that she had descended from her high station to make companions of her men-servants; and that she had even been so weak as to listen to their declarations of love. But whether she rested here, or abandoned herself to the impulse of licentious desire, is a question which probably can never be determined. The records of her trial and conviction have mostly perished, perhaps by the hands of those who respected her memory; and our judgment is held in suspense between the contradictory and unauthenticated statements of her friends and enemies. By some we are told that the first disclosure was made by a female in her service, who, being detected in an unlawful amour, sought to excuse herself by alleging the example of her mistress; by others, that the suspicion of the king was awakened by the jealousy of Lady Rochford,[2] whose husband had been discovered either lying on, or leaning over, the bed of his sister.

But that which wrought conviction in the royal mind was a deposition made upon oath by the lady Wingfield on her death-bed; of which the first lines only remain, the remainder having been accidentally or designedly destroyed. This, however, with the depositions of the other witnesses, was embodied in the bill of indictment and submitted to the grand juries of Kent and Middlesex, because the crimes laid to the charge of the prisoners were alleged to have been committed in both counties. The four commoners were arraigned in the court of King's Bench. Smeton pleaded guilty; Norris recalled his previous confession; all were convicted, May 12th, and received sentence of death.[3]

[1] We have not noticed Anne's letter to the king, supposed to be written by her in the Tower, because there is no reason for believing it authentic. It is said to have been found among Cromwell's papers, but bears no resemblance to the queen's genuine letters in language or spelling, or writing or signature.

[2] "Lady Rochford outraged all decency by appearing as a witness against her husband."—MISS STRICKLAND. She herself perished for her share in the amours of a later wife of Henry.]

[3] The records of these trials have perished; but if the reader consider with what promptitude and on what slight presumptions (see the subsequent trials of Dereham and Culpeper) juries in this reign were accustomed to return verdicts for the crown, he will hesitate to con-

ANNE TRIED AND CONDEMNED

But the case of the queen was without precedent in English history and it was determined to arraign her before a commission of lords similar to that which had condemned the late duke of Buckingham. The duke of Norfolk was appointed high steward, with twenty-six peers as assessors, and opened the court in the hall of the Tower. To the bar of this tribunal the unhappy queen was led, May 15th, by the constable and lieutenant, and was followed by her female attendants. The indulgence of a chair was granted to her dignity or weakness. The indictment stated that, inflamed with pride and carnal desires of the body, she had confederated with her brother, Lord Rochford, and with Norris, Brereton, Weston, and Smeton, to perpetrate divers abominable treasons; that she had permitted each of the five to lie with her several times; that she had said that the king did not possess her heart; and had told each of them in private that she loved him better than any other man, to the slander of the issue begotten between her and the king; and that she had, in union with her confederates, imagined and devised several plots for the destruction of the king's life.

According to her friends, she repelled each charge with so much modesty and temper, such persuasive eloquence and convincing argument, that every spectator anticipated a verdict of acquittal; but the lords, satisfied perhaps with the legal proofs furnished by the confession of Smeton and the conviction of the other prisoners, pronounced her guilty on their honour; and the lord high steward, whose eyes streamed with tears whilst he performed the unwelcome office, condemned her to be burned or beheaded at the king's pleasure. Anne, according to the testimony or the fiction of a foreign poet, instantly burst into the following exclamation: "O Father! O Creator! thou knowest I do not deserve this death." Then addressing herself to the court: "My lords, I do not arraign your judgment. You may have sufficient reason for your suspicions, but I have always been a true and faithful wife to the king."[1] As soon as she was removed, her brother occupied her place, was convicted on the same evidence, and condemned to lose his head and to be quartered as a traitor.[2]

CRANMER DIVORCES ANNE (1536 A.D.)

By the result of this trial the life of Anne was forfeited to the law; but the vengeance of Henry had prepared for her an additional punishment in the degradation of herself and her daughter. On the day after the arrest of the

demn these unfortunate men on the sole ground of their having been convicted. The case of Smeton was indeed different. He confessed the adultery; but we know not by what arts of the commissioners, under what influence of hope or terror, that confession was obtained from him. It should be remembered that the rack was then in use for prisoners of Smeton's rank in life.

[1] It is extraordinary that we have no credible account of the behaviour of this unfortunate queen on her trial. There can be no doubt that she would maintain her innocence, and therefore we have admitted into the text that exclamation which is generally attributed to her. It comes to us, however, on very questionable authority, that of Meteren,[k] the historian of the Netherlands, who says that he transcribed it from some verses in the Plattdeutsch language, by Crispin, lord of Milherve, a Dutch gentleman present at the trial; so that Burnet[l] himself has some doubt of its truth. "I leave it thus," says he, "without any other reflection upon it but that it seems all over credible."

[2] It is supposed that the charge of conspiracy against the king's life was introduced into the indictment merely for form; yet the lord chancellor takes it as proved in his speech

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accused, he had ordered Cranmer to repair to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, but with an express injunction that he should not venture into the royal presence. That such a message at such a time should excite alarm in the breast of the archbishop, will not create surprise; and the next morning he composed a most eloquent and ingenious epistle to the king.

But Henry had no other object than to intimidate, and by intimidating to render him more ductile to the royal pleasure. He was summoned to meet certain commissioners in the Star Chamber, who laid before him the proofs of the queen's offence, and acquainted him with the duty which was expected from him. He had formerly dissolved the marriage between Henry and Catherine; he was now required to dissolve that between Henry and Anne.

It must have been a most unwelcome and painful task. He had examined that marriage judicially; had pronounced it good and valid; and had confirmed it by his authority as metropolitan and judge. But to hesitate would have cost him his head. He acceded to the proposal with all the zeal of a proselyte; and, adopting as his own the objections to its validity with which he had been furnished, sent copies of them to both the king and queen, "for the salvation of their souls," and the due effect of law; with a summons to each to appear in his court, and to show cause why a sentence of divorce should not be pronounced. Never, perhaps, was there a more solemn mockery of the forms of justice than in the pretended trial of this extraordinary cause. May 17th, two days after the condemnation of the queen by the peers, Cranmer, "having previously invoked the name of Christ, and having God alone before his eyes," pronounced definitely that the marriage formerly contracted, solemnised, and consummated between Henry and Anne Boleyn was, and always had been, null and void.[1] The whole process was afterwards laid before the members of the convocation and the houses of parliament. By both the divorce was approved and confirmed. To Elizabeth, the infant daughter of Anne, the necessary consequence was, that she, like her sister, the daughter of Catherine, was reputed illegitimate.

Burnet,[l] unacquainted with this instrument, which, he asserts, was burned, informs us that the divorce was pronounced in consequence of an alleged precontract of marriage between Anne and Percy, afterwards earl of Northumberland; that the latter had twice solemnly denied the existence of such contract on the sacrament; but that Anne, through hope of favour, was induced to confess it. That Percy denied it, is certain from his letter of the 13th of May; that Anne confessed it, is the mere assertion of the historian, supported by no authority. It is most singular that the real nature of the objection on which the divorce was founded is not mentioned in the decree itself, nor in the acts of the convocation, nor in the act of parliament, though it was certainly communicated both to the convocation and the parliament.

to the two houses of parliament in presence of Henry. He reminds them twice of the great danger to which the king had been exposed, during his late marriage, from the plots laid for his life by Anne and her accomplices.

[1] Several questions rose out of this judgment. 1. If it were good in law, Anne had never been married to the king. She could not, therefore, have been guilty of adultery, and consequently ought not to be put to death for that crime. 2. If the same judgment were good, the act of settlement became null, because it was based on the supposition of a valid marriage, and all the treasons created by that act were at once done away. 3. If the act of settlement were still in force, the judgment itself, inasmuch as it "slandered and impugned the marriage," was an act of treason. But Anne derived no benefit from these doubts. She was executed, and the next parliament put an end to all controversy on the subject by enacting that offences made treason by the act should be so deemed if committed before the 8th of June; but that the king's loving subjects concerned in the prosecution of the queen in the archbishop's court, or before the lords, should have a full pardon for all treasons by them in such prosecution committed.

The king had formerly cohabited with Mary, the sister of Anne Boleyn; which cohabitation, according to the canon law, opposed the same impediment to his marriage with Anne as had before existed to his marriage with Catherine. On this account he had procured a dispensation from Pope Clement; but that dispensation, according to the doctrine which prevailed after his separation from the communion of Rome, was of no force; and hence we are inclined to believe that the real ground of the divorce pronounced by Cranmer was Henry's previous cohabitation with Mary Boleyn; that this was admitted on both sides, and that in consequence the marriage with Anne, the sister of Mary, was judged invalid.

EXECUTION OF ANNE AND HER "PARAMOURS" (1536 A.D.)

On the day on which Cranmer pronounced judgment the companions of the queen were led to execution. Smeton was hanged; the other four, on account of their superior rank, were beheaded. The last words of Smeton, though susceptible of a different meaning, were taken by his hearers for a confession of guilt. "Masters," said he, "I pray you all, pray for me, for I have deserved the death." Norris was obstinately silent; Rochford exhorted the spectators to live according to the gospel; Weston lamented his past folly in purposing to give his youth to sin and his old age to repentance; Brereton, who, says an eye-witness, was innocent if any of them were, used these enigmatical words: "I have deserved to die, if it were a thousand deaths; but the cause wherefore I die, judge ye not. If ye judge, judge the best."

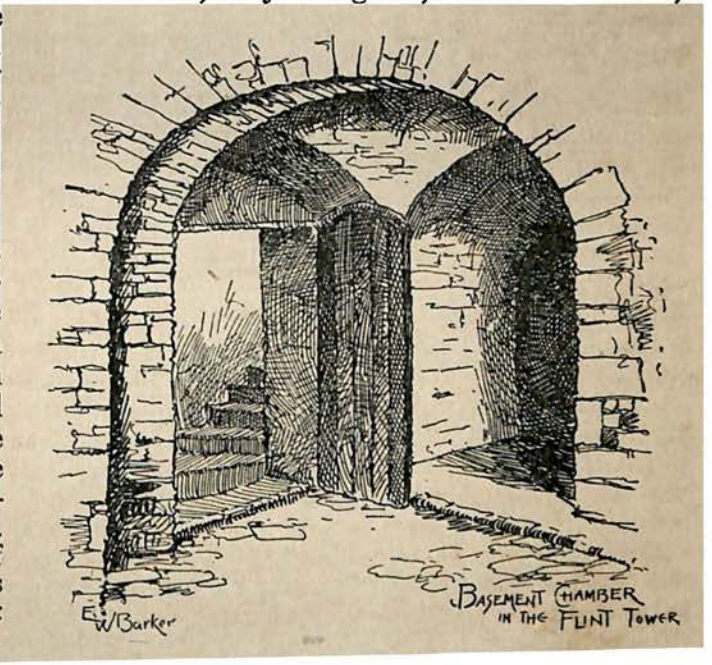
It may be observed that in none of these declarations, not even in that of Smeton, is there any express admission, or express denial, of the crime for which these unfortunate men suffered. If they were guilty, is it not strange that not one out of five would acknowledge it? If they were not, is it not still more strange that not one of them should proclaim his innocence, if not for his own sake, at least for the sake of that guiltless woman who was still alive, but destined to suffer for the same cause in a few days? The best solution is to suppose that no person was allowed to speak at his execution without a solemn promise to say nothing in disparagement of the judgment under which he suffered. We know that, if the king brought a man to trial, it was thought necessary for the king's honour that he should be convicted; probably, when he suffered, it was thought equally for the king's honour that he should not deny the justice of his punishment.

To Anne herself two days more were allotted, which she spent for the most part in the company of her confessor. On the evening before her death, falling on her knees before the wife of the lieutenant, she asked her for a last favour; which was, that Lady Kingston would throw herself in like manner at the feet of the lady Mary, and would in Anne's name beseech her to forgive the many wrongs which the pride of a thoughtless, unfortunate woman had brought upon her. We learn from Kingston himself that she displayed an air of greater cheerfulness than he had ever witnessed in any person in similar circumstances; that she had required him to be present when she should receive "the good lord," to the intent that he might hear her declare her innocence; and that he had no doubt she would at her execution proclaim herself "a good woman for all but the king." If, however, such were her intention, she afterwards receded from it.[d]

Soon after we find an order issued for the expulsion of strangers from the Tower; a small fact, but characteristic of tyranny, which dreads pity as a

[1536 A.D.]

natural enemy. In spite of this exclusion of those who might commiserate the fate of the victim, the reports of the lieutenant to his master Cromwell throw some light on the last morning of her life. When he came to her, after repeating her solemn protestations of innocence, she said to him, "'Mr. Kingston, I hear that I am not to die before noon, and I am very sorry for it, for I thought to be dead and past my pain.' I told her it should be no pain. She answered, 'I heard say, that the executioner of Calais who was brought over is more expert than any in England: that is very good, I have a little neck,' putting her hand about it and laughing heartily"—a transient and playful recurrence to the delicacy of her form, which places in a stronger light the blackness of the man who had often caressed and now commanded that it should be mangled. "I have seen men," says Kingston, "and also women, executed, and they have been in great sorrowing. This lady has much joy and pleasure in death."[m]



On the morning of May 9th, the dukes of Suffolk and Richmond, the lord mayor and aldermen, with a deputation of citizens from each company, assembled by order of the king on the green within the Tower. About noon the gate opened, and Anne was led to the scaffold, dressed in a robe of black damask, and attended by her four maids. With the permission of the lieutenant, she thus addressed the spectators: "Good Christian people, I am not come here to excuse or justify myself, forasmuch as I know full well that aught which I could say in my defence doth not appertain to you, and that I could derive no hope of life for the same. I come here only to die, and thus to yield myself humbly to the will of my lord the king. And if in life I did ever offend the king's grace, surely with my death do I now atone for the same. I blame not my judges, nor any other manner of person, nor anything save the cruel law of the land by which I die. But be this, and be my faults as they may, I beseech you all, good friends, to pray for the life of the king, my sovereign lord and yours, who is one of the best princes on the face of the earth, and who has always treated me so well that better cannot be; wherefore I submit to death with a good will, humbly asking pardon of all the world."

She then took her coifs from her head, and covered her hair with a linen cap, saying to her maids, "I cannot reward you for your service, but pray you to take comfort for my loss. Howbeit, forget me not. Be faithful to the king's grace, and to her whom with happier fortune you may have for your queen and mistress. Value your honour before your lives; and in your prayers to the Lord Jesus, forget not to pray for my soul." She now knelt down; one of her attendants tied a bandage over her eyes, and, as she

exclaimed, "O Lord God, have mercy upon my soul!" the executioner, with one blow of his sword, severed her head from the body. Her remains, covered with a sheet, were placed by her maids in an elm chest brought from the armoury, and immediately afterwards buried within the chapel of the Tower. Thus fell this unfortunate queen within four months after the death of Catherine. To have expressed a doubt of her guilt during the reign of Henry, or of her innocence during that of Elizabeth, would have been deemed a proof of disaffection. The question soon became one of religious feeling rather than of historical disquisition. Though she had departed no further than her husband from the ancient doctrine, yet, as her marriage with Henry led to the separation from the communion of Rome, the Catholic writers were eager to condemn, the Protestant to exculpate her memory.

In the absence of those documents which alone could enable us to decide with truth, we will only observe that the king must have been impelled by some most powerful motive to exercise against her such extraordinary, and, in one supposition, such superfluous rigour. Had his object been (we are sometimes told that it was) to place Jane Seymour by his side on the throne, the divorce of Anne without her execution, or the execution without the divorce, would have effected his purpose. But he seems to have pursued her with insatiable hatred. Not content with taking her life, he made her feel in every way in which a wife and a mother could feel. He stamped on her character the infamy of adultery and incest; he deprived her of the name and the right of wife and queen; and he even bastardised her daughter, though he acknowledged that daughter to be his own. If, then, he were not assured of her guilt, he must have discovered in her conduct some most heinous cause of provocation, which he never disclosed. As if he sought to display his contempt for the memory of Anne, he dressed himself in white on the day of her execution, and was married to Jane Seymour the next morning.[d]

WAS ANNE BOLEYN GUILTY?

The innocence of the queen has been the subject of endless argument. It seems to have been accepted by the public at the time that she was a bad woman, but that her trial was tyrannous and her guilt badly proved. At the period of her daughter Elizabeth's accession the belief in Anne's innocence began to spread, though Elizabeth, who resembled her mother in so many ways, particularly in her hardness and her passion for male admiration, was little interested in beautifying her mother's fame.

The proceedings of the court were destroyed—in itself a suspicious circumstance—and this has given a foundation for most eloquent defences of Anne's good fame. But there have been recent discoveries of various documents of collateral value; the letters of Charles V's ambassador Chapuys[h] have been studied, and much light has been thrown on the subject by a manuscript found in 1873 at Madrid. On further search eleven manuscript copies of it were found. This work, called a *Chronica del Rey Enrico Otavo de Inglaterra*,[n] was published by the Academy of History of Madrid, and has been translated by M. A. S. Hume into English.

The author is unknown. Hume judges from internal evidence that he could not have been a diplomat, courtier, a lawyer, or priest, but was probably a resident merchant or interpreter, or a mercenary Spanish soldier. He is of strong Catholic sympathies, as some of his chapter headings show,

e. g.: "How the cardinal was the cause of all the evil and damage that exist in England," "How the blessed queen Catherine died," "How Anne Boleyn committed adultery, and how it was found out."

While the author evidently writes mainly from hearsay and in many details contradicts known facts, there is no doubt that he reflects the common opinion of London. His account of Mark Smeton's intrigue with the queen and its discovery is so detailed and plausible as to check one's enthusiasm for Anne's innocence. He tells also the charges against the other men, and the activity of "the old woman" who served as go-between. Hume says, "Her dying confession, of which a part only now remains, has always been considered the strongest proof of Anne's guilt." The Spaniard says that this lady Wingfield after her confession was ordered to be burned that night in the Tower. Of this there is no record, though the Spaniard says that Anne was made to watch the burning, and exclaimed, "I wish they would burn me with her."

The Spaniard vividly describes the torture of Mark, around whose head was placed a knotted rope which was twisted with a cudgel till Mark "confessed all, and told everything as we have related it, and how it came to pass." It is stated that Mark reaffirmed his guilt on the way to death, while Norris and Brereton practically admitted guilt, though Anne's brother ardently denied the incredible charge against him. The Spaniard quotes Anne as going gaily to the block, and as saying, "I say to you all that everything they have accused me of is false, and the principal reason I am to die is Jane Seymour, as I was the cause of the ill that befell my mistress."

That Anne should have maintained her innocence is not proof of it, as numberless criminals of indubitably established guilt have done this with the utmost fervour. It must also be remembered that the absolute proof of adultery is generally impossible, and the law even of to-day requires only a reasonable certainty of its commission. None the less it is only fair to say that Anne's trial, Henry's record, and the supineness of his retainers could well have compassed the destruction of a character far more unsullied than that of Anne. And it is only fair to quote some of the eminent authorities in her favour.

Among these is David Hume.[o] Even more ardent is Hallam,[p] who is very indignant at Lingard's[q] disbelief, and exclaims: "Among the victims of this monarch's ferocity, as we bestow most of our admiration on Sir Thomas More, so we reserve our greatest pity for Anne Boleyn. Few, very few, have in any age hesitated to admit her innocence. Burnet[l] has taken much pains with the subject, and set her innocence in a very clear light: see also Strype.[q] I regret very much to be compelled to add the name of Sharon Turner[r] to those who have countenanced the supposition of Anne Boleyn's guilt. But Turner has gone upon the strange principle of exalting the tyrant's reputation at the expense of every one of his victims, to whatever party they may have belonged. *Odit damnatos.* Perhaps he is the first, and will be the last, who has defended the attainder of Sir Thomas More. Nothing in this detestable reign is worse than her trial."

Von Raumer[ii] says: "The doubts expressed by Lingard respecting Anne's innocence have not convinced me. I say with Bishop Godwin,[kk] without casting too much doubt on the credibility of public documents, even a resolution of the parliament against her would not convince me. Soame[ll] judges in the same manner, saying, 'According to the best decision which impartial posterity can come to, Anne's death is as scandalous a legal murder as ever disgraced a Christian country.' "

Miss Strickland[j] is an ardent believer in Anne's innocence, and quotes Lord Bacon[t] as authority: "That great historian, Lord Bacon, assures us that Queen Anne protested her innocence with undaunted greatness of mind at the time of her death. He tells us 'that by a messenger, faithful and generous as she supposed, who was one of the king's privy chamber, she, just before she went to execution, sent this message to the king: "Commend me to his majesty, and tell him he hath been ever constant in his career of advancing me; from a private gentlewoman he made me a marchioness, from a marchioness a queen, and now he hath left no higher degree of honour, he gives my innocency the crown of martyrdom." But the messenger durst not carry this to the king, then absorbed in a new passion, yet tradition has truly transmitted it to posterity.' Lord Bacon's account of these celebrated words of Anne Boleyn is well worthy the attention of the reader; considering how intimately connected his grandfather, Sir Anthony Cooke, was with the court of England, being tutor to Edward VI; his aunt was Lady Cecil, and his mother Lady Bacon, both in the service of Queen Mary; he therefore knew when they were uttered, as all these persons must have heard these facts from witness."

Macfarlane[s] and Keightley[u] firmly believed in her innocence. One of the most eloquent defences is that of Sir James Mackintosh.[m] He relies largely on Wyatt,[v] the English poet, a former lover of Anne's, one who barely escaped execution with her other favourites, and who later wrote an account of the trial. Among other arguments Mackintosh advances the following:[a] Is there any example in history of so much satisfaction, and so much calmness in any dying person who is ascertained to have been guilty of acts owned by them to be great offences, and perseveringly denied to have been perpetrated by them? Anne was required to come to the bar, where she appeared immediately without an adviser, and attended only by the ignorant and treacherous women of her household. 'It was everywhere muttered abroad that the queen in her defence had cleared herself in a most noble speech,' says Wyatt.[v] All writers who lived near the time confirm this account of her defence.. 'For the evidence,' says Wyatt, 'as I never could hear of any, small I believe it was. The accusers must have doubted whether their proofs would prove their reproofs, when they durst not bring them to the proof of the light in an open place.'"

The infliction of death upon a wife for infidelity might be a consistent part of the criminal code of Judea, which permitted polygamy on account of the barbarous manners of the Jewish people, and, by consequence, allowed all females to remain in a state of slavery and perpetual imprisonment. Henry alone, it may be hoped, was capable of commanding his slaves to murder, on the scaffold, her whom he had lately cherished and adored, for whom he had braved the opinion of Europe, and in maintenance of whose honour he had spilled the purest blood of England, after she had produced one child which could lisp his name with tenderness, and when she was recovering from the languor and paleness of the unrequited pangs of a more fruitless childbirth. The last circumstance, which would have melted most of human form, is said to have peculiarly heightened his aversion. Such a deed is hardly capable of being aggravated by the consideration that, if she was seduced before marriage, it was he who had corrupted her; and that if she was unfaithful at last, the edge of the sword that smote her was sharpened by his impatience to make her bed empty for another. In a word, it may be truly said that Henry, as if he had intended to levy war against every sort of natural virtue, proclaimed, by the executions of More and of Anne, that he

henceforward bade defiance to compassion, affection, and veneration. A man without a good quality would perhaps be in the condition of a monster in the physical world, where distortion and deformity in every organ seem to be incompatible with life. But in these two direful deeds Henry perhaps approached as nearly to the ideal standard of perfect wickedness as our moral nature will allow.[m]

S. R. Gardiner,[w] like Guizot,[x] is unwilling to commit himself to a positive opinion on Anne's innocence. Gardiner says that she was tried "on charges so monstrous as to be hardly credible. Her unpardonable crime was probably that her only living child was a daughter, not a son." Of those who incline to believe Anne guilty may be mentioned Lingard,[d] Sharon Turner,[r] Freeman,[y] Kirkup,[z] Froude,[f] and Friedmann.[i] Von Ranke[bb] wavers between the belief in the charges and the belief in the beautiful but apocryphal letter which Anne is said to have written protesting her innocence, though this letter is admittedly not in her hand and is generally counted spurious. Friedmann[i] feels that the charges as made are incredible, in their entirety, and that the jury was packed, but that there must have been some guilt, and that furthermore there must have been some extraordinary and unpublished reason for putting Anne to death. He has made full use of the Spanish chronicle and the letters of Chapuys[h] at Vienna, and thinks that before an ordinary tribunal Anne would hardly have been convicted. He notes that the accused men neither affirmed nor denied their guilt, but finds reason enough for this in the custom of threatening the families of the condemned with cruelty if indiscreet words were uttered on the way to execution.

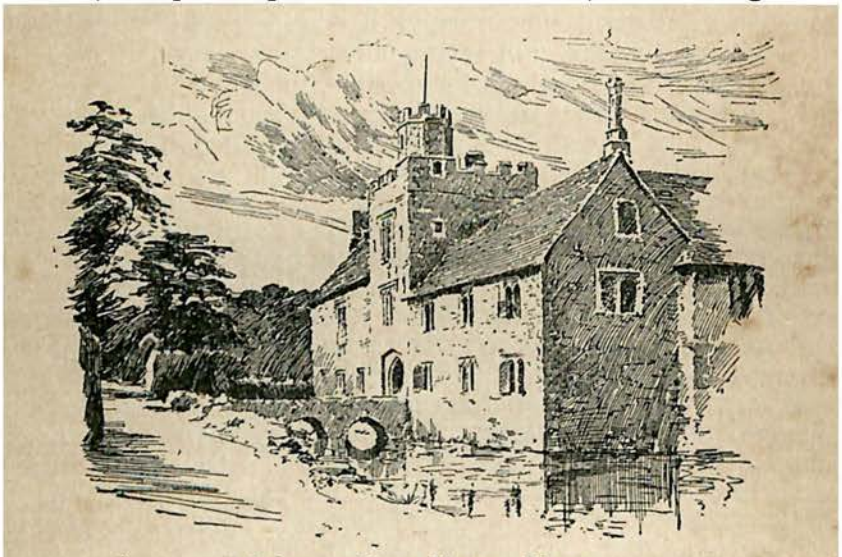
Anne both before and after receiving communion "declared on the salvation of her soul that she had never been unfaithful to the king." Friedmann notes the hysterical condition of her last hours, and quotes Chapuys' statement that she laughingly said that they would hereafter call her "Queen Lackhead." Friedmann believes that Chapuys' letters show the true motive for putting Anne out of the way, as she alone stood in the path of a reconciliation with Catherine's nephew, the emperor. This being the reason of state, the plausible enough charge of adultery was devised as the public excuse. Many historians, we see, believed Anne to have deserved divorce, but it has remained for Froude[f] not only to argue that she was guilty, but to justify Henry's murder of the woman in whose name he had upset all Europe. For this justification, Knight,[g] who seems to believe in Anne's innocence, takes him bitterly to task.[a]

CHARLES KNIGHT'S ESTIMATE OF "STATE NECESSITY"

There is a beautiful passage in the *Memoir of Anne Boleyn*, by George Wyatt, written at the close of the sixteenth century, but unpublished till our own times, in which, speaking of the February of 1536, he says of the queen: "Being thus a woman full of sorrow, it was reported that the king came to her, and bewailing and complaining unto her of the loss of his boy, some words were heard break out of the inward feeling of her heart's dolours, laying the fault upon unkindness." He adds: "Wise men in those days judged that her virtues were here her defaults; and that if her too much love could as well as the other queen have borne with his defect of love, she might have fallen into less danger."

There is nothing which the drama could add to move terror and pity, when the curtain should drop upon the closing scene of this tragedy. But history has one fact to add, still more awful. It is the one fact which shows

us how more terrible is the condition of a man utterly heartless and shameless, who, having moved all the instruments of so-called justice to accomplish the death of the wife of his most ardent devotion—and having in this accomplishment also procured her child to be held illegitimate, as he had willed as to the child of a former wife—at length is joyous and triumphant. Queen Anne was beheaded on the 19th of May. On the 20th, as we have seen, Henry was married to Jane Seymour. The council exhorted him, we are told, to marry immediately, for a state necessity. Nature cries out against the outrage upon all the decencies of life; but the political philosopher Froude[1] says, "He looked upon matrimony as an indifferent official act which his duty required at the moment." We can find no reasonable cause to doubt that, from the first step to the last, the charge was got up, the indictments prepared, the juries selected, the peers upon the trial nominated, the marriage with Jane



IGHTHAM MOTE HOUSE, KENT
(Built in the time of Henry VIII)

Seymour settled, and last, but not least significant fact, a new parliament called, for the sole purpose of making a new law of succession, before the cannon of the Tower had announced that Anne had perished.

The recent historian of this period, as we venture to think, has carried his admiration of the self-asserting force of character in Henry VIII to an extent which blinds him to the hideousness of the acts in which that force is too often exhibited. Froude has given us this alternative—to receive his history, in its endeavours to prove a "human being sinful whom the world has ruled to be innocent," as "a reassertion of the truth, or the shame of noble names which have not deserved it at our hands." We are told that "if the Catholics could have fastened the stain of murder on the king and the statesmen of England, they would have struck the faith of the establishment a harder blow than by a poor tale of scandal against a weak, erring, suffering woman," and that "the Protestants, in mistaken generosity, have courted an infamy for the names of those to whom they owe their being, which, staining the fountain, must stain forever the stream which flows from it."

Are we forever to read history under the fear that if we trust to the everlasting principles of justice—to our hatred of oppression—to our contempt

for sycophancy and worldly mindedness—we may be "staining the fountain" which we regard as a well of life? Is there no firmer resting-place for true thought than is to be found in the debatable ground between Catholics and Protestants? Is there no common platform of historical evidence upon which both can meet to examine such questions honestly and temperately? What, in truth, have the personal motives which led to the rejection of papal supremacy—what the seizure of first-fruits and tenths by the crown—what the avarice that prompted the destruction of the monasteries—what the burnings for heresy—what the "six articles" of 1539, by which all men were to be "regimented" into belief—what have these to do with the Protestant "fountain," or the "stream which flows from it?" Still less ought the verdict of him who thoughtfully weighs the almost total absence of satisfactory evidence against Anne Boleyn in the one scale, and the undeniable wilfulness, cruelty, revenge, and lust of Henry in the other, to be considered as an imputation against the strength of the principles on which the worship of Protestant England rests.

Let us not compromise our moral sense by having what is called "a state necessity" proposed to us as the rule of wisdom and virtue. History may be so written as to make some believe that despotism is the only safeguard for a nation's prosperity and happiness. It has been so written in by-gone times, and the sophistry is struggling for revival. But let this pass. Anne Boleyn sleeps in the chapel in the Tower, where so many other victims of tyranny sleep; and in spite of every laborious detraction, her fate will not be remembered without honest tears.[g]

MARY RECONCILED TO HER FATHER

For two years Mary, Henry's daughter by Catherine, had lived at Hunsdon, a royal manor, in a state of absolute seclusion from society. Now she solicited the good offices of Cromwell.

"I perceived that nobody durst speak for me as long as that woman lived, who is now gone, whom I pray our Lord of his great mercy to forgive. Wherefore now she is gone, I desire you for the love of God to be a suitor for me to the king's grace. . . . Accept mine evil writing, for I have not done so much this two year or more; nor could not have found the means to do it at this time but by my Lady Kingston's being here."

She received a favourable answer. It was not that the heartless politician felt any pity for the daughter of Catherine; but he had persuaded himself that both Mary and Elizabeth, though bastards by law, might, if they were treated as princesses in fact, be married, to the king's profit, into the families of some of the continental sovereigns.

Through his intercession she was permitted to write to her father; her letters, the most humble and submissive that she could devise, were never noticed. She again consulted Cromwell, followed his advice, and adopted his suggestions and corrections. But Henry was resolved to probe her sincerity, and instead of an answer, sent to her a deputation with certain articles in writing to which he required her signature. From these her conscience recoiled; but Cromwell subdued her scruples by a most unfeeling and imperious letter. He called her "an obstinate and obdurate woman, deserving the reward of malice in the extremity of mischief"; if she did not submit, he would take his leave of her forever. Intimidated and confounded, she at last consented to acknowledge that it was her duty to observe all the king's laws; that Henry was the head of the church; and that the marriage between her father and mother had been incestuous and unlawful. It was then required

that she should reveal the names of the persons who had advised her former obstinacy and her present submission; but the princess indignantly replied that she was ready to suffer death rather than expose any confidential friend to the royal displeasure. Henry relented; he permitted her to write to him, and granted her an establishment more suitable to her rank.

From one of her letters she appears to have been intrusted with the care of Elizabeth. "My sister Elizabeth is in good health, thanks be to our Lord, and such a child toward, as I doubt not, but your highness will have cause to rejoice of in time coming, as knoweth Almighty God." The privy purse expenses of Mary at this period, for which we are indebted to Sir Frederick Madden, exhibit proofs of a cheerful and charitable disposition, very different from the character given of her by several writers.

Though she was received into favour June 8th, she was not restored in blood. The king had called a parliament to repeal the last, and to pass a new act of succession, entailing his crown on his issue by his queen Jane Seymour. But he did not rest here: in violation of every constitutional principle, he obtained a power, in failure of children by his present or any future wife, to limit the crown in possession and remainder by letters patent under the great seal or by his last will, signed with his own hand, to any such person or persons whom he might think proper. It was believed that he had chiefly in view his natural son, the duke of Richmond, then in his eighteenth year, and the idol of his affection. But before the act could receive the royal assent the duke died, July 24th; Henry remained without a male child, legitimate or illegitimate, to succeed him; and a project was seriously entertained, but afterwards abandoned, of marrying the lady Mary to the duke of Orleans, the second son of the French monarch, and of declaring them presumptive heirs to the crown.

THE NORTHERN INSURRECTION AND "PILGRIMAGE OF GRACE" (1536 A.D.)

During the summer the king sought to dissipate his grief for the death of his son in the company of his young queen; in autumn he was suddenly alarmed by an insurrection in the northern counties, where the people retained a strong attachment to the ancient doctrines; and the clergy, further removed from the influence of the court, were less disposed to abjure their opinions at the nod of the sovereign. Each succeeding innovation had irritated their discontent; but when they saw the ruin of the establishments which they had revered from their childhood; the monks driven from their homes, and in many instances compelled to beg their bread; and the poor, who had formerly been fed at the doors of the convents, now abandoned without relief, they readily listened to the declamations of demagogues, unfurled the standard of revolt, and with arms in their hands, and under the guidance of Makerel, abbot of Barlings, who had assumed the name of Captain Cobbler, demanded the redress of their grievances. Nor was the insurrection long confined to the common people. The archbishop of York, the lords Nevil, Darcy, Lumley, and Latimer, and most of the knights and gentlemen in the north, joined the insurgents, either through compulsion, as they afterwards pretended, or through inclination, as was generally believed.

The first who appeared in arms were the men of Lincolnshire; and so formidable was their force, that the duke of Suffolk, the royal commander, deemed it more prudent to negotiate than to fight. As soon as the more obstinate had departed to join their brethren in Yorkshire, the rest accepted a full pardon, October 13th, on the acknowledgment of their offence, the

surrender of their arms, and the promise to maintain all the acts of parliament passed during the king's reign. In the five other counties the insurrection had assumed a more formidable appearance. From the borders of Scotland to the Lune and the Humber, the inhabitants had generally bound themselves by oath to stand by each other, "for the love which they bore to Almighty God, his faith, the holy church, and the maintenance thereof; to the preservation of the king's person and his issue; to the purifying of the nobility; and to expulse all villein blood and evil counsellors from his grace and privy council; not for any private profit, nor to do displeasure to any private person, nor to slay or murder through envy, but for the restitution of the church and the suppression of heretics and their opinions." Their enterprise was quaintly termed the "pilgrimage of grace"; on their banners were painted the image of Christ crucified, and the chalice and host, the emblems of their belief; and wherever the pilgrims appeared, the ejected monks were replaced in the monasteries, and the inhabitants were compelled to take the oath and to join the army.

Hull, York, and Pontefract admitted the insurgents; and thirty thousand men, under the nominal command (the real leaders seem not to have been known) of a gentleman named Robert Aske, hastened to obtain possession of Doncaster. The earl of Shrewsbury, though without any commission, ventured to arm his tenantry and throw himself into the town; he was soon joined by the duke of Norfolk, the king's lieutenant, with five thousand men. The insurgents consented to an armistice November, 7th, and appointed delegates to lay their demands before Henry, who had already summoned his nobility to meet him in arms at Northampton, but was persuaded by the duke to revoke the order, and trust to the influence of terror and dissension. At length Henry offered, and the insurgents accepted, an unlimited pardon, with an understanding that their grievances should be shortly and patiently discussed in the parliament to be assembled at York in February, 1537. But the king, freed from his apprehensions, neglected to redeem his promise, and within two months the pilgrims were again under arms. Now, however, the duke, who lay with a more numerous force in the heart of the country, was able to intercept their communications and to defeat all their measures. They failed in two successive attempts to surprise Hull and Carlisle; the lord Darcy, Robert Aske, and most of the leaders were taken, sent to London and executed, the others were hanged by scores at York, Hull, and Carlisle; and at length, when resistance had ceased and the royal resentment had been satisfied, tranquillity was restored by the proclamation of a general pardon.[d]

BIRTH OF EDWARD AND DEATH OF JANE

On the 12th of October, 1537, the same form of circular letter went forth as when the princess Elizabeth was born, to announce that Queen Jane had given birth to a son. The event seems to have caused great gladness. But the queen was not destined to partake of the nation's joy. She died on the 24th of October. On that day Cromwell wrote to Lord William Howard who was in France. A passage in the letter may scarcely appear credible, but there it stands in its undoubted authenticity: "Though his majesty is not anything disposed to marry again—albeit his highness, God be thanked, taketh this chance as a man that, by reason, with force overcometh his affection, may take such an extreme adventure"—at the earnest entreaty of his council "that his grace will again couple himself," the king desires that Lord William Howard will report of "the conditions and qualities" of the French

king's daughter, and of those of the widow of the duke de Longueville. Similar instructions, to inquire into the conditions and qualities of particular ladies, were immediately sent to ambassadors at other courts.

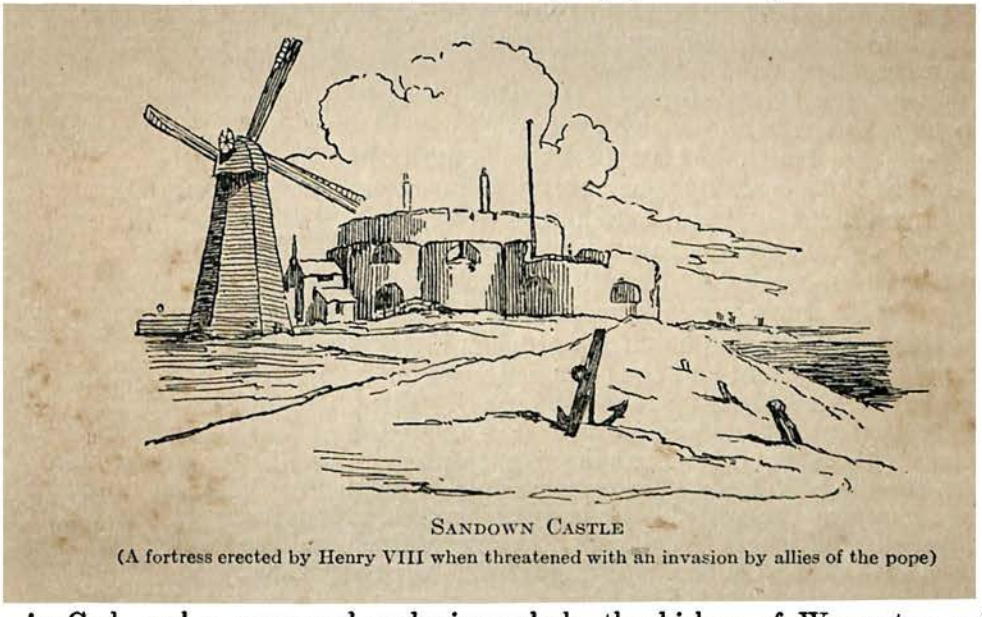
Cranmer, with his quiet and temporising habits, was under the control of Cromwell; but they each had a course of policy to be worked out with the greatest caution. In the suppression of the monasteries they would have the thorough support of the king, for his revenues would thence receive an enormous increase. In every form of resistance to the papal supremacy they would have the same countenance. But in the disputed matters of doctrine, their individual desires, if such they truly held, for an enlarged liberty of conscience, would be of no avail against an absolute ruler, who felt his inordinate vanity flattered in prescribing what his subjects should believe and what not believe. "Henry was a king with a pope in his belly," truly says Fuller,[cc] an old and plain-spoken writer. They went forward in a course of inconsistency, hanging disobedient abbots, and racking and burning Lutheran reformers. There is nothing absolutely to hate in either of these men, but there is little to love. Cranmer was a servile tool. Cromwell was a bold and unscrupulous minister. They accomplished one good work, of which their intolerant master did not see the final result. They gave us the English Bible.

The circulation of Tyndale's English Testament, printed at Antwerp in 1526, had been prohibited by Henry, in his zeal against Luther and the reformed doctrines. Ten years later he was moved to consent to the publication of an English Bible. In August, 1537, Cranmer wrote to Cromwell to exhibit a Bible in English to the king, which was of "a new translation and a new print." This was Coverdale's Bible, printed anew under the name of Matthews. In 1538 another Bible was printing in Paris by Coverdale and Grafton; and they write to Cromwell, sending specimens of the same, desiring "to be defended from the papists by your lordship's favourable letters." Another edition of the Bible was printed in 1538, known as "Cranmer's, or the Great Bible." These Cranmer appointed to be sold at 13s. 4d. each. In 1538 injunctions were given to the clergy to set up the Bible in parish churches, and to encourage the people to peruse it. In a few years that liberty was partially withdrawn.

There appear to us to have been no secure resting-places for honest opinion. Those who held, as many earnestly did, to the principles and forms of the old religion, based as it was upon obedience to one spiritual head of the church, were traitors. Those who, in rejecting the papal supremacy, rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, were heretics. The shrine of Thomas à Becket is plundered and destroyed, and a royal proclamation forbids him to be any longer received as a saint. Instead of the pilgrims to Canterbury wearing the steps of the high altar, there is a great crowd in Westminster Hall to hear a king confute a "sacramentarian." John Nicholson (known commonly as Lambert) has been accused of denying the corporal presence in the eucharist. Henry has renewed the old excitement of his polemical studies and he causes it to be solemnly proclaimed that he will publicly examine and judge the heretic. He sits upon his throne dressed in white satin, with his guards all in white. He calls upon the unhappy man to declare his opinion, which, according to Burnet,[l] did not differ from that then held by Cranmer and Latimer, being the Lutheran doctrine of consubstantiation. The king, the bishops, and the accused entered upon scholastic disputations, which lasted five hours. The poor unaided disputant, with ten opponents one after another engaging with him, and the king frowning in his most awful manner, was at last silenced; and the people in the hall shouted their applause at the royal victory. Lambert

was then asked by Henry whether he would live or die; and he answered, "that he committed his soul to God, and submitted his body to the king's clemency." He was condemned to be burned, and Cromwell read the sentence; and burned he was in Smithfield, crying aloud in his agony, "None but Christ."

It is fearful to see those whose memories we must regard with some respect mixed up with these horrors. The superstitions of the ignorant are pitiable. The zealotry of the wise and learned is revolting. There was an image in Wales called Darvell Gathern, to which the people resorted by hundreds, believing that the wooden block had power to save. Darvell Gathern was brought to London, and was burned in Smithfield. But the "huge and great image" was brought under the gallows where an Observant friar, Forest, was hung in chains alive; and the idol being set on fire under the wretched man who was accused of heresy[1] and treason, they were consumed together. Worst of all, "there was also prepared a pulpit, where a right reverend father



SANDOWN CASTLE
(A fortress erected by Henry VIII when threatened with an invasion by allies of the pope)

in God, and a renowned and pious clerk, the bishop of Worcester, called Hugh Latimer, declared to him (Forest) his errors, and openly and manifestly by the Scripture of God confuted them; and with many and godly exhortations moved him to repentance. But such was his frowardness that he neither would hear nor speak."

After the great insurrections of 1536-37 had been effectually repressed, it became evident that the destruction of the larger religious houses would soon follow that of the smaller. It was not necessary for a parliament to be sitting to pass a second law of suppression. The government adopted the principle of terrifying or cajoling the abbots and priors into a surrender of their possessions. The ecclesiastical commissioners continued their work with larger powers. Their reports exhibit a dreary catalogue of abuses, which, however coloured by the prejudices and interests of the reporters, would afford some justification for the sweeping spoliation, if particular examples could be received as types of a general depravity.

[1 Forest had declared that the pope should be obeyed in spiritual matters, and Gardiner points out that this was the first and only time when the denial of the king's supremacy was held to be heresy.]

The act of 1539, for dissolution of abbeys, recites that since the 4th of February, in the twenty-seventh year of the reign of Henry, divers heads of religious houses had voluntarily surrendered their possessions to the king. We may judge what powerful influences were set in action, after the chances of a successful popular resistance were at an end.

The impostures connected with images and relics are amongst the most curious manifestations of human credulity; and it was a necessary step in the establishment of a pure worship that the system of deceit, which was of no modern origin, should be thoroughly exposed. The commissioners went to the abbey of Hales, in Gloucestershire, and reported of their finding "jewels, plate, ornaments, and money, besides the garnishing of a small shrine, wherein was reposed the counterfeit relic in times past." This counterfeit relic was the "blood of Hales," which Latimer made famous by preaching at Paul's Cross that it was "no blood, but honey clarified, and coloured with saffron." Henry himself believed that in the crystal vessel, opaque on one side and transparent on the other, was held the blood that flowed in the agony in the garden.

Walsingham, famous for these curiosities, contributed a more than common proportion to the bonfire which Cromwell made at Chelsea of these memorials of a perishing belief. At Paul's Cross some of the images were exhibited and broken in pieces. At Glastonbury, the commissioners write to Cromwell, "We have daily found and tried out both money and plate, hid and muried up in walls, vaults, and other secret places," and that "the abbot and the monks have embezzled and stolen as much plate and adornments as would have sufficed to have begun a new abbey." The abbot and the monks felt as the people of an invaded country feel when they conceal their treasures from the foreign marauders; and the commissioners felt as a rapacious soldiery feel when their hopes of booty are disappointed. The abbot of Glastonbury had little chance against his persecutors. He was tried at Wells on the 14th of November, 1539, "and the next day put to execution with two other of his monks, for the robbing of Glastonbury church, on the Tor hill next unto the town of Glaston; the said abbot's body being divided into four parts, and head stricken off." Richard Whiting's head was fixed on the abbey gate, to crumble into dust with the perishing fabric, once so glorious.

In the smaller monasteries the ejected monks had pensions varying, according to their ages, from £4 to 53s. 4d. But some monasteries were in a state of miserable poverty, with only a few acres of arable land and the ruinous house that sheltered the half-starved inmates. Many of the convents were deeply in debt. But, whether the houses were rich or poor, resistance was useless. With the king's highness eager for the silver shrines, the parcel-gilt cups, the embroidered copes, the very lead and timber of the conventual buildings, to be turned into money; with grasping courtiers ready to bribe the king's vicegerent for grants of land and leases—there was no difficulty in converting the monastic possessions to immediate advantage. It is lamentable to trace the degradation of a period when to bribe and be bribed was no disgrace.

THE TRACTABLE PARLIAMENT

The parliament which was summoned to assemble at Westminster on the 28th of April, 1539, met for the sole purpose of accomplishing a despotic revolution, with all the forms of representative government. Never had a parliament of England assembled under circumstances so full of strange

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anxiety. In the parliament of 1536 there were present fifteen abbots, and thirteen other abbots voted by proxy. In the parliament of 1539 there were seventeen abbots present, and three sent their proxies. Unwillingly the abbots must have come. There could be no doubt that they were about to pass away from their high position in the state. No more would the mitred lords of Tewkesbury and St. Albans, of St. Edmundsbury and Tavistock, of Colchester and Malmesbury, ride to Westminster with their armed and liveried servants, with crowds on the highways kneeling for their blessing. A "tractable parliament" was the machinery by which tyranny sought to do its work in England, after the old spirit of freedom had been crushed under the Tudor heel. It was necessary to put the drapery of representation over the naked form of despotism.

"ACT FOR THE KING TO MAKE BISHOPS"

The "act for dissolution of abbeys" (1539) was a formal statute, to make perfect the work that was practically accomplished. It vested the remaining monastic possessions in the king, of which the greater number had been surrendered; and it confirmed all future surrenders. It annulled leases granted a year previous to each surrender. Other business had preceded this enactment, but all other matters were of secondary importance, or depended upon the accomplishment of this measure.

Even Henry did not dare to appropriate these vast possessions without a pretence that he was about to devote some portion of them to great public uses. The act for the dissolution of the abbeys was followed by "an act for the king to make bishops." The preamble to the draft of this statute is written in King Henry's own hand: "Forasmuch as it is not unknown the slothful and ungodly life which hath been used amongst all those sort which have borne the name of religious folk; and to the intent that from henceforth many of them might be turned to better use as hereafter shall follow, whereby God's word might be the better set forth; children brought up in learning; clerks nourished in the universities; old servants decayed to have livings; almshouses for poor folks to be sustained in; readers of Greek, Hebrew, and Latin to have good stipend; daily alms to be ministered; mending of highways; exhibition for ministers of the church: it is thought unto the king's highness most expedient and necessary that more bishoprics and colleges shall be established."

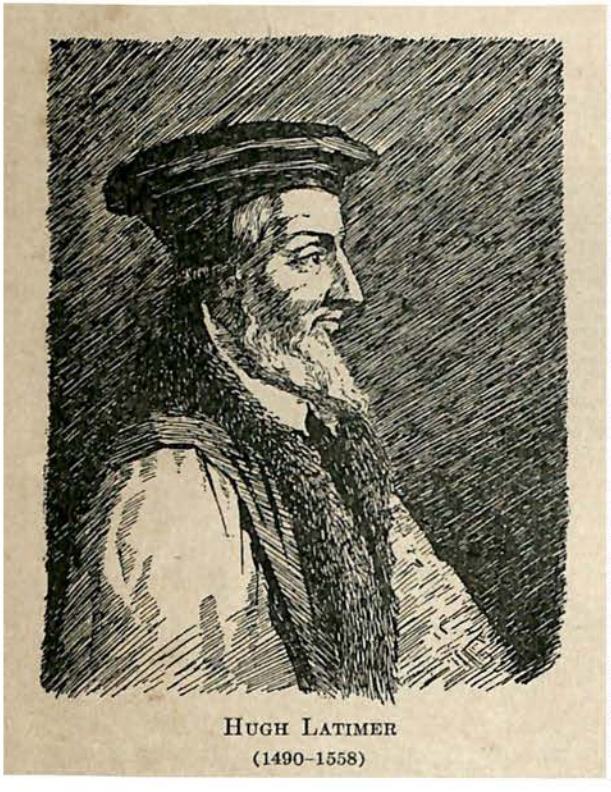
Here is, indeed, a goodly catalogue of noble intentions. Here is a large project of civilisation, to be accomplished by the absorption of one-fifth of the lands of the kingdom into the possessions of the crown! What a noble title of the honest reformer would King Henry have attained by the realisation of these projects! The abbey walls were pulled down; the lead melted; the timber sold; the painted windows destroyed. But the far greater part of these waste-paper projects remained wholly undone till the next reign, and then most grudgingly and imperfectly. "The king's majesty's goodness" remained satisfied that he should have a convenient fund to draw upon for the maintenance of his extravagant household and his absurd wars; for "the upholding of dice-playing, masking, and banqueting," with other recreations that are not suited to delicate ears.

The king grew bolder in a short time, and when he went to parliament to sanction another spoliation, the abolition of the chantries—ancient endowments for almsgiving connected with obits, or praying for souls—he honestly

said, speaking by the voice of the slavish parliament, that the revenues of the same should be devoted to the expenses of the wars against France and Scotland. Schools, alms-gifts, were attached to the smallest as well as the largest religious houses. These were all destroyed when the funds for their support were swept into the king's exchequer. Henry's "goodness" was chiefly confined to the establishment of six new bishoprics, by his letters patent. This was a small performance of a large promise.

THE SIX ARTICLES

The act for dissolution of abbeys is immediately followed in the statute-book by "an act abolishing diversity in opinions." The very title of this statute is sufficient evidence of its vain presumption. The statute then sets forth that the desired unity was to be "charitably established" by the observance, under the most tremendous penalties, of six articles.[1] Foxe *dd* calls this statute "The whip with six strings." It was something more terrible than a whip. It breathed the amplest threats of the stake in Smithfield and the gallows at Tyburn. The first article sets forth the doctrine that "in the most blessed sacrament of the altar, by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word, it being spoken by the priest, is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour," and that "after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, nor any other substance but the substance of Christ." This article regarding the real presence thus involves a condemnation of the minuter difference from the orthodox doctrine which the Lutherans called consubstantiation, as distinguished from the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. The defender of the faith, in his character of supreme head of the church of England, has utterly rejected the papal authority; he has declared against pilgrimages, images, and relics; he has destroyed the monastic institutions; he has even permitted the translation of the scriptures in the vulgar tongue—but not one tittle will he relax from the enforcement of this doctrine. The other five articles are directed against those who preached the necessity of administering the eucharist, in both kinds,



HUGH LATIMER
(1490–1558)

[1 In 1536 there had been drawn up by convocation and published a series of ten articles aiming at unifying belief. Of these Gardiner *w* says that "they showed a distinct advance toward Lutheranism, though there was also to be discerned in them an equally distinct effort to explain rather than reject the creed of the mediæval church."]

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to the laity; who advocated the marriage of priests, or the non-observance of female vows of chastity or widowhood; who maintained that private masses were not lawful or laudable; who asserted that auricular confession was not expedient. The jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts upon such subjects was removed; and commissioners were appointed to examine accused persons, to commit to prison, to try before a jury of twelve men, and to pass sentence.

Those who were convicted under the first article, "shall be deemed and adjudged heretics"; and "every such offender shall therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain, and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, clergy, or sanctuary to be therefore permitted." For any violation of the five other articles, by preaching or teaching in any school to the contrary, "every offender, on the same being therefore duly convicted or attainted," shall be adjudged a felon; "and shall therefore suffer pains of death, as in cases of felony." Any man or woman who had advisedly professed chastity or widowhood, and should afterwards marry, was to suffer the same penalty of death. Those who maintained doctrines against the articles where preaching was felony, were to lose lands and goods, and to be imprisoned; and for a second offence to suffer death.

This, then, from the 12th of July, 1539, when the act of the six articles was to take effect, to the end of the reign of Henry, was the England of the Reformation. It would be difficult to understand how such a statute could have passed, if the great body of the people had been inclined to a higher species of reformation than consisted in the destructive principle which assailed the externals of the church.

Cranmer spoke against the bill; but he finally sent away his wife, to evade its penalties, and locked up for a more convenient season the secret of his heart as to the real presence. Latimer, on the 11th of July, resigned his bishopric of Worcester. He was subsequently arrested, on a charge of having spoken against some of the six articles; and he wore out six years of his life in a close imprisonment in the Tower. Shaxton, the bishop of Salisbury, also resigned. But he had to endure something far more terrible than the close cell in which Latimer fortified his heart against all fear of man's power to harm.

Maitland,[e] somewhat startled into another extreme by the exaggerated statements of bloody persecutions under the six articles, has given a list of all the martyrs whom Foxe[dd] mentions as having been put to death during the time that the act was in force—that is, during the last seven years of Henry VIII's reign. These amount to twenty-eight. But, says this writer, speaking of the statute against diversity in opinions, "it was meant to frighten rather than to hurt, to intimidate and quiet the people rather than to destroy and slaughter them by wholesale. In the first place it caused many of the more violent partisans of the Reformation to quit the country; and, secondly, it made those who stayed at home more quiet and peaceable."

He who had stalled his horses in monasteries, even before the dissolution, looked quietly on whilst painted windows were smashed, and consecrated bells were melted; saw noble libraries sold to grocers and soap-boilers; heard the cries of the unfed poor at the desolated abbey-gate, and consigned them to the beadle's whip; turned out ten thousand nuns into the wide world, to find resting-places where they might—forbidden to marry under the pains of felony, with no strict or tender mother-abbess to watch over their ways—he to oppose "a torrent of what he considered infidelity and blasphemy"! The profane songs—the plays and interludes, "tending any way against the

six articles"—the disturbances of congregations during the service of the mass—these things were evils.

But it was a far greater evil to render England a land uninhabitable "by the more violent partisans of the Reformation"; by which "violent partisans" we understand that consistent body of earnest thinkers who have since been honoured with the name of Puritans. These were the men who did not rest satisfied that the king had "destroyed the pope, but not popery." Whether twenty-eight persons were executed under the statute of the six articles, or twenty-eight hundred; whether ten reformers fled from England or ten thousand; whether the great mass of the people rejoiced in this persecuting law —we cannot, at this day, look upon such a law without horror, nor hesitate to entertain the most unmeasured disgust for its royal author and supporter.

Our history tells of other tyrants, crafty and cruel as this Henry, who had slight regard for the life of man, and scrupled not to sacrifice friend and foe to their personal ambition. But this tyrant stands alone in his preposterous claim to unlimited obedience. He would absorb into himself all the inordinate powers of popes and councils, to prescribe what should be truth and what untruth. He would pretend to govern by parliament, according to the ancient laws of the realm, and yet procure his parliament to enact that his proclamations should have the force of statutes. To the very last he looked upon the five millions of the people of England as his property; and the council that by his will were to govern during his son's minority were called his executors, "to keep up," says Mackintosh,[m] "the language of the doctrine of ownership."

EXECUTION OF THE COUNTESS OF SALISBURY

The general proceedings of the English government—not halting between two opinions, but punishing and threatening whoever differed from the fluctuating and inconsistent dogmas of the supreme head of the English church —outraged the earnest partisans of "the new learning," and propitiated none of the vast body that cleaved to the old religion. The papal bull against Henry had been published, after a long delay; and the cardinal Pole, nearly allied in blood to Henry, had conducted negotiations to induce the emperor and the king of France to unite in hostilities against England. Neither of these powerful monarchs dared singly to brave the resentment of Henry; and they were too jealous of each other to join in any measures, such as those suggested for the conquest of England, or for removing its contumacious sovereign. But enough was done to provoke the revenge of Henry upon those who were within his reach.

Reginald Pole was the grandson of George, duke of Clarence; and although educated by Henry, he published a book reflecting with bitterness upon the subject of the divorce of Catherine.[1] The Tudor king and the descendant of the house of York thus became mortal enemies. Lord Montague the elder brother of Reginald, with other relatives and friends of their family, were arrested in 1538, on a charge of treason. It is asserted that Geoffrey Pole, who was arrested at the same time, was a witness against his brother. Montague and Exeter were convicted by their peers, and executed, with Sir Edward Nevil and other commoners, accused of treasonable and seditious

[1 Henry had insisted on his writing his opinion, which he did with reluctant frankness. The charge that he tried to stir up war against England is, according to Lingard,[d] "satisfactorily refuted by his official and confidential correspondence." Indeed, he implored the pope to withhold the bull of excommunication.]

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offences. The life of Geoffrey Pole was spared, for the remorse of a life-long imprisonment.

The aged mother of the Poles, the countess of Salisbury, was arrested at her house at Warblington, near Havant, by the earl of Southampton and the bishop of Ely. They wrote to Cromwell, "We assure your lordship we have dealed with such a one as men have not dealed withal before us. We may call her rather a strong and constant man than a woman. For in all behaviour howsoever we have used her, she hath showed herself so earnest, vehement, and precise, that more could not be." She maintained her innocence with such consistency, and the materials for an arraignment were so utterly wanting, that Cromwell resorted to an expedient which has brought as much disgrace upon his memory as any of his acts of spoliation. He put a question to the judges whether parliament might condemn a person accused of treason without a hearing—without trial or confession. A nice and dangerous question, said the obsequious ministers of justice; but parliament is supreme, and an attainder in parliament is good in law. The bill of attainder was passed against the countess of Salisbury; her grandson, the eldest son of lord Montague; and the marchioness of Exeter. The marchioness obtained a pardon. The grandson's fate is unknown. Let us finish this hateful story.

After more than two years' imprisonment, on the 27th of May, 1541, Margaret Plantagenet—the last in the direct line of that illustrious race—was brought out to suffer death on Tower Hill. If anything could add to the terror of this murder, the scene at the execution would have made a people too much familiarised to exhibitions of blood start and wonder how England endured such atrocities. The unyielding countess refused to lay her head upon the block. It was for traitors so to die, and she was not guilty of any treason. She struggled against the force which held her down; and her gray hairs were covered with gore before the head parted from the body. Ten months before this terrible event took place, the chief instrument in the attainder of the countess of Salisbury had fallen by the same mockery of justice—and few pitied him.

THE KING MARRIES ANNE OF CLEVES (1539 A.D.)

It has been considered as a proof of King Henry's undissembled grief at the loss of Jane Seymour, that he continued two years a widower. We have seen that on the very day of her death his ambassadors were instructed to look out for a new consort. The real motive or the pretence was anxiety for the succession, which Mackintosh[m] has called "the ruling frenzy of Henry's mind." Hutton had disparaged the personal charms of Anne, the daughter of the duke of Cleves, upon the first intimation of the king's desire again to wed. But Cromwell—who felt the importance of a Protestant connection at a period when the Romanists were using every effort to regain their ascendancy—was not to be diverted from his determination to marry his master to this daughter of one of the princes of the German confederacy, by vague statements that there was no great praise of her person. In March, 1539, Cromwell wrote to the king: "Every man praiseth the beauty of the same lady, as well for the face as for the whole body, above all other ladies excellent. One amongst other purposes, said unto them of late, that she excelleth as far the duchess as the golden sun excelleth the silvery moon."

The "silvery moon" was the duchess of Milan, who is reported to have met Henry's advances by saying that she had but one head; if she had pos-

sessed two, one should have been at his majesty's service. In this affair the politic Cromwell was too eager. Nicholas Wotton and Richard Berde were sent to negotiate the marriage with Anne of Cleves. She was not bound, they wrote, by any covenants between the old duke of Cleves and the duke of Lorraine; she was at liberty to marry wherever she would. She had been very straitly brought up, they said, by the lady duchess, her mother. She occupied her time mostly with the needle. She knew not French nor Latin, neither could she sing nor play upon any instrument.

On the 12th of December, the lady Anne was at Calais, about to embark for England. She came from Düsseldorf, with a train of two hundred and sixty-three persons; and was received with the greatest state by Fitzwilliam, then the earl of Southampton, and four hundred noblemen and gentlemen, in coats of satin damask and velvet. Henry was perhaps not in the best humour when he first met her, and was "marvellously astonished and abashed." The king embraced her, but scarcely spoke twenty words, and did not offer the present he had prepared for her.[1]

In the last month of his life Cromwell was commanded by his master, on the peril of his soul, to write truly what he knew concerning the marriage with the princess of Cleves. What is fit to be repeated of this document is of curious interest. Anne was to be at Rochester on New Year's eve; and Henry declared to Cromwell that he would visit her privily, "to nourish love." After Anne's public entry at Greenwich, the king called a council; and the agents of the duke of Cleves were questioned about covenants, and touching a pre-contract of marriage with the duke of Lorraine's son and the princess. The deputies offered to remain prisoners till ample satisfaction was given upon both points. But when Cromwell informed the king of all the circumstances, "your grace," he says, "was very much displeased, saying, 'I am not well handled'—adding, 'If it were not that she is come so far into my realm, and the great preparations that my states and people have made for her; and for fear of making a ruffle in the world—that is to mean, to drive her brother into the hands of the emperor and the French king's hands—being now together, I would never have married her.' " Anne was called upon to make a protestation that there was no pre-contract; which she readily made; and which Cromwell reported to Henry: "Whereunto your grace answered in effect these words, or much like, 'Is there none other remedy, but that I must needs, against my will, put my neck in the yoke?' " There was no instant remedy; and the marriage ceremony was gone through. In this temper Henry sulked and lamented: he "should surely never have any more children for the comfort of this realm" if this marriage should continue. A second experiment of the Calais executioner's sword might have been dangerous with a foreign princess.

There was a "remedy" of a less serious nature. Anne of Cleves made no resistance to a separation, with an adequate provision. She was a woman of judgment, and no doubt heartily despised the fastidious sensualist. A convocation was called, exactly six months after the marriage, which was empowered to determine its validity. On the 10th of July, 1540, the marriage was declared invalid; the chief pretence being a doubtful pre-contract; and the unblushing argument, "that the king having married her against his

[1] Modern history has its parallel scene. When George, prince of Wales, first met Caroline of Brunswick, Lord Malmesbury *ee* says, "he embraced her, said barely one word, turned round, retired to a distant part of the apartment, and calling me to him said, 'Harris, I am not well; pray get me a glass of brandy.' " [Henry is reported to have called Anne of Cleves "a great Flanders mare."]

[1540 A.D.]

will, he had not given a pure inward and complete consent."[1] Cromwell had gone to the block; "Cranmer, whether overcome with these arguments, or rather with fear, for he knew it was contrived to send him quickly after Cromwell, consented with the rest."

THE END OF CROMWELL (1540 A.D.)

On the 17th of April, 1540, the fortune of Cromwell seemed at its culminating point, for he was created earl of Essex. On the 12th of April a parliament had been assembled, which Cromwell had addressed as the king's vicegerent. He carried a bill for a great subsidy to be raised upon the laity and the clergy. The promises that the necessities of the state should be provided for out of the spoil of the church, were violated without the slightest apology. The odium of this taxation was solely laid upon Cromwell. The exorbitant demand, says Lord Herbert,*ff* "gained him an universal hatred amongst the people, and was one reason of his sudden fall after it." The minister's work was done. He had carried through a great revolution with comparative success. He had impartially racked, beheaded, and gibbeted papist and heretic. His loose papers of "Remembrances" show that he kept as careful memoranda of business to be done as the most careful scrivener. Take a few specimens—

"Item, to remember all the jewels of all the monasteries in England, and specially for the cross at Paul's, of emeralds.

"Item, the Abbot of Reading to be sent down to be tried and executed at Reading with his complices.

"Item, the Abbot of Glaston to be tried at Glaston, and also to be executed there, with his complices."

"Item, to see that the evidence be well sorted, and the evidence well drawn, against the said abbots and their complices.

"Item, to remember specially the Lady of Sar (Salisbury).

"Item, what the king will have done with the Lady of Sarum.

"Item, to send Gendon to the Tower to be racked.

"Item, to appoint preachers to go throughout this realm to preach the gospel and true word of God."

The sky began to grow dark for Cromwell at the very instant when parliament was to be prorogued, after the subsidy had been carried. On the 10th of June he was arrested by the duke of Norfolk while at the council table. The divorce of Anne of Cleves had not yet been mooted. Had Cromwell imprudently pressed upon Henry to cleave to a Protestant queen? Had Norfolk as resolutely urged upon his master, who now hated heretics more than papists, to consider the charms of his niece, Catherine Howard, who would support him in resisting the "rashness and licentiousness" that had come upon the land? There is no solution of these questions[2] beyond the fact that Cromwell was attainted for treason and heresy, by act of parliament, on the 29th of June. He was charged to have been "the most corrupt traitor

[1] They cohabited for some months; but Anne had none of those arts or qualifications which might have subdued the antipathy of her husband. He spoke only English or French; she knew no other language than German. He was passionately fond of music; she could neither play nor sing. He wished his consort to excel in the different amusements of his court; she possessed no other acquirements than to read, and write, and sew with her needle. His aversion increased; he found fault with her person, and persuaded himself that she was of a perverse and sullen disposition.—LINGARD.*d*

[2] It is believed by Aubrey *g g* and Gardiner *w* that his unpopularity with the nobility was the true reason of his fall.]

and deceiver of the king and the crown that had ever been known in his whole reign." It was alleged that "he, being also a heretic, had dispersed many erroneous books among the king's subjects, particularly some that were contrary to the belief of the sacrament"; and that when some complained to him of the new preachers—such as Barnes and others—he said that their preaching was good; and "that if the king would turn from it, yet he would not turn. And if the king did turn, and all his people with him, he would fight in the field in his own person, with his sword in his hand against him, and all others."

COSTUME OF THE TIME OF ANNE OF CLEVES

Whatever crimes may be laid to the charge of Cromwell, no one can believe that he was the foolish braggart which these words imply. That he was an oppressor; that he received bribes; that he had made a great estate for himself by extortion, were, no doubt, true. Some of the public plunder stuck to his fingers. He made as free with the lands and moneys of the king's subjects as he did with the wooden house in Throgmorton street, belonging to old Stow's father, which house he wanted out of the way when he built his own mansion; and so moved it upon rollers twenty-two feet, and seized the land upon which it stood. The principle of attainder, without hearing or confession, was not law. He perished by attainder, having in vain written to his remorseless master—who, however, sent him a little money while in prison—"Most gracious prince, I cry for mercy, mercy, mercy." The cry moved the heart of Henry for a moment; he dropped one tear. But the servant of twelve years was executed on the 28th of July.

HENRY DIVORCES HIS FOURTH AND MARRIES HIS FIFTH WIFE

The divorce of Anne of Cleves had been completed four days before; and on the day when Cromwell was beheaded, King Henry married his fifth wife, Catherine Howard. The public executioners had ample work in the dog-days of 1540. The record of Cromwell's fate by the chronicler of the Grey Friars is followed by this entry: "And the 30th of the same month was Dr. Barnes, Jerome, and Garrard drawn from the Tower into Smithfield, and there burned for their heresies." The heretics were clergymen. The record then continues: "And that same day also was drawn from the Tower, with them,

Doctor Powell, with two other priests; and there was a gallows set up at Saint Bartholomew's gate, and there were hanged, headed, and quartered." The traitors were condemned for affirming the legality of the marriage with Catherine of Aragon, one of them named Abel having been her chaplain. It may be doubted whether the people exactly comprehended the nice distinctions of these punishments. These sufferers of the 30th of July—three reformers, the steadfast opponents of the pope; and three devoted adherents to the supremacy of the pope—rode out of the Tower in sorrowful companionship, one of each being placed upon the same hurdle, by express desire of the king, that his impartiality might be duly exhibited. Arrived in Smithfield, they each went their several way, three to the gibbet, and three to the stake.

It was a merry time at court, whatever tears might fall in Smithfield. Queen Catherine Howard appeared in public on the 8th of August—a beautiful girl, the very opposite of "the Flanders mare," whom Henry had rejected. Catherine, the "parvissima puella," as she was called, had fifteen months of what, in the language of romance, is termed uninterrupted felicity. When the little queen was travelling with her somewhat unwieldy lord in the north, in 1541, he then solemnly offered thanksgiving for the happiness he found in her society. On their return to London, Cranmer had a private audience of the king; and he exhibited a paper, which purported to be the examination of a servant of the duchess of Norfolk, setting forth the profligacy of the queen before her marriage, and alleging that her paramour formed one of her regal establishment.[g]

The events to which Catherine owed her elevation had rendered the reformers her enemies, and a discovery, which they made during her absence with the king in his progress as far as York, enabled them to recover their former ascendancy, and deprived the young queen of her influence and her life. A female, who had been one of her companions under her grandmother's roof, but was now married in Essex, had stated to Lascelles, her brother, that, to her knowledge, Catherine had admitted to her bed, "on an hundred nights," a gentleman of the name of Derham, at that time page to the duchess. Lascelles—at whose instigation, or through what motive is unknown—carried this most extraordinary tale to Archbishop Cranmer. Cranmer consulted his friends, the chancellor and the lord Hertford; and all three determined to secure the person of Lascelles, and to keep the matter secret till the return of the royal party. Henry and Catherine reached Hampton Court against the feast of All Saints; on that day, November 1st, "the king received his maker, and gave him most hearty thanks for the good life he led and trusted to lead with his wife;" on the next, whilst he was at mass, the archbishop delivered into his hands a paper containing the information obtained in his absence. He read it with feelings of pain and distrust; an inquiry into its truth or falsehood was immediately ordered; first Lascelles was examined; then his sister in the country; next Derham himself; and afterwards several other persons.

All this while Catherine was kept in ignorance of the danger which threatened her; but on November 10th the king left the court, and the council, waiting on her in a body, informed her of the charge which had been made against her. She denied it in their presence with loud protestations of innocence; but on their departure fell into fits, and appeared frantic through grief and terror. To soothe her mind, the archbishop brought her an assurance of mercy from Henry; and, repeating his visit in the evening, when she was more tranquil, artfully drew from her a promise to reply to his questions "faithfully and truly, as she would answer at the day of judgment, and by the promise which she

made at her baptism, and by the sacrament which she received on All-hallows day last past." Under this solemn adjuration she admitted that, notwithstanding the precautions taken by the duchess, Derham had been in the habit of coming at night or early in the morning to the apartment allotted to the females; that he brought with him wine and fruit for their entertainment; and he often behaved with great freedom and rudeness, and that on three occasions he had offered some violence to her person. This was the result of two examinations, in which Cranmer laboured to procure evidence of a pre-contract between Catherine and Derham. Had he succeeded, she might have saved her life by submitting to a divorce; but the unfortunate queen deprived herself of this benefit by constantly maintaining that no promise had been made, and that "al that Derame dyd unto her, was of his importune forcement and in a maner violence, rather than of her fre consent and wil."[1]

IMPRISONMENT AND EXECUTION OF CATHERINE HOWARD (1540–1541 A.D.)

The following day the judges and counsellors assembled in the Star Chamber, where the chancellor announced to them the presumed guilt of the queen, read in support of the charge select passages from the evidence already procured, and intimated, in addition, that more important disclosures were daily expected. He suppressed all the passages which might be construed in favour of pre-contract, and that because "they might serve for her defence." It was now the king's intention to proceed against her for adultery, which was incompatible with a pre-contract. At Hampton Court the same course was followed in the presence of all persons of "gentle birth," male and female, who had been retained in her service. Catherine herself was removed to Sion House, November 13th, where two apartments were reserved exclusively for her accommodation, and orders were given that she should be treated with the respect due to her rank. In anticipation of her attainder, the king had already taken possession of all her personal property; but he was graciously pleased to allow her six changes of apparel, and six French hoods with edgings of goldsmiths' work, but without pearl or diamond.

If there was no pre-contract between Catherine and Derham, nothing but her death could dissolve the marriage between her and the king. Hence it became necessary to prove her guilty of some capital offence; and with this view a rigorous inquiry was set on foot respecting her whole conduct since she became queen. It was now discovered that not only had she admitted Derham to her presence, but had employed him to perform for her the office of secretary; and that at Lincoln, during the progress, she had allowed Culpepper, a maternal relation and gentleman of the privy chamber, to remain in company with her and Lady Rochford from eleven at night till two in the morning. The judges were consulted, who replied, that considering the persons implicated, these facts, if proved, formed a satisfactory presumption that adultery had been committed. On this and no better proof, the two unfortunate gentlemen were tried, and found guilty of high treason, November 30th. Their lives were spared for ten days, with the hope of extorting from them additional information respecting the guilt of the queen. But they

[1 There is no inherent improbability in her statement. We shall later find Elizabeth proved by witnesses to have endured similar treatment from Lord Seymour often in the presence of his wife. Unless we are to credit the rumour that Elizabeth was with child by Lord Seymour when she was eighteen years old, we might also grant this poor woman some credence.]

THE TRIAL OF QUEEN CATHERINE

(From the painting by Harlow, representing the Kembles and Mrs. Siddons in Shakespeare's *Henry VIII*)

[1540-1541 A.D.]

gave none, probably had none to give. On December 10th Derham was hanged and quartered; Culpepper, out of regard to his family, was beheaded.

It has been sometimes said that both confessed the adultery. But of that there is no proof; and it cannot be doubted that, if it were so, their confession would have been distinctly stated in the bill of attainder, as the best evidence of their crime.

But these were not the only victims. The king's resentment was extended to all those individuals who had been, or might have been, privy to the intimacy between Catherine and Derham in the house of the duchess. On this charge the duchess herself, with her daughter the countess of Bridgewater, the lord William Howard and his wife, and nine other persons of inferior rank, in the service of the duchess, were committed to the Tower; where the royal commissioners laboured by frequent and separate examinations, by menaces and persuasion, and, in one instance at least, by the application of torture, to draw from them the admission that they had been privy to Catherine's incontinence themselves, and the charge of such privity in their companions. All were condemned to forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment.

For some time we have lost sight of Catherine; at the beginning of the year, January 1st, 1541, we meet with her again at Sion House, with a parliament sitting, and a sweeping bill of attainder before it, including both the queen and all her companions in misfortune. The duke of Suffolk with some others reported that they had waited on the queen, who "acknowledged her offence against God, the king, and the nation," expressed a hope that her faults might not be visited on her brothers and family, and begged as a last favour that she might divide a part of her clothes among her maids. The act attainted of treason the queen, Derham and Culpepper as her paramours, and Lady Rochford[1] as aider and abettor; and of misprision of treason both all those who had been convicted of concealment in court, and also the duchess of Norfolk and the countess of Bridgewater, though no legal proceedings whatsoever had been taken against them.

The tragedy was now drawing to a close. Catherine had already been sent to the Tower; two days after the passing of the act, and fifteen months after her marriage, she was led to execution, together with her companion, the lady Rochford. They appeared on the scaffold calm and resigned, bidding the spectators take notice that they suffered justly for "their offences against God from their youth upward, and also against the king's royal majesty very dangerously." The meekness and piety of their demeanour seem to have deeply interested the only person present who has transmitted to us any account of their last moments. "Theyer sowles," he writes, "I doubt not, be with God; for they made the moost godly and Christyan's end that ever was hard tell of, I thinke, since the world's creation."[2]

[1] This is the very Lady Rochford whose testimony against her husband had led to his execution for adultery with his own sister, Anne Boleyn.]

[2] Otwell Johnson's letter to his brother, in Ellis.[h] [h] In this confession on the scaffold the queen evades a second time all mention of the alleged adultery. She employs the very same ambiguous and unsatisfactory language which Suffolk had employed in the house of lords. Could this be accidental? or was not that particular form enjoined by authority that she might not seem to impeach "the king's justice"? On a review of the original letters in the state papers, of the act of attainder, and of the proceedings in parliament, Lingard[d] sees no sufficient reason to think her guilty; and, if she was innocent, so also must have been the lady Rochford. Like her predecessor, Anne Boleyn, she fell a victim to the jealousy or resentment of a despotic husband; but in one respect she has been more fortunate. The preservation of documents respecting her fate enables us to estimate the value of the proofs brought against her; our ignorance of those brought against Anne renders the question of her guilt or innocence more problematical.

To attaint without trial had of late become customary; but to prosecute and punish for that which had not been made a criminal offence by any law was hitherto unprecedented. To give, therefore, some countenance to these severities, it was enacted in the very bill of attainder that every woman about to be married to the king or any of his successors, not being a maid, should disclose her disgrace to him under the penalty of treason; that all other persons knowing the fact and not disclosing it, should be subject to the lesser penalty of misprision of treason; and that the queen, or wife of the prince, who should move another person to commit adultery with her, or the person who should move her to commit adultery with him, should suffer as a traitor.[d]

"To make the concealment of vices a capital offence," says Mackintosh,[m] "was worthy of such a reign." Lord Herbert [ff] says that there were no more youthful candidates for the honour of Henry's hand after this enactment. There was no Scheherazade again to be found ready to trust the safety of her head to her power of amusing king Schariar.

Henry wisely rejected the chance of a fatal termination of another union, under this new law of treason, by obtaining the hand of a discreet widow, who had been twice before married. The maiden name of this lady was Catherine Parr. She became the queen of Henry in July, 1543. Before we enter upon her personal history, as connected with the two great religious parties into which England was now divided, we purpose to take a rapid view of the foreign relations of the kingdom to the end of Henry's reign, involving as they did a war with Scotland and with France.

WAR WITH SCOTLAND AND FRANCE (1541-1546 A.D.)

The minority of James V of Scotland was a disastrous period for his country. The regency was a constant object of contention between the factious nobles. A new element of discord was introduced by the progress of the new opinions in religion. The fatal day of Flodden had cut off the most influential of the nobles; and those who remained were inferior in wealth, and therefore in authority, to a body which possessed half the land of the kingdom. The spiritual and temporal dominion appeared consolidated when David Beaton was appointed lord privy seal. Patrick Hamilton, the first Scottish reformer, was burned by this persecuting prelate at St. Andrews, in 1528.

Beaton, now a cardinal, had been to Rome in 1541, on a secret embassy. Henry determined to try the effect of a personal interview with his nephew, James; and it was agreed that they should meet at York in the autumn. Thither the king of England went, accompanied by Catherine Howard. But the king of Scotland was induced by the wily cardinal not to hold to the appointment. Henry was furious, and determined upon war. He resolved upon renewing the old claim of the English kings to the crown of Scotland. The duke of Norfolk entered Scotland with a large army in 1542; after the English warden of the east marches had sustained a defeat in Teviotdale. Having accomplished the usual destruction, Norfolk retreated to Berwick, for James was assembling an army in his front. The feudal chiefs gathered round the royal standard on the Boroughmuir, as they had gathered under the standard of James IV. Onward they marched for the invasion of England. There was division amongst the host. The rebellious Douglases were on the side of England. Many of the nobles were favourable to the principles of the Reformation, which their king opposed. The catastrophe came, without any real contest between the two armies. James was deserted by his nobles. In

grief and indignation he returned to Edinburgh. An army of ten thousand men was, however, got together, under lord Maxwell. The clans mutinied. A body of English horse came up, who were believed to be the vanguard of a great army; and in a panic the Scots fled, with the loss of a large number of prisoners—some willing prisoners, as it has been asserted. The king gave himself up to despair. He immured himself in his palace of Falkland; would speak to no one; sickened; and sank under a slow fever, heart-broken, on the 14th of December. A week before, his queen had borne him a daughter—that Mary, whose long struggles with adversity form a striking contrast to the hopelessness of her father.

The lords who were taken at Solway Moss were first harshly treated by Henry, and then propitiated by indulgences. His first object was to negotiate a marriage between his son, Edward, and the daughter of James V, and thus to effect a natural union between the two countries. His second design was to demand the government of Scotland, as the guardian of the infant queen. The imprisoned nobles concluded a treaty with him, that they would deliver up Mary, and acknowledge him as their sovereign lord. They were released, and returned to Scotland to carry out their plan. But the earl of Arran was presumptive heir to the throne; and he possessed sufficient power to obtain the regency. In December, 1543, Beaton became chancellor, and in the following January was constituted the pope's legate *a latere* in Scotland. He was now supreme in church and state; the friendship and alliance of the excommunicated king of England was renounced; and a treaty with England, which gave Henry some of his demands, was set aside. There was patriotism as well as intolerance in the policy of the papist faction.

Scotland was again invaded in May, 1544. The earl of Hertford arrived in the Firth with a powerful fleet, carrying a force of ten thousand men. He demanded that the infant queen should be immediately surrendered. The regent refused; and Hertford, with an additional force from Berwick, marched upon Edinburgh. One of the gates was battered down, and the city was entered and given up to conflagration and plunder. Hertford, after burning Leith, retired to Berwick. For two years the war was continued with the usual terrible inflictions upon the peaceful cultivators of the soil. The letters of Hertford, in 1545, present a fearful picture of the ravages of his troops in border towns and fertile districts, which poetry and romance have made famous through every land.

Whilst the earl of Hertford was carrying forward this ignoble work in Scotland, King Henry and his council were busy in negotiations far more disgraceful than the most barbarous open warfare. Beaton was murdered in 1546; and if the king of England was not an accessory, it was not for the want of inclination. The guilt of the king of England and his government in giving encouragement to the proposal to assassinate Cardinal Beaton is a sufficient proof of the low morality of that age.

To complete our rapid view of the foreign affairs of the kingdom we pass from Scotland to France.[1] In 1544 Henry went to his parliament with a long tale of his griefs. Out of his inestimable goodness, and like a most charitable, loving, and virtuous prince, he had for a long time loved and favoured Francis, the French king. He had freed his children from thraldom; he had relieved his poverty by loans of money. But now the ungrateful Francis had with-

[1 In 1541 a parliament at Dublin had acknowledged Henry as "King of Ireland," in place of his previous title of "lord," which had been granted to Henry II by Pope Adrian IV. Henry was, however, unable to maintain peace in Ireland, the revenue of which was only £5,000 a year.]

drawn the pension which he had been accustomed to pay; he had confederated with the Great Turk, common enemy of all Christendom; and he had stirred the Scots to resist his majesty, contrary to their duty and allegiance. The king, therefore, declares his intention to go to war with France as well as with Scotland—"to put his own royal person, with the power of his realm and subjects, in armour." But inestimable sums will be required for the maintenance of these wars. The faithful parliament, by this statute, again sanction the same species of robbery that the parliament of 1529 sanctioned, and for the alleviation of such charges, declare all loans made to the king in the two previous years of his reign to be entirely remitted and released, and all securities for the same to be utterly void.

Thus, with the proceeds of this swindle in his pocket, King Henry goes to the wars. He had previously propitiated the emperor Charles V by a compromise as to the succession to the crown, which recognised some claims in the person of the princess Mary, the emperor's niece.

This was the third act for regulating the succession to the throne, which all persons were to accept and swear to, under the penalties of treason. The princess Mary had been declared illegitimate under the act of 1534. The princess Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate under the act of 1536. By this act of 1544 they were restored to their place in the succession, in default of issue of the king and Prince Edward, but without any declaration of their legitimacy, which would have been to declare the divorces of their mothers unlawful.

The emperor and the king of England were now joined in a treaty for the invasion and partition of France. Charles was to claim Burgundy; Henry the ancient possessions of the Plantagenets, unless Francis would agree to certain conditions. The chivalrous French king spurned their pretensions; and so, in July, 1544, Henry put on his armour, and with thirty thousand men crossed the channel. The emperor was to enter France by Champagne, and the king by Picardy; and their united armies were to march to Paris. But no plan of mutual operations could detach the vainglorious Henry from the pomp and circumstance of some gorgeous personal exhibition. He crossed the seas in a ship whose sails were of cloth of gold. He advanced at the head of the English and Imperial forces, to assist in the siege of Boulogne, which the duke of Suffolk was investing. "Armed at all points upon a great courser"—as he is now exhibited in the armoury at the Tower—he paraded his huge body before the besiegers, for two months. In vain the envoys of the emperor urged him to move forward, according to their compact. The emperor, said Henry, had taken some frontier forts, and he, the king, would have Boulogne. At length the great day of triumph arrived, for which he had broken faith with his ally. On the 18th of September he made his triumphant entry into Boulogne,[1] which pageant Hall describes with a corresponding magniloquence.

But whilst the "noble and valiant conqueror" was listening to the trumpeters on the walls, Francis and Charles, with great wisdom, had concluded a separate peace. Henry had constituted Queen Catherine regent during his absence; and her letters to him show that she attended to his affairs with diligence, by sending fresh supplies of money and men. He returned to England on the last day of September.

[1 During this siege Cranmer asked the people to pray for Henry's success and composed the prayers in English. At the same time he composed for the priests an English litany which was issued with a primer of private prayer. The litany was the foundation of the late Book of Common Prayer.]

But if Henry was slow in his projected march to Paris, Francis was the more ready to contemplate a march to London. Such a scheme was not utterly hopeless; for the English government was sorely straitened for money, and the means of defence were of the weakest kind.

But the true defence of England was not wanting in this season of peril. According to a return of this date, there was a fleet in the channel of a hundred and four vessels, carrying more than twelve thousand men. But of these hundred and four vessels, only twenty-eight were above two hundred tons. The fleet was in three divisions, the Vanward, the Battle, and the Wing. The watchword and countersign point to the traditionary origin of the national song: "The watchword in the night shall be thus, 'God save King Harry'; the other shall answer, 'And long to reign over us.'" There was an indecisive action off Portsmouth in July, 1545; and a serious misfortune in the accidental sinking of a large ship, with four hundred men, in the harbour of Portsmouth. The Mary Rose went down like the Royal George. The king was on shore, and saw his noble ship laid on her side and overset. The danger of invasion was soon overpast. The French sent assistance to the Scots, devastated the neighbourhood of Calais, and made the most strenuous efforts to retake Boulogne. At length a peace was concluded in June, 1546; one of the articles of which was that Boulogne should be restored to France, at the expiration of eight years, upon the payment of two millions of crowns, and another that Scotland should be included in the pacification. The remainder of Henry's reign was not disturbed by foreign warfare.

FURTHER PERSECUTIONS

In 1543 an act was passed which limited the reading of the Bible and the New Testament in the English tongue to noblemen and gentlemen; and forbade the reading of the same to "the lower sort"—to artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen, husbandmen, and labourers, and to women, under pain of imprisonment.[g]

In the year 1543 a new exposition of faith and morals was put forth, under the title of "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudicion for any Christian Man," but it was commonly called "The King's Book." Like the "Institution" on which it was founded, it was of a motley character, with too much of popery to content the reformers, with too much of scriptural truth to please the Romanists. In the next parliament (1544) Cranmer succeeded in obtaining a mitigation of the provisions of the "Act of Six Articles."

CRANMER'S NARROW ESCAPE

The cause of the reformers lost in 1545 two of its most powerful supporters in the persons of the duke of Suffolk, the king's brother-in-law, and the lord chancellor Audley, who both died in this year; and Audley's successor, Wriothesley (now ennobled), sided strongly with the opposite party. It was not long till an attempt was made to ruin Cranmer. The king was informed "that the primate, with his learned men, had so infected the whole realm with unsavoury doctrine as to fill all places with abominable heretics," and that the throne was in danger. Henry asked how it were best to proceed, and he was advised to commit him at once to the Tower. He objected to this as a harsh measure; he was assured that the primate was so unpopular

that charges in abundance would be brought against him when he was in confinement. He at length consented that the prelate should be summoned next day before the council, and be committed if they deemed it advisable.

Before midnight the king sent Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth to summon the primate to his presence. Cranmer, who was in bed, rose, and came to Whitehall. Henry told him what he had done. Cranmer declared himself indifferent about the committal, as he could easily clear himself. "O Lord God!" cried the king, "what fond simplicity have you so to permit yourself to be imprisoned that every enemy of yours may take advantage against you! Do you not know that when they have you once in prison, three or four false knaves will soon be procured to witness against you and condemn you?" He then went on to tell him that he had taken better measures for his safety; he desired him to claim his right as a privy councillor of being confronted with his accusers, and, if that was refused, to produce the ring which he then gave him, and appeal to the king.[u]

It was not the practice in state-trials to bring the "false knaves" face to face with the prisoner. No one could have a more complete knowledge than Henry had of the mode in which convictions were procured during his reign. It was held "too dangerous to the prince" to produce witnesses who might be questioned by the accused. The evidence consisted almost entirely of written depositions and examinations, taken before the privy council or before commissioners. Interrogatories were previously prepared by the crown lawyers. These were submitted to the witnesses individually. If they were conformable in their answers, it was well. If they were not so, the rack was introduced. The fear of torture was present to the mind of every witness. When the depositions had been shaped after the most approved fashion, the prisoner was subjected to the like tender interrogatories. The trial, so called, having come on, the counsel for the crown carefully noted what in the depositions was to be read and what omitted; and the officer of the court as carefully obeyed his directions. What chance a prisoner had of an acquittal may be readily conceived. When King Henry interfered with the insane resolution of the archbishop to seek a trial, he truly said, "You will run headlong to your undoing if I would suffer you."[g]

Cranmer returned home, and the next morning at eight o'clock he was summoned to appear before the council. When he came he was obliged to remain sitting in the anteroom among the servants. At length he was brought before the board and informed of the charges against him. His demand to be confronted with his accusers was at once refused. "I am sorry, my lords," said he, "that you drive me to such a step, but seeing myself likely to obtain no fair usage from you, I must appeal to his majesty." He produced the ring; they gazed on it and each other for some time in silence. They then took the ring and papers to the king, who rated them well for their treatment of the primate. The duke of Norfolk replied that their only object had been to give the primate an opportunity of refuting the charges against him. At the royal command they all then shook hands with the placable primate and a few days after were entertained by him at Lambeth.

Shortly after, at Cranmer's desire, the king suppressed some popular superstitions, such as ringing bells and keeping watch the whole night before All-hallows day; veiling the cross and the images in churches all through Lent, and unveiling them on Palm Sunday, and kneeling before the cross on that day. But the king himself went still further, and he forbade the practice of creeping to the cross and adoring it.

THE KING'S LAST TYRANNIES

The king's last parliament met on the 23rd of November: its chief business was to relieve his pecuniary difficulties. It granted large subsidies, and suppressed all the hospitals and other charitable foundations, transferring their revenues to the king. It even went so far as to empower him to seize those of the universities, he making a solemn promise "that all shall be done to the glory of God and common profit to the realm." It further legalised all the transfers of property which the church dignitaries had been forced to make to the crown. The king then dissolved the parliament (December 24th, 1545). He made on this occasion a speech, which he concluded by complaining of the religious dissensions which prevailed. Of the clergy he said, "Some were so stiff in their old *mumpsimus*, and others so busy with their new *sumpsimus*,"[1] that they did nothing but rail at each other; while the laity censured the conduct of the clergy and debated Scripture in ale-houses and taverns. He exhorted both parties to give over calling one another ill names, and to live in peace and charity.

The next year (1546) showed how well the king's advice was attended to, for the flames of Smithfield blazed once more. The principal victim was a lady named Anne Askew, daughter of a knight of Lincolnshire. She had been married to a gentleman named Kyme, to whom she bore two children; but having adopted scriptural sentiments, her husband, a furious papist, turned her out of doors. She resumed her maiden name, and came to London, in hopes of obtaining a divorce. Here she transgressed the six articles, and she was also suspected of conveying religious books to the queen and some ladies at court. She was taken before Bonner, bishop of London; a recantation was proffered to her to sign, and she wrote that she believed "all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church"; and, though this was ambiguous, Bonner was obliged to let her go on bail. This year she was again arrested; she was examined before the council by Gardiner and Wriothesley; they could not move or refute her; she was sent to Newgate, tried before a jury for heresy, and sentenced to die. It was hoped by means of the rack to get her to implicate some persons of rank. She was taken to the Tower, and placed on that horrid instrument. She bore the torture with the utmost firmness, not uttering even a cry. The lieutenant refusing to allow his man to torment her any further, Wriothesley and Rich threw off their gowns and worked the instrument themselves.[2] When taken off she fainted, but on her recovering she maintained a conversation with them for two hours, sitting on the bare ground. She was carried in a chair to the stake (July 16th). With her were John Lascelles, a gentleman of the royal household, Nicholas Belenian, a Shropshire clergyman, and John Adams, a poor tailor—all, like Anne Askew, deniers of transubstantiation. Wriothesley sent to offer them a pardon if they would recant. "I came not hither," said Anne, "to deny my Lord and Master." The others were equally firm, and all were burned.

It was commonly said at this time of the bishop of Winchester that "he had bent his bow in order to shoot some of the head deer." He had covertly

[1] The origin of this phrase is as follows: A priest had long read in his breviary *mumpsimus* for *sumpsimus*; his error was at length pointed out to him, but he angrily declared he would not change his old *mumpsimus* for their new *sumpsimus*.

[2] The fact of her being racked is denied by Burnet[l] and Lingard,[d] though asserted by Foxe.[d d]

shot at Cranmer; he now openly aimed at the queen. Henry, who was grown peevish and irritable from disease, was annoyed at her urging him on the subject of religion; and one day as she left the room he fretfully noticed it to Gardiner, who was present. The artful prelate saw his opportunity, and he succeeded in prevailing on the king to let articles of accusation be drawn up against her. When prepared they received the royal approbation; but, luckily for the queen, the paper was dropped (probably by design) by the person who was carrying it, and was picked up by one of her friends. Her alarm at her danger brought on an attack of illness; the king came to visit her; she expressed her regret at seeing so little of him, and her fear of having given him offence. They parted on good terms. Next evening she visited the king; he asked her opinion on some points of religion; she modestly replied, that the man was the woman's natural superior, and her judgment should be directed by his. "Not so, by St. Mary," said the king; "you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us, as we take it, and not to be instructed by us." She assured him that in arguing with him her only object had been to divert his mind and to derive information. "And is it even so, sweetheart?" cried he, "then perfect friends are we now again. It doth me more good to hear these words of thine own mouth than it would have done had I heard the news of a hundred thousand pounds fallen unto me." He embraced and dismissed her, and when she was gone highly extolled her to those who were present; and yet the capricious tyrant had been on the point of sending her to the Tower, perhaps even to the stake!

Next day he sent for her to the garden. While they were there, the chancellor came with forty men to arrest her. The king frowned; the queen retired; the chancellor knelt; the words "Knave, fool, beast, avaunt from my presence!" reached the ears of the queen, and she came forward to interpose. "Ah, poor soul," said Henry, "thou little knowest how evil he hath deserved this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweetheart, he hath been toward thee an arrant knave, and so let him go."[1] Orders were now given that Gardiner should appear no more in the royal presence; the king also struck his name out of the list of executors named in his will.

The days of the monarch were now fast drawing to their close. He was become so corpulent and unwieldy that he could only be moved about in a chair, and an ulcer in one of his legs was at this time so fetid as to be hardly endurable by those about him. One more act of injustice and cruelty was, however, to be perpetrated. The head of the Romish party and of the ancient nobility was the duke of Norfolk, a man who had on several occasions done good service to the crown; his son, the earl of Surrey, was the most accomplished nobleman of the age.[2] The Seymours, the uncles of the young prince, may be regarded as the chiefs of the reformed party, and there was a jealousy between them and the Howards, who despised them as upstarts. Whether it proceeded from the intrigues of the Seymours, or from the king's own caprice or apprehensions, the duke and his son were committed to the Tower on a charge of high treason. Feebler or more ill-supported charges never were made than on this occasion. Surrey's principal offences were his having quartered the arms of the confessor with his own, a thing in which he was warranted by the heralds; his having spoken contemptuously of the new nobility; and his having two Italians in his service, whom one of the witnesses suspected to be spies. Being a commoner he was tried by a jury at Guildhall

[1 This whole story is doubted by some historians, though it is admittedly not improbable.]

[2 His poems are still read with pleasure. He gave the earliest specimen of blank verse in our language in his translation of a part of the Æneid of Virgil.

[1547 A.D.]

(January 13th, 1547), before the chancellor and other commissioners. He defended himself with eloquence and spirit; but vain was all defence in this reign; he was condemned as a traitor, and six days after (19th) he was beheaded on Tower Hill.

The duke of Norfolk was accused of various trifling acts of treason, and every effort was made to get up evidence against him. A good deal of the misfortune of himself and his son originated in family dissension; the duchess, who was separated from her husband, actuated by jealousy, wrote to the lord privy seal, accusing him; and his daughter, the duchess of Richmond, was one of the witnesses against her brother. Mrs. Holland, who was supposed to be the duke's mistress, testified all she could against him. The duke was induced to sign a confession of having divulged the king's secrets, concealed his son's treason in quartering the arms of the confessor, and having himself quartered those of England. But all availed not; a bill of attainder was hurried through parliament, the royal assent was given by commission on the 27th, and he was ordered for execution the next morning. Fortunately for Norfolk the king died in the night, and a respite was sent to the Tower.

THE DEATH OF THE KING (1547 A.D.)

The king had gradually been growing worse, but his friends feared to apprise him of his danger. At length Sir Anthony Denny ventured to inform him of his approaching dissolution. He received the intelligence with meekness, expressing his reliance on the merits of his Saviour. Sir Anthony asked if he would have any divine to attend him; he said, if any, it should be the archbishop of Canterbury; but "Let me take a little sleep first," said he, "and when I awake again I shall think more about the matter." When he awoke he directed that Cranmer should be fetched from Croydon. The prelate came in all haste, but found him speechless. He desired him to give a sign of his faith in the merits of Christ; the king pressed his hand and expired.[u]

Henry VIII died at two o'clock in the morning of the 28th of January, 1547, in his palace at Westminster. His death was concealed for three days. On the 31st of January the commons were summoned to the house of lords, and Wriothesley wept while he announced the event. The will of the king, by which the succession was defined, and the government of the realm during the minority of his son was regulated, was then read in part. Hertford and Paget had employed the three days of secrecy in determining the course to be pursued under the will, which was in their private keeping. Some suspicions have arisen that the will was forged.

The nation did not, in all likelihood, feel the loss of the most arbitrary monarch that had ever filled the English throne as a great calamity. On the 5th of February the bishop of Winchester wrote to Sir W. Paget, secretary of state, "To-morrow, the parishioners of this parish and I have agreed to have a solemn dirige for our late sovereign lord and master, in earnest, as becometh us; and, to-morrow, certain players of my lord of Oxford's, as they say, intend, on the other side, within this burgh of Southwark, to have a solemn play, to try who shall have most resort, they in game or I in earnest." The sorrow could not have been very violent when the players thought that a diversion would be welcome, even before the king's body was conveyed to earth at Windsor. Though Henry is said to have wrung Cranmer's hand on his death-bed, his last religious exercises were in accordance with the practice of the Roman church. In the same spirit were his funeral solemnities con-

ducted: "The body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall for twelve days, with masses and dirge sung and said every day; Norroy standing at the choir door, and beginning with these words, pronounced aloud, 'Of your charity, pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince our late sovereign lord, King Henry VIII.' "[g]

KEIGHTLEY'S ESTIMATE OF HENRY

Nothing can be more injudicious than the conduct of those Protestant writers who, identifying Henry with the Reformation, seem to think themselves bound to apologise for and even justify the various enormities with which his memory is charged. A slight knowledge of history will suffice to show that the worst instruments are often employed to produce the greatest and best results. We may therefore allow Henry to have been a bad man, and yet regard the Reformation, of which he was an instrument, as a benefit to mankind. It is, on the other hand, weak in the Romanists to charge the Reformation with the vices of Henry; it would be equally so to impute to their religion the atrocities of Pope Alexander VI and his children, Cesare and Lucrezia Borgia.

Thorough selfishness formed the basis of Henry's character.[1] He never was known to sacrifice an inclination to the interest or happiness of another. "He spared no man in his anger, no woman in his lust," was the famous phrase of Peter Heylin;[ii] everything must yield to his will. He was rapacious and profuse, vain and self-sufficient. At the same time he was courteous and affable, and when in good humour had a gay, jovial manner highly captivating in a ruler. His people remembered the magnificence of his early reign, his handsome person, his skill in martial exercises, and he was popular with them to the very last. The constancy of his friendship to Cranmer is the most estimable trait in his character; but the primate never had dared to oppose his will. Henry's patronage of letters was also highly commendable; he was skilful in selecting those whom he employed in church and state, and rarely promoted an inefficient person.[u]

HUME'S ESTIMATE OF HENRY AND HIS REIGN

It is difficult to give a just summary of this prince's qualities: He was so different from himself in different parts of his reign, that, as is well remarked by lord Herbert,[ff] his history is his best character and description. The absolute uncontrolled authority which he maintained at home, and the regard which he acquired among foreign nations, are circumstances which entitle him in some degree to the appellation of a great prince; while his tyranny and barbarity exclude him from the character of a good one. He possessed, indeed, great vigour of mind, which qualified him for exercising dominion over men, courage, intrepidity, vigilance, inflexibility. And though these qualities lay not always under the guidance of a regular and solid judgment, they were accompanied with good parts and an extensive capacity; and everyone

[1] See Wolsey's opinion of him. He went to dine one day with Sir T. More, at Chelsea. After dinner he walked for an hour in the garden with him, with his arm round his neck. When More's son-in-law, Roper, congratulated him on the favour he seemed to be in, "I thank our Lord, son (quoth he), I find his grace my very good lord indeed, and I believe he doth as singularly favour me as any subject within this realm; howbeit, son Roper, I may tell thee I have no cause to be proud thereof, for if my head would win him a castle in France it should not fail to go." This was in 1522, in Henry's jovial days.

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dreaded a contest with a man who was known never to yield or to forgive, and who in every controversy was determined either to ruin himself or his antagonist. A catalogue of his vices would comprehend many of the worst qualities incident to human nature: violence, cruelty, profusion, rapacity, injustice, obstinacy, arrogance, bigotry, presumption, caprice. But neither was he subject to all these vices in the most extreme degree, nor was he at intervals altogether destitute of virtues. He was sincere,[1] open, gallant, liberal, and capable at least of a temporary friendship and attachment. In this respect he was unfortunate, that the incidents of his reign served to display his faults in their full light. The extensive powers of his prerogative, and the submissive, not to say slavish disposition of his parliaments, made it the more easy for him to assume and maintain that entire dominion by which his reign is so much distinguished in the English history.

CAMBRIDGE

It may seem a little extraordinary that, notwithstanding his cruelty, his extortion, his violence, his arbitrary administration, this prince not only acquired the regard of his subjects, but never was the object of their hatred. He seems even in some degree to have possessed to the last their love and affection. His exterior qualities were advantageous, and fit to captivate the multitude. His magnificence and personal bravery rendered him illustrious in vulgar eyes. And it may be said with truth, that the English in that age were so thoroughly subdued, that, like Eastern slaves, they were inclined to admire those acts of violence and tyranny which were exercised over themselves, and at their own expense.

It may not be improper to recapitulate whatever is memorable in the statutes of this reign, whether with regard to government or commerce. Nothing can better show the genius of the age than such a review of the laws. The abolition of the ancient religion much contributed to the regular execution of justice. While the Catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy. The church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. But Henry restrained these pernicious immunities. The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon. But the former superstition not only protected crimes in the clergy, it exempted also the laity from punishment, by affording them shelter in the churches and sanctuaries. The parliament abridged these privileges. It was first declared that no sanctuaries were allowed in cases of high treason; next, in those of murder, felony, rapes, burglary, and petty treason. And it limited them in other particulars.

[1 Friedmann, however, finds his most terrible fault to be "the utter want of truth. His dishonesty cannot be denied; his own handwriting is still extant to show it."]

The farther progress of the Reformation removed all distinction between the clergy and other subjects, and also abolished entirely the privileges of sanctuaries. These consequences were implied in the neglect of the canon law.

In the year 1544 it appears that an acre of good land in Cambridgeshire was let at a shilling, or about fifteen pence of our present money. This is ten times cheaper than the usual rent at present. But commodities were not above four times cheaper, a presumption of the bad husbandry in that age. Some laws were made with regard to beggars and vagrants; one of the circumstances in government which humanity would most powerfully recommend to a benevolent legislator; which seems, at first sight, the most easily adjusted; and which is yet the most difficult to settle in such a manner as to attain the end without destroying industry. The convents formerly were a support to the poor; but at the same time tended to encourage idleness and beggary.

In 1546 a law was made for fixing the interest of money at ten per cent., the first legal interest known in England. Formerly, all loans of that nature were regarded as usurious. The preamble of this very law treats the interest of money as illegal and criminal. And the prejudices still remained so strong that the law permitting interest was repealed in the following reign. This reign, as well as many of the foregoing, and even subsequent reigns, abounds with monopolising laws, confining particular manufactures to particular towns, or excluding the open country in general. In the subsequent reign the corporations which had been opened by a former law, and obliged to admit tradesmen of different kinds, were again shut up by act of parliament; and everyone was prohibited from exercising any trade who was not of the corporation.

Henry, as he possessed himself some talent for letters, was an encourager of them in others. He founded Trinity College in Cambridge, and gave it ample endowments. Wolsey founded Christ Church in Oxford, and intended to call it Cardinal College. But upon his fall, which happened before he had entirely finished his scheme, the king seized all the revenues, and this violence, above all the other misfortunes of that minister, is said to have given him the greatest concern. But Henry afterwards restored the revenues of the college, and only changed the name. The countenance given to letters by this king and his ministers contributed to render learning fashionable in England. Erasmus speaks with great satisfaction of the general regard paid by the nobility and gentry to men of knowledge. It is needless to be particular in mentioning the writers of this reign, or of the preceding. There is no man of that age who has the least pretension to be ranked among our classics. Sir Thomas More,[1] though he wrote in Latin, seems to come the nearest to the character of a classical author.[o]

[Froude, admitting Henry's faults, yet glorifies him more than any other writer has done.] "Beyond and besides the Reformation, the constitution of these islands now rests in large measure on foundations laid in this reign. Henry brought Ireland within the reach of English civilisation. He absorbed Wales and the Palatinates into the general English system. He it was who

[1 To this name should, of course, be added Wyatt's and that of the ill-fated Surrey, of whom Mackintosh[m] says: "Henry Howard, earl of Surrey, is so justly renowned for his poetical genius, which had been then surpassed by none but that of Chaucer; by his happy imitations of the Italian masters; by a version of the Æneid, of which the execution is wonderful, and the very undertaking betokens the consciousness of lofty superiority; by the place in which we are accustomed to behold him, at the head of the uninterrupted series of English poets; that we find it difficult to regard him in the inferior points of view, of a gallant knight, a skilful captain, and an active statesman."]

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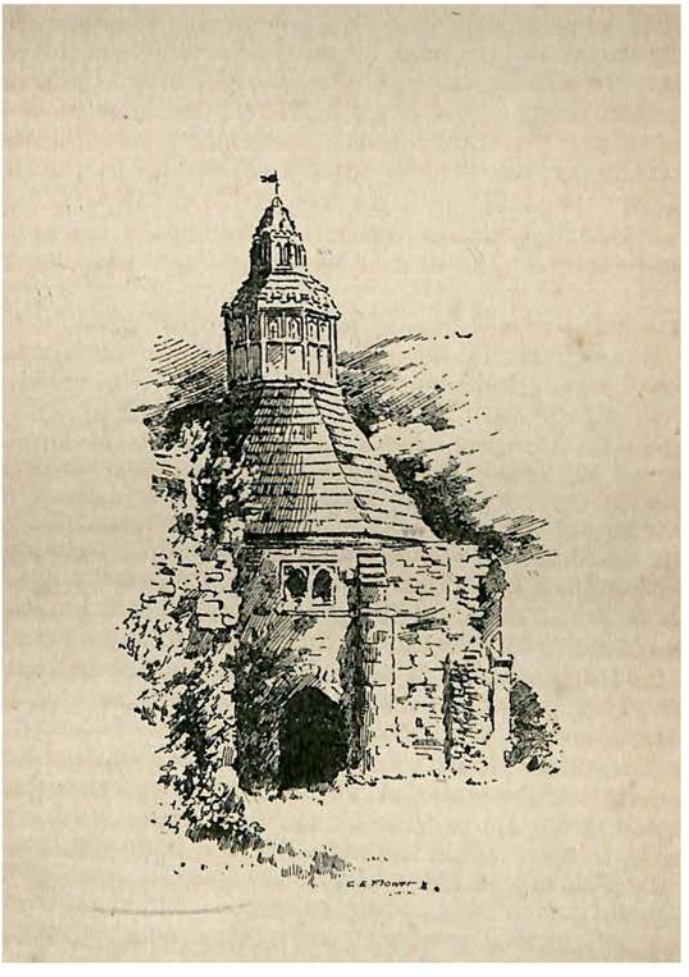
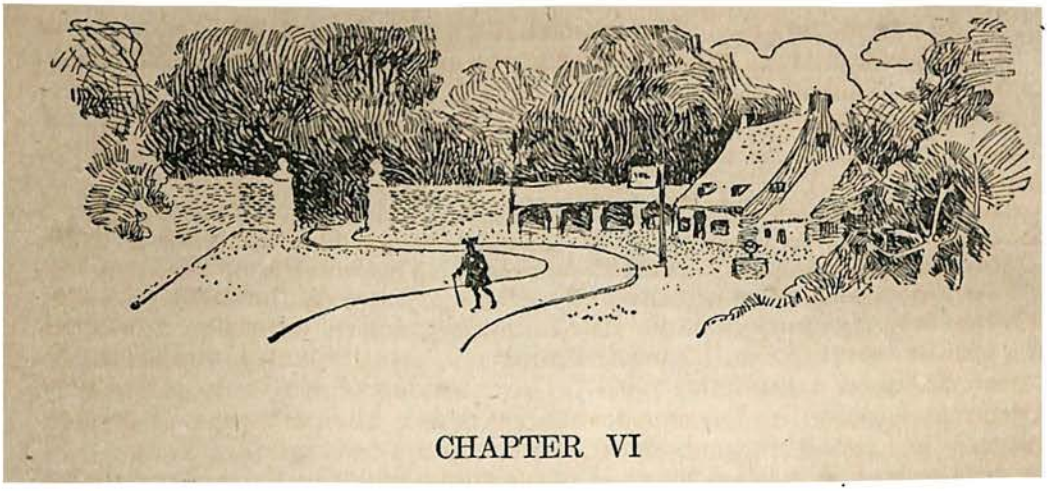
raised the house of commons from the narrow duty of voting supplies, and of passing without discussion the measures of the privy council, and converted them into the first power in the state under the crown. When he ascended the throne, so little did the commons care for their privileges, that their attendance at the sessions of parliament was enforced by a law. His personal faults were great, and he shared, besides them, in the errors of his age; but far deeper blemishes would be but as scars upon the features of a sovereign who in trying times sustained nobly the honour of the English name, and carried the commonwealth securely through the crisis of its history."†





CHAPTER VI

EDWARD VI AND THE PROTECTORATE

[1547–1553 A.D.]

HENRY'S wishes for a successor had been partially fulfilled, and the nation, which had been taught to rest absolutely on the will and guidance of its head, found itself nominally governed by a child of tender years, and really in the hands of a body of unprincipled statesmen, such as are the constant product of personal government —men of great ability, but trained in habits of dependence and with no higher moral aim than their own aggrandisement. There was one exception to this general censure: the earl of Hertford was a patriot, but was without that statesmanlike balance which was so striking a characteristic of Henry. He had espoused one side in the great conflict, could see no excellence in any other, and that side was the revolutionary and innovating one. He panted for the opportunity of carrying out his reforms.—J. F. BRIGHT.[b]

AT the beginning of Henry VIII's reign the Protestants (even if we number all the anti-papists among them) formed a small though intelligent and bold minority. They grew stronger by degrees, as opinions and parties which are the children of the age naturally do. Their strength lay in the towns on the southern and eastern coasts, and among the industrious classes of society. In the northern and midland provinces, and in the mountains of Wales, far removed from commerce with the heretics of Flanders and Germany, the ancient faith maintained its authority. At the end of Henry's reign it is still doubtful whether the majority had changed sides. That monarch had few qualifications for an umpire. But it was a public service that he restrained both factions, and kept the peace during this critical process. Had the reforming party risen against Henry they must have been vanquished, and he would have been driven back into the arms of Rome.

The iron hand which held both parties in check was advantageous to the Protestant cause, humanly speaking, only because the opinions and institutions which spring up in an age are likely to be the most progressive. His grotesque authority as head of the church, his double prosecution of Romanists and Lutherans, his passion for transubstantiation, and his abhorrence of appeals to a court of Rome, may be understood, if we regard his reign as a bridge which the nation was to pass on its road to more complete reformation. The reformers needed the acquisition of one great state for the stability and

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solidity of their projects. They gained England. As soon as the hand was withdrawn which had held the statesmen and the people dumb, the Reformation was established.

Eleven months before the decease of the English monarch, Luther had breathed his last in his native town of Eisleben, which he had not visited for many years.

At the moment of his death, Lutheranism had been established only in Scandinavia and in those parts of Germany which had embraced it when it was first preached. The extent, however, of its invisible power over the minds of men was not to be measured by the magnitude of the countries where it was actually predominant. Bold inquiry, active curiosity, awakened reason, and youthful enthusiasm, throughout every country of Europe, in secret cherished a Lutheran spirit. The late king of England, as we have seen, was impelled, by a singular combination of circumstances, to prepare the way in England for embodying this spirit in a civil establishment.

Calvin, who was called by some of his contemporaries the greatest divine since the apostles, had now spread the seeds of reformation throughout France. Had Luther survived a few years longer, he would have seen the second and more terrible struggle of the reformed doctrines in the civil wars of that country, in which the Protestant party maintained their ground for thirty years, and obtained a partial establishment for near a century. At the death of Henry the preponderance of visible force in the scale of establishment was immense; and even the moral force of the state and the church retained its commanding posture and its aspect of authority, at the moment when its foundation in opinion was silently crumbling beneath it.

In the list of executors appointed by the will of the deceased king, we see the decisive predominance of the new nobility, invidiously so called by their enemies, both because they were partisans of the reformers and because they had owed their sudden rise in wealth to a share of the spoils of the church. Generally speaking, they were gentlemen of ancient lineage; but their fortune and rank commonly sprang from this dubious source. Few of the highest houses were free from this impeachment. The main body of the English peerage are a modern nobility raised out of an ancient gentry. As the selection had been made at the very moment of the downfall of the house of Howard, the leaders of the old nobility and the chiefs of the old faith, the preponderating influence of the earl of Hertford must be supposed to have presided over the choice of these persons.

The royal will had been executed when the king lay on his death-bed, in the hands of Seymour, Catherine Parr, and Cranmer. The delay of three days in taking any formal measures upon the demise, if it could have occurred in our time, would have been censured as a daring assumption of responsibility. At that time no notice was taken of it. The young prince, who was at the royal mansion of Hatfield at the time of his father's death, was brought thence in regal state, and proclaimed king of England.

His proclamation took place when he was nine years and about three months old. As the late king, in execution of the power vested in him by statute, had appointed the council called executors to exercise the royal authority in the minority of his son, they do not seem to have gone substantially beyond their power, by nominating one of their number to preside in their deliberations, and to represent the state on fit and urgent occasions. Hertford was created duke of Somerset, and assumed, or received, the titles of "governor of his majesty, lord-protector of all his realms, lieutenant-general of all his armies." This appointment was vainly resisted by the chancellor Wriothes-

ley, who considered it as the grave of the ancient institutions, of which he was now the most forward champion. A few months later the boy-king was crowned, and some days after the great seal was taken from the refractory chancellor, and placed in the more compliant hands of the Lord St. John.

The encomiums bestowed on Edward VI are an example of the folly of excessive praise. What he was in reality was a diligent, docile, gentle, sprightly boy, whose proficiency in every branch of study was remarkable, and who showed a more than ordinary promise of capacity. But sycophants, and lovers of the marvellous, have almost drowned in a flood of adulation these agreeable and amiable qualities. The manuscripts of his still extant, either essays or letters, might have been corrected or dictated by his preceptors. It is not probable that the diary of his life, which is the most interesting of them, should have been copied from the production of another hand; neither does it indicate the interposition of a corrector. It is, perhaps, somewhat brief and dry for so young an author; but the adoption of such a plan, and the accuracy with which it is written, bear marks of a pure taste and of a considerate mind.[1]

At an early period the council, no longer restrained by the presence of Wriothesley, proceeded to enlarge the protector's authority in a manner which was at variance with the foundation of their own power. They addressed the king to name the new duke of Somerset protector to the king and the kingdom; and the royal boy, like Henry VI in his earliest infancy, was made to go through the ceremony of ordering the great seal "to be affixed to letters patent, granting the title of protector to that nobleman, with full authority to everything that he thought for the honour and good of the kingdom; to swear such other commissioners as he should think fit; and to annul and change what they thought fitting; provided that the council was to act by the advice and consent of the protector."

THE PROTECTORATE OF SOMERSET AND PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION (1547–1549 A.D.)

The populace now began to destroy the images in churches, which Luther had tolerated as aids to devotion, and of which Cranmer vindicated the moderate use. The government, almost entirely Protestant, proceeded to the object of completing the religious revolution, and of establishing a church not only independent of the see of Rome, but dissenting from many doctrines which had been for ages held sacred by the western church. The protector began his task through the ancient prerogative of the crown, through the supremacy over the church, and by means of the statute which gave to proclamations the authority of laws. Persecutions under the act of the six articles ceased; prisoners were released, exiles were recalled. The obedience of the clergy was enforced by the adoption of the principle that the appointment of bishops, like all other appointments, had been determined by the

[1 One part of his education was likely to have strengthened his passions. No one was permitted to address him, not even his sisters, without kneeling to him. "I have seen," says Ubaldini,[c] "the princess Elizabeth drop on one knee five times before her brother, before she took her place." At dinner, if either of his sisters were permitted to eat with him, she sat on a stool and cushion, at a distance, beyond the limits of the royal dais. Even the lords and gentlemen who brought in the dishes before dinner, were bareheaded, and knelt down before they placed them on the table. This custom shocked the French ambassador, Vieilleville,[d] and his suite; for in France the office was confined to pages, who bowed only, and did not kneel.[e]]

demise of the crown; thus compelling all prelates to receive their bishoprics by letters patent from the king, during good behaviour.

Preaching, which had been so rare in Catholic times that it would have been impossible to impose it on an untrained clergy, was in some measure supplied by homilies, composed by Cranmer, which the parish priests were directed to read to their congregations. Visitors were despatched throughout the kingdom, with instructions to require that four sermons in the year should be preached in every church against the papal authority; that sermons should be directed against the worship of images; that all images abused by being the object of pilgrimages and offerings should be destroyed; that the English Bible, with Erasmus' commentary on the gospels, should be placed in every church for the use of the people; together with many other points selected, not always so much on account of their intrinsic importance, as because they were brought by public worship in daily contact with the minds of the people; and because, taken altogether, they carried into every hamlet the assurance that the government was no longer to be neutral.

EDWARD VI
(1537–1553)

Gardiner, a man of great learning and ability, but one of Henry's devoted agents, who did not scruple to hold his diocese of Winchester during the whole schismatic establishment, now made a manly and becoming resistance to these injunctions, on principles of civil liberty,[1] as much as of ecclesiastical discipline. He was imprisoned for his disobedience. Bonner, bishop of London, more violent and more subservient, escaped imprisonment by an humble submission. Tunstall, bishop of Durham, a prelate of various and eminent merit, was excluded from the privy council, to impress on the people, by the strongest example, the disinclination of the protector towards the ancient faith.

After these preparatory measures parliament was assembled, and several bills passed to promote and enlarge the Reformation. The communion was appointed to be received in both kinds by the laity as well as clergy, without

[1 According to the historian Gardiner, he thought that no change should be made in religion till the king came of age. He was released from prison in the general amnesty on the prorogation of parliament, 1548.]

condemning the usages of other churches, in a statute, drawn with address, which professes to have been passed for the purpose of preventing irreverence towards the sacrament, and which covers the concessions to the people by many provisions for the former object. Bishops were to be nominated by the king; process in the ecclesiastical courts was to run in the king's name.

By another act the statutes against Lollards were repealed, together with all the acts in matters of religion passed under Henry, except those directed against the papal supremacy. All the treasons created by Henry underwent the same fate, and that offence was restored to the simplicity of the statute of Edward. The act which gave legislative power to proclamations was also abrogated by the last-mentioned statute, which at the same time guards the order of succession as established in the last act of settlement. Though Bonner was daily present during the session, there were only two divisions; one in which he, with four of his brethren, voted against the allowance of the cup to laymen, there being twenty-two prelates in the majority; another in which Cranmer, in a minority with Bonner, voted against a measure for vesting the lands of chantries in the crown.

In the next session of 1549 the uniformity of public worship was established, in which all ministers were enjoined to use only the "book of common prayer," prepared by the primate and his brethren, the foundation of that which, after various alterations in the reigns of Elizabeth, James, and Charles II, continues in use to this day.[g] With some variations in a subsequent edition of 1552, which was called the second book, this liturgy is not essentially different from that of the present day. It was based upon the ancient Catholic services, which had been handed down from the primitive ages of the church, and which the English people had for generations heard sung or said, without comprehending their meaning. In the western insurrection of 1549 the rebels declared, "We will have the mass in Latin, as was before." The answer of Cranmer to this point of their complaints is a logical appeal to the common sense of Englishmen: "The priest is your proctor and attorney, to plead your cause and to speak for you all; and had you rather not know than know what he saith for you? I have heard suitors murmur at the bar, because their attorneys have pleaded their cases in the French tongue, which they understood not. Why then be you offended that the priests, which plead your cause before God, should speak such language as you may understand?" The resistance to the act for the uniformity of service, to which the people in some places were stimulated by high counsels and examples, was of itself an indication of the fears of the anti-reformers, that the habitual use of a common prayer book, so pure and simple, so earnest and elevated, so adapted to the universal wants and feelings of mankind, so touching and solemn in its offices, would establish the reformed worship upon a foundation which no storm of worldly policy could afterwards overthrow. The change in the habits of the people produced by this book of common prayer must indeed have been great.[o]

A singular law also was passed to enforce the observance of fast-days and of Lent, by the infliction of a fine of ten shillings and ten days' imprisonment upon fast-breakers, "Albeit," says the statute, "one day is not more holy than another, yet it is proper, to prevent this knowledge from turning into sensuality, to subdue men's bodies to their souls, and especially that fishers may the rather be set at work." This strange enactment was immediately followed by the emancipation of the English clergy from compulsory celibacy, which is prefaced by an admission, that "it would be much better for priests to live separate from the bond of marriage for their own estimation, and that they might attend solely to the ministration of the Gospel."

Although there were no Protestant nonconformists at this period, yet the last act of uniformity passed in this reign may be considered as the earliest instance of penal legislation pointed against mere dissenters. It commanded all persons to attend public worship under pain of ecclesiastical censure, and of six months' imprisonment for the first offence, twelve for the second, and for the third confinement for life. Notwithstanding the merciful repeal of the late treason laws, which lent a benignant aspect to the opening of the new reign, it was deemed necessary before its close to pass a riot act of great severity against tumultuous assemblies, and to punish those who should call the king heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper, for the first offence with forfeiture and imprisonment during pleasure, and for the third with the pains of high treason.

The war with Scotland, begun with little justice, and conducted with no humanity, began in this year. [It will be treated in its entirety a few pages farther on.]

EXECUTION OF SEYMOUR (1549 A.D.)

Among civil occurrences one took place in the second session of parliament during this reign which too evidently shows how thoroughly Somerset had been trained in the lawless and unnatural practices of the last king. Sir Thomas Seymour, now Lord Sudeley and admiral of England, was a brave soldier, a stately and magnificent courtier, more acceptable to the nobility than to the people; open, passionate, ambitious, with none of that reputation which belonged to his brother, the protector, as the founder of the English Reformation. He had paid court to Catherine Parr while she was Lady Latimer, and would have been successful if he had not been supplanted by Henry. Scarcely had that monarch breathed his last, when Seymour secretly espoused Catherine, said to have been induced to take this measure by a letter from Edward, which if real could only have been a promise of pardon. By this marriage he acquired some part of the great fortune which the fondness of Henry had suffered her to accumulate. The jealousy of power appears to have early existed between the two brothers; and the strife was embittered by a rivalry in rank which sprang up between their wives. Catherine retained her regal station as queen-dowager; while Anne Stanhope, the wife of Somerset, who is charged with intolerable pride and violence, could not brook the superiority allowed to her modest rival, but, as the spouse of the first person in the realm, claimed the rank of the first female. The death of Catherine followed her marriage so soon as to occasion rumours that it had not been left to nature. Lord Sudeley was then suspected of seeking the hand of the princess Elizabeth.*g*

SEYMOUR AND ELIZABETH

"It is objected, and laid unto your charge," say the council, in one of their articles exhibited against the lord-admiral, "that you have not only, before you married the queen, attempted and gone about to marry the king's majesty's sister, the lady Elizabeth, second inheritor in remainder to the crown, but also, being then let (hindered) by the lord-protector and others of the council, sithence that time, both in the life of the queen continued your old labour and love, and after her death, by secret and crafty means, practised to achieve the said purpose of marrying the said Lady Elizabeth, to the danger of the king's majesty's person, and peril of the state of the same."

The evidence contained in the Burleigh Papers,[h] if it does not completely sustain this charge, at least supplies a very interesting and remarkable chapter in the biography of the great Elizabeth.

It should appear that Seymour, whatever were his designs upon the princess, had in his interest, or, at any rate, as favourably disposed to him as he could desire, no less convenient a personage than her highness' governess, a Mrs. Catherine Ashley. Thomas Parry, the cofferer of the princess' household, relates a conversation he had with this lady, in which she admitted to him that even the duchess of Somerset had found great fault with her "for my lady Elizabeth's going in a night in a barge upon Thames, and for other light parts," and had told her, in consequence, that she was not worthy to have the governance of the king's daughter.

On the subject of the court paid by the admiral to the princess, "I do remember also," says Parry, "she told me that the admiral loved her but too well, and had so done a good while, and that the queen (Catherine Parr) was jealous on her and him, insomuch that one time the queen, suspecting the often access of the admiral to the lady Elizabeth's grace, came suddenly upon them when they were all alone, he having her in his arms, wherefore the queen fell out both with the lord-admiral and with her grace also. And hereupon the queen called Mrs. Ashley to her, and told her fancy in that matter; and of this was much displeasure." At this time, it appears, the princess was living with the queen-dowager; but, immediately after the above incident, she either removed of her own accord, or was sent away. But Mrs. Ashley may be allowed to speak for herself, at least in so far as her somewhat naïvely expressed details will bear to be quoted.

In her *Confession*, in which of course she confesses as little as possible against herself, she states that "at Chelsea, immediately after he was married to the queen, the admiral used frequently to come into the lady Elizabeth's chamber before she was ready, and sometimes before she was out of bed. If she were up, he would slap her familiarly on the back or on the hips. And one morning he strave to have kissed her in her bed."[1] At this last and some other instances of boldness Mrs. Ashley professes to have been duly shocked, and to have rebuked the admiral as he deserved. Other instances of the admiral's audacity are given, but these may serve as sufficient specimens. Mrs. Ashley admits she had reason to suppose that the queen was jealous of the familiarity betwixt her husband and the princess; and "she saith also, that Mr. Ashley, her husband, hath divers times given this examinate warning to take heed, for he did fear that the lady Elizabeth did bear some affection to my lord-admiral; she seemed to be well pleased therewith; and sometimes she would blush when he were spoken of."

Elizabeth also makes her *Confession* among the rest; but it relates merely to what had passed between her and Mrs. Ashley after the queen's death, on the subject of the lord-admiral's wish to marry her, and, as might be expected,

[1 On one occasion Catherine herself held Elizabeth while Seymour cut her gown into a hundred pieces. Miss Strickland[i] makes this striking suggestion: "It is just possible that the actual guilt incurred by the unhappy queen, Catherine Howard, in her girlhood did not amount to a greater degree of impropriety than the unseemly romping which took place almost every day at Chelsea between the youthful princess Elizabeth and the bold, bad husband of Catherine Parr." Manners were free in those days, and the same argument might be applied to give Anne Boleyn the benefit of the doubt. Otherwise it will be necessary to give Elizabeth the disadvantage of the doubt. M. A. S. Hume[j] says that while the *Confessions* of Ashley and Parry were bad enough, "they probably kept back far more than they told," in view of Elizabeth's great consideration of them ever after, Parry being knighted by her. Creighton[k] says that the narrow escape was a great lesson to Elizabeth in discretion.]

[1549 A.D.]

contains nothing to her own disadvantage. In a letter, however, which she wrote from Hatfield to the protector in January, 1549, while the proceedings against Seymour were in progress, she mentions a circumstance which we should not otherwise have known, namely, that rumours had got abroad that she was "in the Tower and with child by my lord-admiral." These imputations she declares to be "shameful slanders," [1] and requests that, to put them down, she may be allowed to come immediately to court. It appears, however, that all these examinations gave her no little disturbance and alarm, though, young as she was—only entering upon her sixteenth year—she bore herself, in the delicate and difficult position in which she was thereby placed, with a wonderful deal of the courage and politic management that she evinced on so many occasions in her after life.

The lord-admiral's renewal of his pretensions to the hand of Elizabeth after the death of his queen seems to have at once brought matters to another open quarrel between him and his brother. The marquis of Northampton, one of the persons whom he had sought to seduce to a participation in his designs, relates in his examination, or confession, that Seymour had told him "he was credibly informed that my lord-protector had said he would clap him in the Tower if he went to my lady Elizabeth." These threats, and the obstacle that presented itself to his schemes in the clause of the late king's will, which provided that, if either of the princesses should marry without the consent of the council, she should forfeit her right of succession, roused all the natural impetuosity and violence of his temper, and drove him again to intrigues and plots, and other measures of desperation. It is asserted that, seeing he could not otherwise achieve his object, he resolved to seize the king's person, and to carry him away to his castle of Holt, in Denbighshire, one of the properties he had acquired by the late royal grant; that for the furtherance of this and his ulterior designs, he had confederated with various noblemen and others; that he had so travailed in the matter as to have put himself in a condition to raise an army of ten thousand men out of his own tenantry and other immediate adherents, in addition to the forces of his friends; and that he had got ready money enough to pay and maintain the said ten thousand men for a month. He is also charged with having, in various ways, abused his authority and powers as lord-admiral, and of having actually taken part with pirates against the lawful trader. It appears, from the Burleigh Papers,[k] that the immediate occasion of proceedings being taken against Seymour was a confession made to the council by Sir William Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, who had been taken up and examined on a charge of clipping, coining base money, and other frauds. Sharington had been, in the first instance, defended by the admiral, who, it appears, was his debtor to a considerable amount; but he eventually admitted his guilt, and informed the council, in addition, that he had been in league with the admiral to supply him with money for the designs that have just been recounted. There can be no doubt that Sharington made this confession to save his own life; in point of fact, he was, after a short time, not only pardoned, but restored to his former appointment. But the admiral was instantly (January 19th, 1549) sent to the Tower.

Seymour had now no chance of escape. Abandoned by every friend on earth, he lay passive and helpless in his prison-house, while "many complaints," as Burnet [l] observes, "being usually brought against a sinking man," all who sought to make their own positions more secure, or to advance them-

[1 "But," says M. A. S. Hume, [i] "virtuous indignation, real or assumed, was one of her favourite weapons."]

selves in court favour, hastened to add their contribution to the charges or the evidence by which he was to be destroyed.[m]

The presence of his brother at the head of the lords is a circumstance which resembles, and, indeed, surpasses, the conduct of the judges of Anne Boleyn.[1] Seymour was at the time a prisoner in the Tower; he was not heard in his own defence; no witnesses were examined. The master of the rolls brought down a message from the throne, assuring the house that "it was not necessary for the admiral to appear before them; but, if they thought it essential, some lords should come to them to confirm their evidence." Even this was deemed superfluous. The impression of the message was such that the bill was passed without further delay. Three days after, the warrant for Seymour's execution was issued, with his brother's name heading the subscribers.[2] He was beheaded on Tower Hill, March 20th, 1549, solemnly repeating his disavowal of treasonable purposes against the king or kingdom.

POPULAR DISCONTENT AND INSURRECTIONS (1549 A.D.)

A change in the forms of public worship was sufficient of itself to offend the simple peasants of remote provinces, especially when religious solemnities were their chief occasions of intercourse, and the only festivals which diversified their lives. The substitution of a simple and grave worship for a ceremonial full of magnificence could be grateful only to the eyes of hearty piety. "The country people loved those shows, processions, and assemblies, as things of diversion," says Burnet,[l] against which the zeal of the reformers was peculiarly pointed. The most conspicuous, if not the most efficient, cause of the commotions which followed was the religious feelings to which we have adverted more than once.

It cannot be doubted, however, that other agents contributed to these and to most other disorders and revolts of the sixteenth century. The inclosure and appropriation of common fields, from the produce of which the poorer classes had derived part of their subsistence, was now hastened by the profits to be derived from wool, the raw material of the growing manufactures of the realm. A new impulse was, perhaps, too suddenly given to this economical revolution by the grantees of abbey lands, who were in general rich and intelligent. The people (the learned as well as the illiterate) were profoundly ignorant of the truth, that increase of produce must be finally beneficial to all classes. They were equally unacquainted with the effects of that influx of the precious metals from America which had enhanced in general the money price of commodities before it had caused a proportional rise in the wages of labour.

The depreciation of money in England, by the wretched debasements of the coin to which Henry had so often recurred, had powerfully, though secretly, disturbed every interest in the community. The wages of labourers were paid in debased coin, although it required a greater quantity of gold and silver in their unalloyed state to purchase the necessaries of life. All these, and many like agencies, were now at work, the nature of which, however,

[1 Gardiner[f] says that his chief crime was possibly his protesting against the rapacity with which church lands were divided among the rich. Elizabeth later said she had heard Somerset say that "if his brother had been suffered to speak with him, he had never suffered."]

[2 How striking a picture it affords of the sixteenth century, to behold the popular and well-natured duke of Somerset, more estimable at least than any other statesman employed under Edward, not only promoting this unjust condemnation of his brother, but signing the warrant under which he was beheaded!—HALLAM.[n]]

was as unknown to the people of that age as the laws which regulate the planetary system.

The protector, who courted the people, and to whom their discontent was at least painful, endeavoured to appease the prevalent dissatisfaction by issuing a proclamation against inclosures, which enjoined the landholders to break up their parks. In general they disregarded this illegal injunction. The peasantry accepted it as their warrant for the demolition of inclosures. Risings occurred in Wiltshire, Oxfordshire, and Gloucestershire, which were speedily quelled, but not without bloodshed. Disorders in Hampshire, Sussex, and Kent were more easily composed. But the rapid diffusion of these alarming revolts indicated the prevalence of a dangerous disaffection. Fears were entertained of a general insurrection of the commonalty.

In June of this year a formidable insurrection broke out in Cornwall, under a gentleman of ancient and noble lineage, Humphrey Arundel, governor of St. Michael's Mount. The insurgents amounted to ten thousand men. They were animated by tales of the prospect of the succession of the princess Mary. Their displeasure was first directed against inclosures; but a zealous clergyman found no difficulty in blending the Catholic cause with the injustice of the intrusive landholders. They demanded the restoration of the mass, of abbey lands, and of the law of the six articles, together with the recall of Cardinal Pole from exile. Lord Russell, who commanded the royal troops, found means to retard the advance of the rebels by negotiation, until he was reinforced, not only by an English levy, but by bodies of mercenary veterans from Germany and Italy.[1] Exeter held out against the insurgents. Russell raised the siege, pursuing the revolters to Launceston, where they were utterly routed. Severe military execution was inflicted. Arundel and the mayor of Bodmin, with some other leaders, were tried and executed in London. A Roman Catholic priest at Exeter was hanged from his own tower, in his sacerdotal vestments, and with the beads which he used in prayer hung from his girdle.

The flame thus extinguished in the west broke out with new violence in Norfolk. In that county the general disaffection assumed the form of a war against the gentry, who were loaded with charges of oppressing farmers and labourers. One Ket, a tanner, but also a considerable landholder, encamped on Mousehold Hill, near Norwich, with an army of twenty thousand men. He repulsed the marquis of Northampton in an assault on the city, in which Lord Sheffield was killed. The protector was obliged to recall troops from Scotland, serving under Dudley,[2] earl of Warwick, who would not have been intrusted with such an occasion of gaining reputation and followers, if Ket had not rendered extreme measures necessary. Warwick, on his arrival, forced his way into Norwich, and kept his ground there, till Ket, compelled by famine, abandoned his encampment, and with it the command of the city. Soon after he was defeated by Warwick. Two thousand insurgents perished in the action and pursuit. The remainder, hastily throwing up rude defences of wagons and stakes, refused a pardon, which they naturally distrusted. Warwick, however, at last persuaded them to surrender. He kept his word more faithfully than was usually the practice on such occasions. Ket was

[1 "It was the first time," says Gardiner,*f* "that foreign troops had been used to crush an English uprising."]

[2 He was a son of that Dudley whose name is linked with Empsom's in the evil memory of Henry VII's exactions, and who was put to death on Henry VIII's accession. This Dudley, or Warwick, is later known as Northumberland. His son was the famous Leicester of Elizabeth's reign.]

hanged in Norwich castle, his brother on Wymondham steeple, and nine others on "the branches of the oak of reformation," under which Ket was wont to sit on Mousehold Hill, with a sort of imitation of royalty, to administer justice. He had assumed the title of king of Norfolk and Suffolk. This year also the first commissions were issued for lord lieutenants of counties; a species of civil governors and military commanders of whom the late confusions occasioned the appointment.[g]

The Cornish and Devonshire insurrection, and that of Norfolk, form one of the most striking passages of English history of the sixteenth century. This simultaneous revolt was essentially different in its character from either of the great insurrections of the two previous centuries. The rebellion of Wat Tyler was a protest against the oppressions of the labourers, who belonged to a period when slavery retained many of its severities without its accompanying protection. The insurrection of Jack Cade was in its essential elements political. But the rebellion that came exactly a century after that of 1450 was a democratic or social movement, stimulated by, and mixed up with, hostility to the change of religion. The government was embarrassed by the complexity of the motives upon which these insurrections were founded.[i]

THE FALL OF SOMERSET (1549 A.D.)

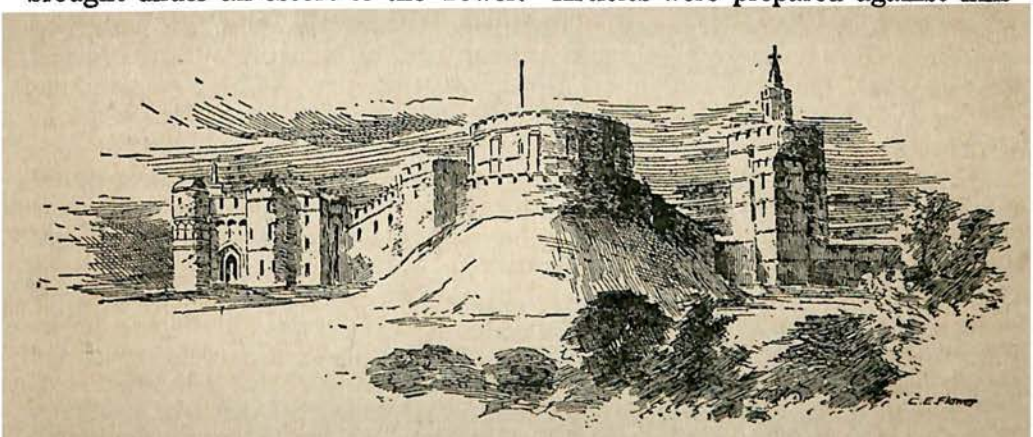
During this season of confusion the advocates of rigour loudly cried against the feebleness of Somerset, who dreaded unpopularity too much to be capable of executing justice. To this infirmity they imputed the repetition and prolongation of the late disturbances, which might have been quickly extinguished if the peasantry had not been tempted into them by an almost total impunity of the early rebels. He professed to think "it not safe to hold such a strict hand over the commons, and to press them down and keep them in slavery." But if he pursued the favour of the people, he soon found, when the hour of peril came, that their favour stood him in little stead. The Catholic priesthood, who detested him, still retained a mighty influence, especially over the distant provinces. He retained popularity enough to render him odious to the old nobility. The employment of foreign troops in quelling the insurrection had been unacceptable. His last usurpation of the protectorship dwelt in the minds of many besides his competitors.

He had begun the erection of Somerset House, his palace in the Strand, on a scale of invidious magnificence. Architects had been brought from Italy to construct it, and professors of the fine arts to adorn it. It was said to have been raised out of bishops' houses and churches, of which the surrender had been extorted from the owners by dread of his displeasure. Like many other candidates for the applause of the multitude, he was arrogant and negligent towards his equals. To every cry, to every insinuation against him, was added the formidable question, "What friendship could be expected from a man who had no pity on his own brother?"

A question, whether peace ought to be made with France and Scotland, produced differences of opinion in the council. Somerset disappointed his opponents by giving up his own better opinion for the sake of unanimity; but the dispute had served its most important purpose, by keeping out of view the motives and projects which aimed at the overthrow of the proud protector. Lord Southampton, the son of the late Catholic chancellor Wriothesley, had inherited his father's resentment against the Protestant Somerset.

Dudley, earl of Warwick, was the soul of the confederacy against him.[1] The latter was supposed to have really earned in the Scottish war the laurels which were borne away by his superior officer; and his success in quelling the insurrection contributed to strengthen the opinion of his military desert.

While the protector in his private correspondence was speaking with complacency of his success in quelling these movements, the plot for his own overthrow was ripe for execution. The discontented lords, gradually withdrawing from court, resorted with bodies of armed retainers to London. Sir William Paulet, the treasurer, by his policy (which probably consisted in the seasonable use of money) obtained for them the peaceable possession of the Tower. As soon as the protector learned this intelligence, he carried the king with him from Hampton Court to Windsor, where he began to strengthen the castle, writing circular letters to his friends, requiring them to repair thither with all their force. Sir Philip Hoby, who had been despatched to Windsor with the answer of the lords, urged their request so effectually, that in a few weeks the vast powers of Somerset were taken from him, and the next day he was brought under an escort to the Tower. Articles were prepared against him



WINDSOR CASTLE IN THE TIME OF EDWARD VI

which, from their extreme vagueness, cannot be considered as a judicial charge, but must be regarded either as a popular manifesto, or at best as the materials of an address for his removal from power. The great office of lord high admiral was conferred on his formidable and mortal enemy, the earl of Warwick. After many examinations, he was enlarged, on payment of a fine amounting to a yearly sum of two thousand pounds, charged upon his estates, and his whole personal goods, besides the forfeiture of all his offices. These transactions were afterwards confirmed by act of parliament. So far the circumstances attending this great nobleman's fall from power do not exceed the usual accompaniments of a violent change of administration in the sixteenth century.

Warwick, who was by no very slow degrees attracting to himself all the powers of government, hastened to assure the nation that the Protestant interest would suffer nothing by the protector's removal. His measures were, however, rather the result of Warwick's position than of his inclination. He declared at his death that he himself had always been a Catholic; and the most

[1 "Henry VIII had appointed Dudley admiral for life, which dignity Somerset had taken from him and given to his brother Seymour. Dudley, however, was elevated to the rank of earl of Warwick, and received as an indemnity considerable estates and revenues."—VON RAUMER. P]

zealous Protestants bewailed the fall of Somerset as dangerous to their cause. Now the undisputed chief of the government, he allowed Somerset to resume his seat in council, and Lord Lisle, his eldest son, was married soon after to the other's daughter. But under a fair surface of friendship the sores of fear and anger still rankled. Somerset could not persuade himself that he could be safe without power.

Warwick apprehended continual schemes on the part of his rival to recover the protectorship. Somerset assembled armed retainers in circumstances where it was very difficult to separate defence from offence. Soon, therefore, his wife and himself, with many of their friends, were committed to the Tower. The duke was brought to trial before the high steward and lords triers for high treason, in conspiring to seize the king, and for felony under the riot act of the preceding session, in assembling to imprison Warwick, a privy counsellor, who had since been raised to the dignity of duke of Northumberland. The lords unanimously acquitted him of the treason. They convicted him, however, of the felony; a verdict of which the strict legality may be questioned.

It is probably true that Somerset meditated a revolution as violent as that by which he had been deposed. His principal anxiety was to vindicate himself from the charge of plotting the death of Northumberland and his colleagues. "On the 22nd of January, 1552," says the diary of his royal nephew, "he had his head cut off upon Tower Hill, between eight and nine o'clock in the morning."[g]

Like many other unfortunate persons in history, the duke of Somerset was unequal to the situation in which his destiny placed him; his talents were ill matched with his ambition, and he thus fell into errors and even stained himself with a brother's blood. In more tranquil times his mild and humane disposition and his religious feelings might have caused him to pass a life of peace and happiness. Somerset stands almost alone in these times as a nobleman really caring for the rights and interests of the inferior classes of the people.

Four of Somerset's friends were executed. The earl of Arundel and Lord Paget were never brought to trial, but they were obliged to make submissions and confessions, resign their offices and pay fines.[q]

WAR WITH SCOTLAND (1547 A.D.)

At the period of Henry's death England was at peace. The pacification of 1546 with France included Scotland; and it was a leading object of Henry's policy, which he held to in his dying hour, that the union of England and Scotland should be cemented by the marriage of his son with the child Mary, the Scottish queen. The attempt to force this marriage upon Scotland had aroused the old national spirit of independence in her nobility; and the proposal of Somerset that the former treaty for this marriage should be renewed and ratified was coldly listened to. Within a month after the accession of Edward the council book shows that a state of active hostility was approaching. On February 27th, 1547, Sir Andrew Dudley is appointed to the command of the ship *Pauncy*, to cruise in the North Seas, off the English and Scottish coasts. In less than a fortnight Dudley had captured the Scottish vessel *Lion*. At this juncture an event occurred which materially affected the relations of England with France and Scotland. Francis I died on the 31st of March, at Rambouillet. Twenty days before the death of Francis a treaty had been concluded between France and England. This the new king of France refused

to ratify. He preferred to cultivate an alliance with the Scots. The duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine were the brothers of the queen-dowager of Scotland, and they were amongst the chief advisers of the French king.

To stay the progress of the reformed opinions in Scotland, and to prevent the marriage of the young Mary with Edward, were sufficient motives to a decided change of policy. The castle of St. Andrews, after the murder of Cardinal Beaton, in 1546, had been held against the regent Arran, by those who were favourable to the English alliance. A truce between the regent and the possessors was concluded in February, 1547; and they subsequently proceeded to make a treaty with Somerset, in which they engaged to forward the projected marriage, and to aid any English force that should enter Scotland for the purpose of obtaining possession of the queen's person. The French government, in the summer of 1547, sent a fleet to assist in the reduction of the castle. It was finally surrendered on the 29th of July, and was afterwards demolished. On the 2nd of September the protector crossed the border at Berwick with a powerful invading army.

It would be injustice to the policy of Somerset to assume that he entered upon the war with Scotland in the arrogant spirit with which Henry VIII had conducted his negotiations and his assaults. There was a treaty under the great seal of Scotland for the marriage of Edward with Mary; but the determination to demand its fulfilment was conducted in a tone of moderation, in the first instance, which shows that the empire of force was gradually yielding to the empire of opinion. The protector addressed a remarkable letter "to the nobility and counsellors, gentlemen and commons and all other the inhabitants of the realm of Scotland," in which, with "greeting and peace," he sets forth the desire of England to establish the amity of the two countries by the union of the crowns.

In this document we recognise the expression of the sagacious statesman rather than that of the ambitious intriguer—of one who saw what was inevitable, but who did not sufficiently estimate the force of national pride and individual interest in retarding a great good. What the statesmen of Queen Anne had the utmost difficulty in accomplishing, the minister of King Edward vainly expected to realise by appeals to great principles which were imperfectly understood even two centuries later. Somerset said to the people of Scotland, that living in one island, speaking the same language, alike in manners and conditions, it was "unmeet, unnatural, and unchristian, that there should be betwixt us so mortal war, who, in respect of all other nations, be and should be like as two brethren." He proposed a solid union by the marriage of King Edward and Queen Mary—the circumstances being so favourable that the Divine Providence manifestly pointed out the road to amity.

In this union of two kingdoms, England was ready "to take the indifferent old name of Britain again, because nothing should be left on our part to be offered. We seek not to take from you your laws nor customs, but we seek to redress your oppressions, which of divers ye do sustain." If eloquent writing could have been more effectual than sturdy blows, such an appeal as this might have prevented the battle of Pinkie: "If we two, being made one by amity, be most able to defend us against all nations, and having the sea for wall, the mutual love for garrison, and God for defence, should make so noble and well-agreeing monarchy, that neither in peace we may be ashamed, nor in war afraid of any worldly or foreign power, why should not you be as desirous of the same, and have as much cause to rejoice at it as we?"[1] But

[1] This letter is given at length in Holinshed r.

the words of peace were not hearkened to. The influence of France prevailed. The priests stirred up the Scottish people to resist the English heretics. Knox was a prisoner in France; and the friends of the Reformation were scattered and proscribed.

The Battle of Pinkie

Somerset advanced from Berwick along the shore, whilst a fleet under Lord Clinton kept the sea within view of the coast; and as the army marched by Dunbar the ships were seen sailing into the Firth of Forth. Turning westward the cavalry forded the river Lynn, and the infantry crossed at Linton Bridge. Bands of Scottish horsemen now began to appear; and the earl of Warwick was nearly taken prisoner in a rash advance. On the 8th the English were encamped near Prestonpans; and the fleet was at anchor near Musselburgh. The Scottish army was within a distance of little more than two miles, the ridge of Falside being between the two hosts. On the 9th, after a sharp skirmish, Somerset and Warwick reconnoitred the Scots from this hill. They occupied a strong position, with the sea on their left flank, and a deep marsh on their right. The river Esk protected their front; and the bridge crossing the Esk was held and strongly defended.

On the morning of the 10th of September, 1547, when the English army began to move, it was discovered that the Scots had abandoned their strong position, and had crossed the river. They had taken up an opinion that the English were about to retreat to their ships, and would escape unless attacked in their camp. This belief was fatal to them. Although the Scots fought with the most determined valour, and successfully resisted a furious charge of the English cavalry, their rash movement had placed a portion of their force within the ability of the English "to compass them," says one present in the battle, "in that they should no ways escape us; the which by our force and number we were as well able to do as a spinner's web to catch a swarm of bees." The fight had been very doubtful until this superiority was gained in one portion of the field. A general panic then ensued, and the Scottish army fled before their slaughtering pursuers. We shall not follow Patten,[8] the "Londoner," in his narrative of the horrible traces of this slaughter, by the sands of Leith, by the high road and King's Park to Edinburgh, and through the marsh to Dalkeith. The pursuit was not ended till nightfall, when the victors returned to plunder the Scottish camp.

This great victory—the last field, most happily, in which England and Scotland were engaged in a quarrel that could be called national—was without any benefit beyond the unsubstantial glory of the victors. Ten thousand Scots perished, and fifteen hundred were taken prisoners, without any serious loss on the part of the English. Leith was set on fire. Several castles were taken. But in three weeks after the battle of Pinkie, Somerset recrossed the Tweed, and entered London on the 8th of October, declining, however, any triumphant reception. The young king congratulated his uncle in a short and sensible letter written on the 18th of September, and the successful general received additional grants of landed estates. Some have ascribed the sudden return of Somerset to the necessity of resisting intrigues that were proceeding against him in the English council. It is probable that he trusted more to the gradual effects of his victory upon the minds of the Scottish nation than to any immediate attempts to control the course of its government.

But the spirit of resistance to the English heretics was excited rather than allayed by the disaster of the black Saturday, as the day of Pinkie was

long called. The desired amity was still far distant. There was a young man in the battle whose influence upon the politics of Scotland was ultimately more powerful than the prowess of the protector, of whom he was a confidential servant. In that field the future great minister of Elizabeth "was like to have been slain; but was miraculously saved by one that, putting forth his arm to thrust Mr. Cecil out of the level of the cannon, had his arm stricken off."

After Somerset had gained the battle of Pinkie, in the autumn of 1547, he returned, as we have seen, suddenly to London, leaving to others to reap the harvest of his victory, if any were to be reaped.[1] The results of that great scattering of the Scottish power were not favourable to the English influence. The nobility of Scotland resolved to apply for assistance to France, and at the instigation of the queen-dowager the young queen Mary was offered in marriage to the dauphin of France. In 1548 Haddington was taken by the English under Lord Grey of Wilton, and several other minor successes were accomplished. But in June a large force, partly French and partly German, arrived at Leith, and an army of Scots, with these auxiliaries, marched to recover Haddington. A parliament, or convention, that was hastily assembled ratified the treaty for the marriage; and the child-queen was received at Dunbarton on board a French vessel which had entered the Clyde and then sailed to France. In August Mary was solemnly contracted to the dauphin. The war was continued with various success; but on the whole was unfavourable to the English. Haddington was relieved, after the garrison had endured the greatest suffering by famine. The English fleet was repulsed by the peasantry in several attacks upon the Scottish coast. At the time of the insurrections of 1549 the government of Somerset was preparing to carry on the contest with renewed vigour. The French auxiliaries who remained in Scotland had become distasteful to the people, and the king of France was more intent upon recovering Boulogne than aiding his Scotch allies. The war with Scotland was, however, too burdensome to be vigorously pursued by England; the Scots recovered many of their strong places; and even Haddington was evacuated on the 1st of October, 1549, the year of England's domestic troubles.

The ill-success of the English policy in Scotland, and the defenceless state of Boulogne, in 1549, were amongst the evils that were attributed to the rule of Somerset. His successors in power wisely concluded a peace with France, though under humiliating conditions. By the treaty of March, 1550, it was agreed that Boulogne should be restored to France upon the payment of one-fifth of the sum which Francis I had agreed to pay on the expiration of eight years. The demand arising out of the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary of Scotland was abandoned. The pension which Henry VIII had accepted for the surrender of his claim to the crown of France was virtually set aside. This ridiculous pretension entered no longer into the diplomacy or the wars of the English government, though an empty title continued, for two centuries and a half longer, to be a practical satire upon a claim which the nation had long repudiated with other absurdities of the days of feudality. By this treaty the pretensions of England as regarded Scotland and France, and of France and Scotland as regarded England, were suspended. The reservation was a practical abandonment of causes of hostility which the growth of a higher power than the personal ambition of kings would speedily override.

[1 Recent dissensions in England checked Somerset's efforts against Scottish independence.]

NORTHUMBERLAND IN POWER (1549 A.D.)

The duke of Northumberland, though invested with no special power as that of protector or governor of the king, was now the directing authority of the realm. He had removed his great rival. He had summoned a parliament from which he expected the accustomed subserviency. The lords passed a more stringent law of treason than that of Edward III. The commons modified many of its clauses, and, from a feeling that trials for treason had been conducted with the most flagrant injustice, it was enacted that no person should be arraigned or convicted of treasonable offences except by the testimony of two witnesses, to be produced at the time of his arraignment. This law, like many others which interfered with the powers of the crown, was often disregarded in evil times, when, as in more barbarous periods, to be accused of treason, and to be condemned to its fearful penalties, were almost convertible terms. But the law of Edward VI shows that a spirit of justice was growing up in the minds of the representatives of the people. The parliament of 1552 was, in other respects, not a mere register of the decrees of the executive, and it was speedily dissolved.

Meanwhile, Northumberland had obtained the most lavish grants of estates from the crown, and was proceeding in a career of high-handed despotism. Commissions were issued for the seizure of all the remaining plate and ornaments of the churches, with the exception of such chalices as were necessary for the administration of the sacrament. A new parliament was called in 1553, and especial care was taken that the sheriffs should attend, in their returns, to the nominations of the crown and the recommendations of the privy counsellors.[o]

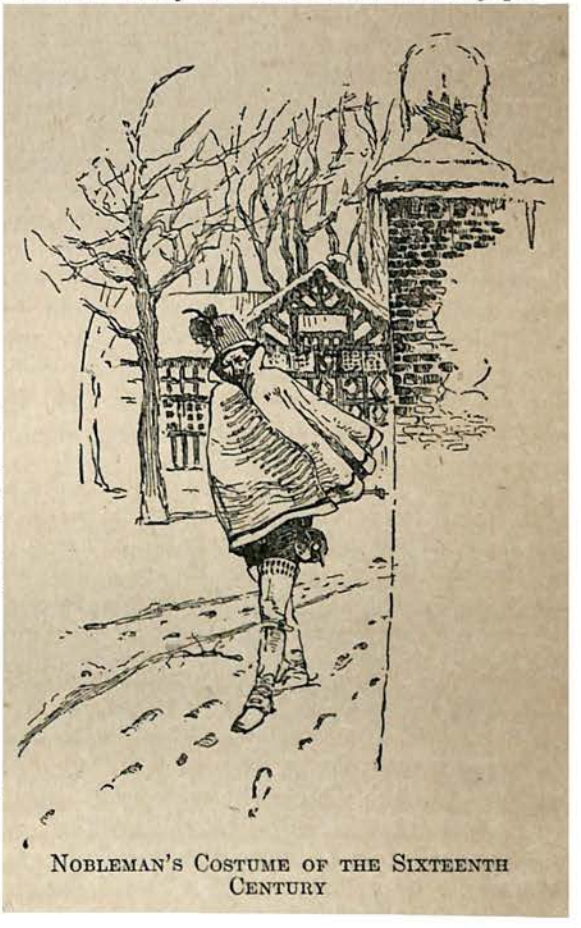
The policy adopted in the reign of Edward respecting dissent from the established church deserves some consideration. The toleration of heresy was deemed by men of all persuasions to be as unreasonable as it would now be thought to propose the impunity of murder. The open exercise of any worship except that established by law was considered as a mutinous disregard of authority, in which perseverance was accounted culpable contumacy.

Gardiner, a man of extraordinary abilities, learning, and resolution, had been a pliant tool in Henry's negotiations for divorce. Many were the attempts made to compel him to conform to the new system. Imprisonment, with unwarrantable aggravations, was chiefly trusted for subduing his haughty spirit. But he defended himself with courage and address.

It was thought fit to make the first experiment on a meaner subject—Bonner, bishop of London, a canonist of note, believed to be of a fierce temper and prone to cruelty; a belief well justified by his subsequent deeds. A commission issued for the examination of the complaints against this prelate. He deported himself insolently, manifesting that he was one of those inferior spirits who need coarseness to whet the edge of their courage. He complained that he was not deprived by a tribunal proceeding according to the canon law. It was answered with great force, as far as related to Bonner, that he had waived such objections when he consented to receive his bishopric from the king by letters patent. Sentence of deprivation was pronounced against him, and, on the bad ground of his indecorum at the trial, he was sent to the Marshalsea, where he continued a prisoner till the king's death. Gardiner was next brought to trial. He made so many concessions that in what remained he seems to have rather consulted pride than conscience. He, too, suffered a rigorous imprisonment.

MARY AND ELIZABETH

The treatment of the princess Mary was still more odious, if considered as the conduct of a brother towards a sister, or if tried by the standard of religious liberty in modern times. But the first would be a false point of view, and the second too severe a test. Somerset and Northumberland, who were the successive masters of the king and kingdom, saw the immense advantage that would accrue to the Protestant cause from the conversion of the presumptive heir to the throne. The feeble infancy of Edward was its only protection against a princess already suspected of bigotry, and who had grievous wrongs to revenge. Her conversion was therefore a high object of policy. Justice requires this circumstance to be borne in mind in a case where every generous feeling rises up in arms against the mere politician, prompting us warmly to applaud the steady resistance of the wronged princess.



NOBLEMAN'S COSTUME OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

There is no known instance in family history in which a brother and two sisters appear to have been doomed to be each other's enemies by a destiny inseparable from their birth, so extraordinary as that of Edward and the two princesses, Mary and Elizabeth. The legitimacy of Mary necessarily rendered Elizabeth illegitimate. The innocence of Anne Boleyn threw a slur over the nuptials of which Edward was the sole offspring. One statute had declared Mary to be illegitimate, for the sake of settling the crown on Elizabeth. The latter princess was condemned to the same brand, to open the door for the nuptials with Edward's mother. Both were afterwards illegitimatised, as it might seem, to exalt the lawful superiority of their brother Edward. At the accession of the latter, Mary was in the thirty-second year of her age, Elizabeth in her fourteenth, and Edward in his ninth. Mary was of an age to remember with bitterness the wrongs done to her innocent mother. Her few, though faithful, followers were adherents of the ancient religion; to which honour and affection, as well as their instruction and example, bound her. On the other hand, the friends, teachers, and companions of the king were, in many instances, bound to the Reformation by conscience. Many others had built their character and their greatness upon its establishment. The pretensions of young Elizabeth were somewhat more remote; but the

daughter of Anne Boleyn was still dear to those zealous Protestants who considered her (whether inviolably faithful to Henry or not) as having died for her favour to the Protestant cause. The guardians of the young king deserve commendation for the decorum which they caused him to observe towards both his sisters, though he did not conceal his affection for Elizabeth, whom he used fondly to call "sweet sister Temperance." His mild temper and gentle nature made the task of his guardians an easy one. Neither of the sisters was likely to give equal help to those who laboured to keep peace between them.

When the parliament had directed the discontinuance of the mass, commanding the liturgy to be used instead, the emperor's ambassador had interposed to procure exemption by letters patent for the lady Mary from this rigorous prohibition. She probably experienced some connivance, though a formal license was refused. But in the autumn following, intelligence was received of designs formed by the English exiles to carry her to the Netherlands; in consequence of which she was desired to repair to her brother's court. She declined coming nearer to London than Hunsdon, reasonably enough disliking the close observation and malicious scrutiny of her enemies. Dr. Mallet, her principal chaplain, was committed to the Tower for solemnising mass at her residence, but when she was absent, and before some who were not members of her household.

The most ungracious act of the government was to employ the tongue and pen of her brother in attacks on her religious opinions. On one occasion she had an interview with the council in presence of Edward. She was told that "the king had long suffered her mass, in hope of her reconciliation, and there being now no hope, which he perceived by her letters, except he saw some speedy amendment he could not bear it." She answered well, that "her soul was God's, and her faith she would not change nor dissemble." Soon after, twenty-four privy counsellors, who had assembled at Richmond to consider the case, determined that it was not meet to suffer the practices of the lady Mary any longer. There was a disposition in the administration to spare Mary, though they could not avowedly dispense with the laws.

RELIGIOUS PERSECUTIONS

But, on the whole, the reign of Edward was the most pure from religious persecution of any administration of the same length, in any great country of Europe, since Christendom had been divided between Catholics and Protestants. "Edward," says a Catholic writer, Dodd,[t] "did not shed blood on that account. No sanguinary, but only penal, laws were executed on those who stood off." In the present case the suspension of arms may be attributed to the humane temper of Cranmer in a great measure. It is praise enough for young Edward, that his gentleness, as well as his docility, disposed him not to shed blood. The fact, however, that the blood of no Roman Catholic was spilled on account of religion, in Edward's reign, is indisputable.

The most remarkable instances of these deviations from humanity were those of fugitives from the Netherlands, who held many unpopular and odious opinions. Before the time of Luther there had been small sects in the Low Countries who had combined a denial of the divinity of Christ with a disbelief in the validity of infant baptism, and joined the rejection of oaths with the tenet of non-resistance adopted afterwards by the Quakers; proceeding,

however, farther than that respectable persuasion, by denying the lawfulness of magistracy, obedience to human laws, and the institution of property.

The Reformation gave them a shock which roused them from lethargy. They were involved in the same sufferings with the Lutherans and Calvinists. Many of them took refuge in England, where a small number of the natives imbibed some portion of their doctrines.

Some years before, commissions were issued to Cranmer "to inquire into heretical pravity," being nearly the same words by which the power of the court of inquisition is described. Champneys, a priest at Stratford-le-Bow, confessed and recanted. Ashton, a priest, who maintained that "Christ was not God, but brought men to the knowledge of God," escaped in the same manner. Thumb, a butcher, and Putton, a tanner, went through the like process. These feeble heresies seem indeed to have prevailed almost solely among the inferior class.

Joan Becher, commonly called "Joan of Kent," a zealous Protestant, who had privately imported Lutheran books for the ladies of the court in Henry's reign, had now adopted a doctrine, or a set of words, which brought her to be tried before the commissioners. As her assertions are utterly unintelligible, the only mode of fully displaying the unspeakable injustice of her sentence is to quote the very words in which she vainly struggled to convey a meaning: "she denied that Christ was truly incarnate of the Virgin, whose flesh being sinful he could take none of it, but the word, by the consent of the inward man in the Virgin, took flesh of her." Her execution was delayed for a year by the compassionate scruples of Edward.

His conscientious hesitation was borne down by the authority and importunity of Cranmer, though the reasons of that prelate rather silenced than satisfied the boy, who, as he set his hand to the warrant, said, with tears in his eyes, to the archbishop, "If I do wrong, since it was in submission to your authority, you must answer for it to God."[1] Van Parris, also an eminent surgeon in London, of Dutch extraction, having refused to purchase life by recanting his heresy, which consisted in denying the divine nature of Christ, was condemned to the flames.

Opinions subversive of human society having been avowed by a sect in Lower Germany called "Anabaptists," a strong prejudice against that sect, whose distinguishing tenet, however, is perfectly consistent with social order, had a part in these lamentable executions.

THE FORTY-TWO ARTICLES

Of the forty-two articles promulgated in this reign, the principal propositions omitted under Elizabeth were condemnation of those who asserted that the resurrection was already past, or that souls sleep from death to the last judgment, as well as of those who maintain the final salvation of all men, or the reign of the Messiah for a thousand years; which last opinion the forty-first article styles "The fable of the millenaries, a Jewish dotage." The

[1 It was not that his humanity revolted from the idea of burning her at the stake; in his estimation she deserved the severest punishment which the law could inflict. But the object of his compassion was the future condition of her soul in another world. He argued that, as long as she remained in error, she remained in sin, and that to deprive her of life in that state was to consign her soul to everlasting torments. Cranmer was compelled to moot the point with the young theologian; the objection was solved by the example of Moses, who had condemned blasphemers to be stoned; and the king with tears put his signature to the warrant.e]

doctrine of the presence of Christ in the communion was expressed in terms more unfavourable to the church of Rome than those chosen by Elizabeth's divines.

In consequence of the changes introduced by the Reformation, it became necessary to reform the ecclesiastical laws. The canon law, consisting of constitutions of popes, decrees of councils, and records of usages (many of which have been long universally acknowledged to have been frauds), was the received code of the courts termed spiritual, in every country of Europe. The appeals allowed by every country to Rome had preserved a consistency of decision and unity of legislation. But the whole system of canon law was so interwoven with papal authority, and so favourable to the most extravagant pretensions of the Roman see, as to have become incapable of execution in a Protestant country.

An act had been accordingly passed, providing that "the king should have full power to nominate sixteen ecclesiastics, of whom four were to be bishops, and sixteen laymen, including four lawyers, to order and compile such laws ecclesiastical as should be thought convenient." A work was accordingly composed for this purpose by Cranmer, and translated into Latin with a happy imitation of the clear method and elegant brevity of the Roman jurists by Sir John Cheke and Dr. Haddon, two of the restorers of classical literature in England. This work was not prepared for the royal confirmation before the close of Edward's reign. The greater part being strictly theological, or relating to the order of proceedings in courts, is beyond our present province.

The duke of Northumberland ruled the kingdom with absolute authority, by means of the privy council, with the title of "admiral and earl marshal"; but the health of Edward was beginning to occasion serious apprehensions. His constitution, originally weak and puny, had been so much injured by measles and small-pox, that he was visited by a disorder in the lungs.

A parliament was assembled in 1553, after preparations which indicate the importance to which the house of commons had arisen. A circular letter was sent to the sheriffs, commanding them "to give notice to the freeholders, citizens, and burgesses, within their county, to nominate men of knowledge and experience," and "declaring it to be the king's pleasure, that whenever the privy council should recommend men of learning and wisdom, their directions be followed." Fifteen knights were accordingly recommended, by name, to the sheriffs of Huntingdon, Suffolk, Bedford, Surrey, Cambridge, Buckingham, Oxford, and Northampton. "These," says Strype,[u] "were such as belonged to the court, and were in places of trust about the king." Such recommendations from the crown were continued occasionally for more than a century longer; but it must be owned that the exercise of influence at this time was neither immoderate nor clandestine.

NORTHUMBERLAND ALTERS THE SUCCESSION

After the prorogation of parliament, Edward had been carried to Greenwich for his health. He returned in a somewhat improved state, and a gleam of hope seems to have cheered the public; but Northumberland did not relax his measures for aggrandising his own family, and for securing a Protestant successor. If Henry VII is to be considered as the stock of the new dynasty, it is clear that on mere principles of hereditary right the crown would descend, first, to the issue of Henry VIII; secondly, to those of Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots; thirdly, to those of Mary Tudor, queen of France. The title of

[1553 A.D.]

Edward was on all principles equally undisputed; but Mary and Elizabeth might be considered as having been excluded by the sentences of nullity, pronounced in the cases of Catherine and Anne Boleyn, both which had been confirmed in parliament. The parties had been expressly pronounced to be illegitimate. Their hereditary right seemed thus to be taken away, and their pretensions rested solely on the conditional settlement of the crown on them, made by their father's will, in pursuance of authority granted by act of parliament.

After Elizabeth, Henry had placed the descendants of Mary, queen of France, on the throne, passing by the progeny of his elder sister, Margaret. Mary of France, by her second marriage with Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, had two daughters, the lady Frances, who had wedded Henry Grey, marquis of Dorset, created duke of Suffolk; and the lady Elinor, who had espoused Henry Clifford, earl of Cumberland. Henry afterwards settled the crown by his will on the heirs of these two ladies successively, passing over his nieces themselves in silence. Northumberland obtained the hand of the lady Jane Grey, the eldest daughter of Grey, duke of Suffolk, by Lady Frances Brandon, for the lord Guildford Dudley, his son. The fatal right of succession claimed by the house of Suffolk devolved, therefore, on the excellent and unfortunate Jane Grey.

It was easy to practise on the religious sensibility of young Edward, whose heart was now softened by the progress of infirmity and the approach of death. It was scarcely necessary for Northumberland to remind him that it was his duty not to confine his exertions for the interests of religion to the short and uncertain period of his own life; that he was bound to provide for the security of the Protestant cause after he himself should be no more. The zeal and rigour of Mary were well known, and their tremendous consequences could be prevented only by her exclusion. The princess Elizabeth, who had only a secondary claim, dependent on the death of her elder sister, had been declared illegitimate by parliament, and the will under which she must claim would be in effect deprived of all authority by the necessary exclusion of Mary.

Mary, queen of Scots, the granddaughter of Margaret Tudor, had been educated a Catholic, and had espoused the dauphin of France. She was almost necessarily, therefore, the irreconcilable enemy of the pure and reformed church, which Edward had been the providential instrument of establishing in England. If the will of Henry was valid, why should not Edward, in whose hands the royal prerogatives were as full and entire as in those of his father, supersede by a new will the arrangements of the former, and settle the crown in such a manner that it might continue to be the bulwark of the Protestant faith? Only to the house of Suffolk was it possible to look for the maintenance of the Reformation. Northumberland also could not fail to remind the young king of the excellent qualities of his playmate and companion, the lady Jane. By these and the like reasons of policy, or topics of persuasion, was Edward induced to make a new testamentary disposal of the crown.

Upon this determination of the king's, Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, and two judges of that court were commanded to attend him at Greenwich, and there ordered to draw up a settlement of the crown upon the lady Jane, the heiress of the house of Suffolk. The judges desired time to consider this alarming proposal. A few days after they were brought before the privy council, from which Northumberland was absent. They represented the danger of incurring the pains of treason, to which they, and indeed all the lords, would be liable by an attempt to set aside a settlement made

under the authority of parliament. Northumberland rushed into the council, trembling with anger, and in a tone of fury, among other tokens of rage, called Montague a traitor, offering to fight in his shirt any man in the cause. Two days after they were once more summoned to attend the council, where the king, "with sharp words and an angry countenance," reproved them for their contumacy. Montague represented that the instrument, if made, would be without effect, because the succession could not be altered without the authority of parliament which had established it. To which the king answered, "We mind to have a parliament shortly; we will do it, and afterwards ratify it by parliament." The judges yielded after this promise.

Fifteen lords of the council, with nine judges, and other civil officers, subscribed to a paper, promising to maintain the limitation of the succession as contained in the royal notes, which were delivered to the judges to clothe them with legal formality. Cranmer's name was at the head of the first; though, as he afterwards protested, against his will, and without his having been allowed to communicate with the king in private.

The most inexplicable circumstance in this transaction is, that, after so much care to influence the elections, an assembly of the commons should not have been called to perform the task of excluding a popish successor. During the session of parliament, however, the danger of the king was not thought so urgent as to require immediate precautions. There was for a time an apparent improvement in his health; but the sudden disappearance of favourable symptoms compelled Northumberland to recur to measures of an illegal and violent description, which he might still hope that Edward would live long enough to legalise in parliament. Writs for a convocation of that assembly were issued about the time of the conferences with the judges.

DEATH OF EDWARD VI

The death-bed devotions of Edward bear testimony to his love of his people, and to his fervid zeal against what he conscientiously believed to be corruptions of true religion. "O Lord! save thy chosen people of England. Defend this realm from papistry, and maintain thy true religion," was the prayer which he uttered. He now sank rapidly. On the day before his demise the council made an attempt to lure the princess Mary into their hands, by desiring her, in the name of her brother, to repair to London. After she had made some progress in her journey, she received from Lord Arundel private warning at Hunsdon, which induced her to shun the snare and betake herself to her residence in Norfolk. Had Northumberland acted with more rapidity, he might have secured Mary and Elizabeth, by obtaining a few days sooner the king's commands that they should come to attend the sick-bed of a brother. On his procrastination the events that followed hinged. Perhaps, however, he thought that Mary would be more dangerous as a prisoner in England than as an exile at Brussels; and he may have connived at her journey towards the coast, that she might be driven to that unpopular asylum.

Shortly after, on July 6th, 1553, this amiable and promising boy breathed his last in his palace at Greenwich.[g] He had lived fifteen years, eight months and twenty-two days, and entered upon the sixth month of the seventh year of his reign. There was suspicion that he died of poison, and Froude[v] quotes contemporary statements that his hair and nails fell off. None the less, he thinks that Northumberland could have gained nothing by his death, and

[1553 A.D.]

that the unknown woman given to him as a nurse had probably given him mineral drugs in trying to cure his consumption, and had thus actually poisoned him, but without malice.[a]

His position in English history, between a tyrant and a bigot, adds somewhat to the grace of his innocent and attractive character, which borrows also an additional charm, from the mild lustre which surrounds the name of Lady Jane Grey, the companion of his infancy, and the object of his dying choice as his successor on the throne.[g]

Freeman sums up the reign as follows: "Besides ecclesiastical reform, this reign was beyond all other times the time of ecclesiastical spoliation. It was even more distinctly so than the reign of Henry. The suppression of the monasteries, the destruction of the shrines, were at least acts of policy. But in Edward's reign the possessions of the church were simply thrown to be scrambled for by the courtiers. The one act in which the public good was at all thought of came from the king himself. Edward, of his own act, applied a part of the revenues of the suppressed colleges and chantries to the foundation of that great system of grammar schools which still bear his name."[x]

THE TEN DAYS' REIGN OF QUEEN JANE

The lady Jane Grey was now but sixteen years of age; her person was pleasing, her disposition amiable and gentle, and her talents of a superior order. Of the extent of her acquirements and the serious turn of her mind we have a proof in the following anecdote, related by the learned Roger Ascham. Going one day to Bradgate, the residence of her family, he learned that the other members of it were hunting in the park, but he found the lady Jane at home deeply engaged in the perusal of Plato's *Phædo* in the original Greek. When he expressed his surprise at her thus foregoing the pleasures of the park, she replied with a smile, "I fancy all their sport is but a shadow to the pleasure that I find in Plato. Alas! good folks, they never felt what true pleasure means." Besides the classic languages, she is said to have been acquainted with French and Italian, and even to have acquired some smattering of the oriental languages.

Her usual residence since her marriage had been at Sion House; but she had lately removed to Chelsea. An order of the council to return to her former abode, and there to await the commands of the king, was now conveyed to her by her husband's sister, Lady Sidney. Next morning she was visited by Northumberland, Northampton, Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. They addressed her in terms of unwonted respect; her mother, her mother-in-law, and the marchioness of Northampton then entered, and the duke informed her of the death of her royal cousin, and his devise in her favour, in order to preserve the realm from papistry. The lords then fell on their knees and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in her right. At this unexpected intelligence Jane burst into a flood of tears and fell senseless on the ground. When she recovered, she bewailed her cousin's death, and expressed her sense of her unfitness to supply his place, but added, looking up to heaven, "If the right be truly mine, O gracious God, give me strength, I pray most earnestly, so to rule as to promote thy honour and my country's good."

A barge was prepared next day, and Jane was conveyed to the Tower, the usual residence of the kings previous to their coronation. As she entered it her train was borne by her own mother; her husband walked at her side, his cap in his hand; all the nobles bent the knee as she passed. Her succession

was now proclaimed; but the people, whose notions of hereditary right were strong, and who hated Northumberland, listened with apathy. A vintner's boy who ventured to express his dissent was set in the pillory and lost his ears for his offence. Many of the reformed clergy preached in favour of the present change in the succession. Bishop Ridley exerted his eloquence in the same cause at Paul's Cross, but with little effect. For this he has been blamed, and it may be with reason; but he had had recent experience of Mary's unyielding bigotry, and doubtless he deemed that there was no safety for the Reformation but in her exclusion.

Though the partisans of Jane had the government, the treasures, a fleet, an army, and the fortresses in their hands, the cause of Mary was strong in the popular notion of her right, and still stronger in the popular aversion to Northumberland. The people of Norfolk, who had suffered so much at his hands in their late insurrection, were therefore disposed to favour her, and she was proclaimed at Norwich (July 13th). She had previously written to the council demanding why they had concealed her brother's death, and requiring them to have her instantly proclaimed; a denial of her right was returned, and she was called on to "surcease to molest any of Queen Jane's subjects."

NICHOLAS RIDLEY, BISHOP OF LONDON
(1500–1555)

Her letters to divers of the nobility and gentry were better attended to; the earls of Bath and Sussex and the heirs of Lords Wharton and Mordaunt joined her at the head of their tenantry; and Sir Edward Hastings, who had been sent by Northumberland to raise four thousand men for the cause of Jane, led them to the support of Mary. This princess had now removed to the duke of Norfolk's castle, Framlingham, on the coast of Suffolk, that she might escape to Flanders if necessary. A fleet had been sent to intercept her, but the crews were induced to declare in her favour. So many of the nobility and gentry had now joined her that she found herself at the head of an army of thirty thousand men. Sir Edward Hastings and some other leaders were preparing to march from Drayton to Westminster with ten thousand men.

On receiving this intelligence the council directed the duke of Suffolk to advance against the lady Mary with the troops which had been collected; but Jane, with tears, implored them not to deprive her of her father. As Suffolk's incapacity was well known, the council called on Northumberland himself to take the command. He complied, though with reluctance it is said, for he feared their treachery. He sent his troops forward, and on receiving the assurances of the nobles that they would join him with their forces at Newmarket, he set forth with his train (July 14th). The indifference shown by the assembled populace was such as to cause him to observe to Lord Grey, as they rode through Shoreditch, "The people press to look on us, but not one saith God speed ye!" He proceeded to Cambridge, whence he advanced (July 17th)

[1553 A.D.]

at the head of eight thousand foot and two thousand horse in the direction of Framlingham; but at Bury St. Edmunds he found it advisable to retreat, and he returned to Cambridge, whence he wrote to the council requiring them to send him reinforcements without loss of time.

But things in London had meantime taken a new direction. On the 19th the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury and Pembroke, Sir Thomas Cheney and Sir John Mason met at Baynard's castle, where they were attended by the lord mayor, the recorder, and some of the aldermen. Arundel, who had all along been in secret correspondence with Mary, advised them to acknowledge her; he met the main objection by saying, "How doth it appear that Mary intends any alteration in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned on this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer."[1] Pembroke then drew his sword, and exclaimed, "If the arguments of my lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in her quarrel."[2] All, however, gave a willing assent; they rode forth and proclaimed Mary at St. Paul's Cross amid the acclamations of the populace, to whom beer, wine and money were then distributed, and the night was ushered in by bonfires and illuminations. Arundel and Paget having set forth with the news to Mary, Pembroke took the custody of the Tower from Suffolk.

The lady Jane, after a brief reign of only ten days, laid down her royalty and retired to Sion House. When her father announced to her the necessity for her resignation, she replied that it was far more agreeable than his late announcement had been, and expressed her wish that her cheerful abdication might atone for the offence she had committed in accepting the crown, in obedience to him and her mother. Northumberland, when he found the turn matters were taking, proclaimed Queen Mary at Cambridge; but he was arrested by Arundel and committed to the Tower,[3] as also were the duke of Suffolk and twenty-five more of their friends.

Mary now advanced towards London. At Wanstead in Essex she was met by the lady Elizabeth, at the head of a stately cavalcade of knights, ladies, gentlemen, and their servants. Four days after, the two sisters, followed by a magnificent train, rode through the city to the Tower—Mary small, thin and delicate; Elizabeth tall, handsome and well-formed, carefully displaying her beautiful hands. In the Tower Mary was met by four state prisoners of rank: the duke of Norfolk, the duchess of Somerset, Courtenay, son of the late marquis of Exeter, and Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. She raised them from the ground where they knelt, kissed them, and gave them their liberty. Next day she released Tunstall and Bonner. When forming her council, she bestowed the office of chancellor on Gardiner, who soon showed that his captivity had not subdued his haughty, overbearing spirit. Paget was next in influence and importance in the cabinet.

Though Mary had hitherto led a life of seclusion, the love of splendid apparel, which seems to have been inherent in her family, was seated deep in her heart, and she gave loose to it in such a manner as to surprise even the French ambassador, who must have been well used to the pomp and display

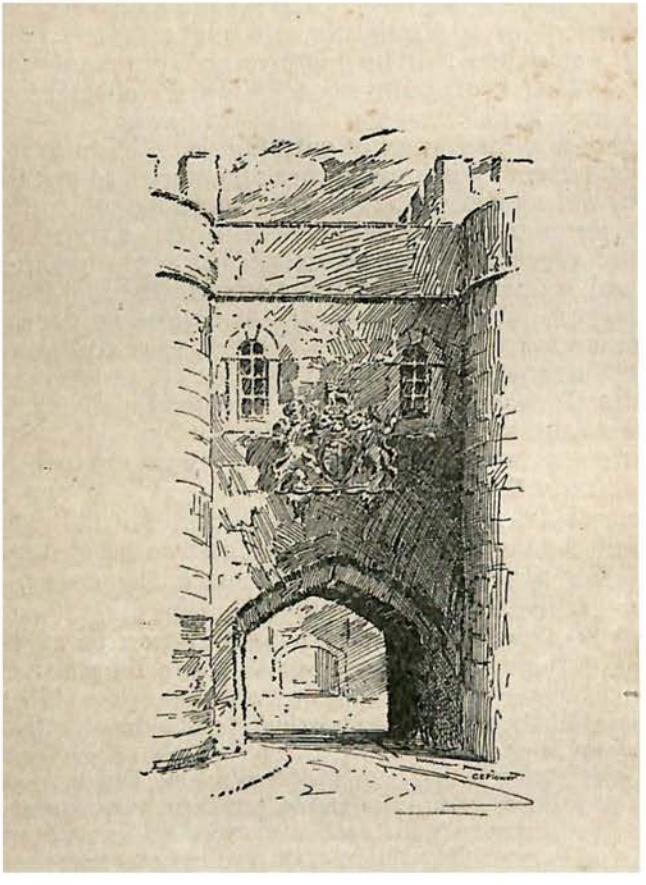
[1] "Which indeed was true," adds Bishop Godwin,[w] as of his own knowledge. As it appears to have been only verbal, it was easy for Mary and her partisans afterwards to deny it.

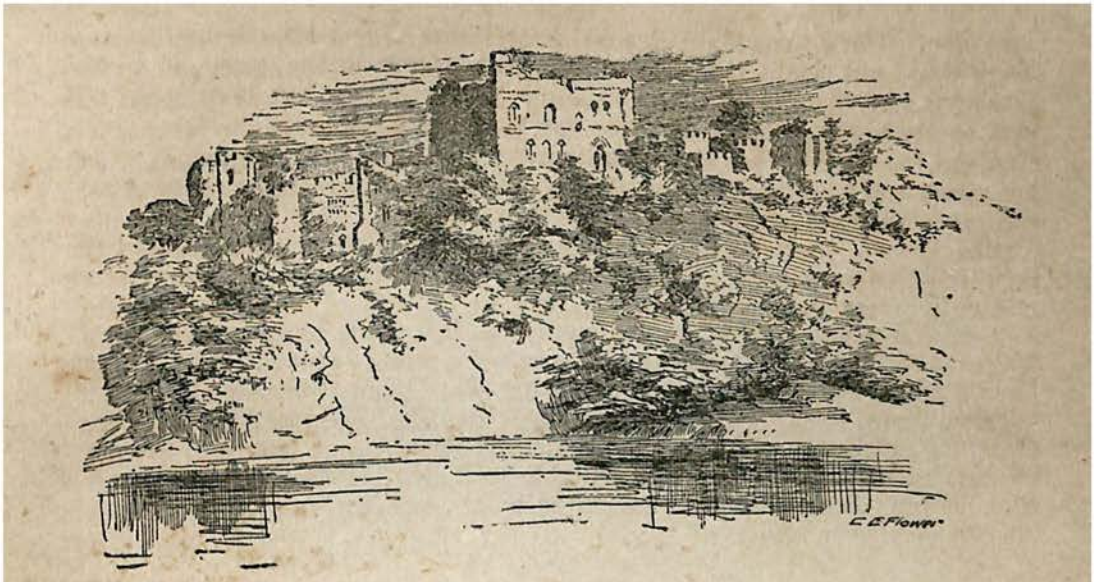
[2] This fervent loyalist had been one of those who signed the devise of the crown to Jane, and he had sworn a few days before to shed his blood in her cause!

[3] As he was led through the city, a woman displayed one of the handkerchiefs dipped in Somerset's blood. "Behold," she cried, "the blood of that worthy man, the good uncle of that worthy prince, which was shed by thy malicious practices! It plainly now begins to revenge itself on thee."

of dress at his own court. She required all about her, both lords and ladies, to be similarly arrayed, and gray-haired dames of sixty were now to be seen in the gayest hues, and laden with jewels and ornaments—unlike the perhaps too sober court of Edward VI. Her coronation was celebrated (September 30th, 1553) with all possible splendour. It was performed in the ancient manner: her clothes were all blessed; she was anointed on various parts of her head and body; Gardiner chanted mass; the crown was borne by Elizabeth,[1] who with Anne of Cleves afterwards dined at the queen's table. A general pardon to all but sixty persons, who were named, was proclaimed the same day. *q*

[1 It is said that she whispered to the French ambassador, Noailles, that it was very heavy; and that he replied, "Be patient; it will seem lighter when it is on your own head."]





CHAPTER VII

THE REIGN OF MARY

[1553–1558 A.D.]

To appreciate the reasons that impelled Henry VIII to attach such importance to a male heir, and to bar his daughter by the Spanish marriage from the succession, we need but glance at what followed when she became queen after all. The Tudor ideal of founding a political power absolute in itself and independent of internal disputes or foreign interference, was sacrificed by Mary to her fondness for the nation to which her mother belonged and whence she chose also her husband. While her father and her brother had bent their energies to relieving England of papal influence, she restored it, and placed at its disposal all the strength and resource of the country.—VON RANKE.[b]

THE enthusiasm with which the bloodless revolution in favour of Queen Mary was hailed by the people has been considered as a proof that the majority were Roman Catholic, and would gladly lay aside all the doctrine and discipline of the church which had been so completely settled in the reign of Edward. We are inclined to receive this notion with considerable doubt. Another theory was set forth in the bitter satire of the Venetian ambassador, Micheli,[c] that the English "would be full as zealous followers of the Mohammedan or Jewish religion did the king profess either of them, or commanded his subjects to do so; that, in short, they will accommodate themselves to any religious persuasion, but most readily to one that promises to minister to licentiousness and profit."

At the accession of Mary, the English were neither wholly devoted to Catholicism nor indifferent to all religion. They accepted Mary with joy because, without entering into the subtleties of the divorce question of her mother, they knew that she was the direct heir to the crown, and that the attempt to set her aside was the unjust act of a few ambitious and unscrupu-

lous men. There were many decided Protestants amongst her first adherents. They could not doubt that she would firmly cleave to the mass and to the ceremonies of the church, as in the time of her father; but they could not assume that she would venture to force the papal domination again upon England,[1] or think it possible to take away the Bible from the people which her father had consented to give them. Mary herself saw the necessity of proceeding with great caution.

The news of her accession was received in Rome with exultation, and the pope resolved to send Cardinal Pole as legate to England. That measure was determined in a consistory as early as the 5th of August. But Pole was too discreet to risk such a demonstration before the temper of the people had been farther tried. Mary herself received a secret agent of Rome, Francis Commendone, and to him she professed her attachment to the Romish church, and her desire to bring back its worship. But she implored him to be cautious, for much was still unsettled. Mary, however, sent letters to the pope by this agent, which were so acceptable to Julius III that he wept for joy that his pontificate should be honoured by the restoration of England to its ancient obedience.[e]

EXECUTION OF NORTHUMBERLAND AND FIRST REACTIONS

Abject in adversity as insolent in prosperity, Northumberland sought an interview with Gardiner, and implored his interest to save his life. "Alas," cried he, "let me live a little longer, though it be but in a mouse-hole." Gardiner expressed his wish to serve him, but could not venture to give any hopes. He then prayed that a learned priest might be sent, to whom he might confess, adding that he had never been of any religion but the bishop's own, though for ambitious motives he had pretended otherwise; and that so he would declare at his death. Gardiner, it is said, shed tears, and there is reason to believe did apply to Mary on his behalf; but the emperor had strictly enjoined her not to spare him.

On the 22nd he was led with Gates and Palmer to the scaffold on Tower Hill. The duke, taking off his damask gown, leaned over the railing on the east side and addressed the spectators. He acknowledged his guilt, but said that he had been incited by others whom he would not name; he exhorted the people to return to the ancient faith, without which they could not hope for peace. "By our creed," says he, "we are taught to say, 'I believe in the holy Catholic faith,' and such is my very belief, as my lord bishop here present can testify. All this I say not from having been commanded so to do, but of my own free will." He then prayed, and laid his head on the block. His two companions died with penitence and courage, but made no recantation.

The other prisoners, with the exception of Lady Jane and her husband, were set at liberty. But notwithstanding all this clemency, the prospect for

[1 It is singular that, though the crown of England had so often passed to claimants whose descent was wholly in the female line, yet England had never before seen a crowned queen. The empress Matilda was never crowned, and she bore no higher title than lady. The novelty gave rise to some cavil, and it was found needful at a later stage of Mary's reign for parliament to declare that a queen of England possessed all the rights and powers of a king. This first female reign was the time which finally settled the religious position of England. The supremacy of Rome was inseparably connected with the validity of her mother's marriage and the legitimacy of her own birth. As it was, she was simply queen by act of parliament. She naturally wished to be queen as the legitimate daughter of her father. —FREEMAN *d*]

CRANMER AT THE TRAITORS' GATE

(From the painting by Frederick Goodall, R.A.)

[1553 A.D.]

the Protestants was gloomy and cheerless. The queen made no secret of her attachment to the church of Rome, though she still pretended that she would not interfere with the religion of the people. The Roman priests, now emboldened, ventured to celebrate mass openly in some places. Bourne, one of the royal chaplains, when preaching at St. Paul's Cross, dared to attack what had been done in the late reign. The people became excited, a cry of "Pull him down!" was raised, stones were thrown, and someone flung a dagger, which hit one of the pillars of the pulpit. He might have lost his life but for Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers, who calmed the fury of the people, and conveyed him into St. Paul's school. The queen took advantage of this to forbid all public preaching, the great weapon of the reformers.

No one could plead better the rights of conscience in her own case during the late reign than Mary, but in the case of her sister she seems to have forgotten them all. Elizabeth found it necessary for her safety to attend mass, and she was even obliged to stoop some time after to the hypocrisy of writing to the emperor to send her a cross, chalice, and other things for the celebration of mass in her private chapel. Ridley was already in the Tower; Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, and others were also in prison. Cranmer had hitherto been suffered to remain at Lambeth; but when the subdean Thorndon had the audacity to have mass celebrated in the cathedral of Canterbury, the primate felt it his duty to show that this was without his participation. He drew up a paper containing his sentiments on the mass.

He was summoned before the council; he acknowledged the paper to be his, and said his intention had been to enlarge it, affix his seal to it, and put it upon the doors of St. Paul's and other churches. He was committed to the Tower (September 14th) on a charge of treason. Latimer had been sent thither the preceding day for his "seditious demeanour," as it was termed. As the venerable man was led through Smithfield, he anticipated his fate, and said, "This place has long groaned for me."

Most of the leading Protestants were now in prison; many fled the kingdom; Peter Martyr and the other foreigners were ordered to depart. When the men of Suffolk sent to remind the queen of her promises, they met with insult, and one of them named Dobbe was set in the pillory. The intentions of the queen and her council could now be no secret to anyone.

The parliament which had been summoned met on the 5th of October. It is said, but without proof, that violence had been employed to procure a majority favourable to the court; but the simple court influence, added to the prejudices of a large number of the electors, the eagerness of the Catholics to obtain seats, and the fears or despondency of the Protestants, are fully sufficient to account for the effects. In open violation of the existing law a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost was celebrated in Latin before both houses, and when Taylor, bishop of Lincoln, refused to kneel at it he was thrust out of the house. The archbishop of York had been committed to the Tower the day before for "divers his offences," and Harley, the only remaining Protestant prelate, was not allowed to take his seat because he was a married man.

The most important measures passed in this parliament were: an act abolishing every kind of treason not contained in the statute 25 Edward III, and all felonies that did not exist anterior to 1 Henry VIII; one declaring the queen's legitimacy, and annulling the divorce pronounced by Cranmer;[1] and one repealing all the statutes of King Edward respecting religion. It

[1 Against this bill, though it was equivalent to a statute of bastardy in respect of Elizabeth, not a voice was raised in either house of parliament.—LINGARD.*f*]

was further enacted, that after the 20th of December next ensuing no service should be allowed but that in use at the death of King Henry. An act of attainder was also passed against those already condemned for treason, and against Lady Jane Grey, her husband, Lord Ambrose Dudley, and Archbishop Cranmer. These four were arraigned at Guildhall (November 13th) and they all pleaded guilty. Cranmer, urged probably by the natural love of life, wrote to the queen a full explanation of his conduct in the affair of altering the succession, and seeking for mercy; he did not remind her, as he might have done, that she had been indebted to him for safety in her father's time. No notice, however, was taken of his application, but it does not appear that Mary had as yet any decided intention of taking his life.

THE SPANISH MARRIAGE PLAN AND WYATT'S INSURRECTION (1553–1554 A.D.)

The marriage of the queen was a subject which had for some time engaged the attention of herself and her council. The plan of a match between her and Cardinal Pole, whom a papal dispensation could restore to a secular condition, was again brought forward; but the cardinal was now fifty-four years of age, his health was delicate, his habits were bookish and studious, and as the queen seems to have desired an active young consort, that project was abandoned. The general opinion was that she would marry young Courtenay, whom she had created earl of Devonshire, and whose mother she had selected for her bedfellow, according to the usage of the age. Of foreign princes, the king of Denmark, the infante of Portugal, and others were spoken of; but the imperial ambassador had his directions to hint to her, as from himself, a match with the prince of Spain, who was now in his twenty-seventh year, and a widower. She did not seem to give any attention at the time, but the idea sank in her mind. Her affection for Courtenay was observed visibly to decline; she began to talk of his youth and inexperience, and she felt or affected great horror at the excesses into which he ran, and which were but too natural to a young man, long secluded, on the first acquisition of liberty. Presently came a letter from the emperor himself gallantly regretting that age and infirmity prevented him from offering her his own hand, but proposing to her that of the prince of Spain. Her pride was gratified by the prospect of such a high alliance, her vanity was flattered at her hand being sought by a man eleven years her junior, and she secretly resolved on the Spanish match.

In the council, Norfolk, Arundel, and Paget were in favour of it; Gardiner was opposed to it, as also were the bulk of the people, Catholics as well as Protestants; the French and Venetian ambassadors also exerted themselves strenuously in favour of Courtenay. On the 30th of October the commons voted an address to the queen, praying that she would select a husband out of the nobility of the realm. But she would not be thwarted; she said she would prove a match for all the cunning of the chancellor. She sent that same night for the imperial ambassador, and taking him into her oratory, knelt at the foot of the altar before the hallowed wafer, which she believed to be her Creator, and having recited the hymn "Veni, Creator Spiritus," called God to witness that she took the prince of Spain for her husband, and never would have any other. When the commons waited on her with the address, she told them that it was for her, not for them, to choose in this matter.

On the 2nd of January, 1554, four ambassadors extraordinary arrived from the emperor, and made a formal offer to her of the prince of Spain.

[1554 A.D.]

Gardiner, who had given up his opposition when he found it useless, had already arranged the terms with the resident ambassador Renard, and he took all possible precautions for the honour and independence of England. The appointment to all offices was to rest with the queen, and be confined to natives; Philip was to bind himself by oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges; he was not to take the queen abroad without her consent, nor any of her children without that of the nobility; not to claim a right to the succession if he survived her; not to take from the kingdom ships, ammunition, or any of the crown jewels; and not to engage the nation in the war between his father and France.

Gardiner recommended this treaty with all his eloquence to the lords of the council, who were willing auditors, but to the people the Spanish match was odious. Treaties and promises they knew were as easily broken as made; supported by foreign troops, Philip might easily trample on the constitution, and establish the diabolical tribunal of the Inquisition. These murmurs soon ripened into conspiracies, which were secretly encouraged by Noailles, the French ambassador. It was proposed to effect risings in various parts, and to marry Courtenay to Elizabeth, and establish them in Devonshire, where his family interest lay.

It was the intention of the conspirators to wait till the actual presence of Philip in the kingdom should have still further excited the dissatisfaction of the people; but Gardiner drew the secret from the fears or the simplicity of Courtenay, and the very next day (January 21st), finding they were betrayed, they resolved to have recourse to arms, unprepared as they were, before they were arrested. The duke of Suffolk and his brothers, the lords John and Thomas Grey, went down to Warwickshire to raise his tenantry there; Sir James Croft went to the borders of Wales, where his estates lay; and Sir Peter Carew and others to Devonshire. But all their efforts to raise the people proved abortive. The duke, after being defeated in a skirmish near Coventry by Lord Huntingdon, who was sent in pursuit of him, was betrayed by one of his own tenants and was recommitted to the Tower: Croft was surprised and taken in his bed before he could raise his tenantry; Carew fled to France at the approach of the earl of Bedford.

In Kent affairs assumed a more serious aspect. Sir Thomas Wyatt, a man of great skill and courage, raised the standard of revolt at Maidstone (January 24th); he was instantly joined by fifteen hundred men, and five thousand more were ready to rise. He fixed his headquarters at the old castle of Rochester, and he obtained cannon and ammunition from some ships that were lying in the river. The duke of Norfolk, at the head of a part of the guards and five hundred Londoners, advanced to attack him, but when he gave orders to force the bridge, Bret, the commander of the Londoners, addressed his men, urging them not to fight against those who only sought to save them from the yoke of foreigners. A cry of "A Wyatt! a Wyatt!" was raised, and Wyatt came out at the head of his cavalry; Norfolk and his officers fled towards Gravesend, and Wyatt soon reached Deptford at the head of fifteen thousand men.

The council were now greatly alarmed for the personal safety of the queen. This, however, is one of the few moments in her life in which we must admire her; she exhibited all the courage of her race, and resolved to face the danger. When the lord mayor had called a meeting of the citizens, she entered Guildhall with her sceptre in her hand, followed by her ladies and her officers of state, and addressed the assembly in such animated terms that the hall resounded with acclamations.*i*

She said, in part:

"Now, loving subjects, what I am, you right well know. I am your queen, to whom at my coronation when I was wedded to the realm, and to the laws of the same (the spousal ring whereof I have on my finger, which never hitherto was nor hereafter shall be left off), ye promised your obedience unto me. And that I am the right and true inheritor to the crown of this realm of England, I not only take all Christendom to witness, but also your acts of parliament confirming the same. And certainly, if I either did know or think that this marriage should either turn to the danger or loss of any of you my loving subjects, or to the detriment or impairing of any part or parcel of the royal estate of this realm of England, I would never consent thereunto, neither would I ever marry while I lived. And in the word of a queen I promise and assure you that if it shall not probably appear before the nobility and commons in the high court of parliament, that this marriage shall be for the singular benefit and commodity of all the whole realm; that then I will abstain, not only from this marriage, but also from any other whereof peril may ensue to this most noble realm. Wherefore, now as good faithful subjects, pluck up your hearts, and like true men stand fast with your lawful prince against these rebels, both our enemies and yours, and fear them not."

Of this speech, which Foxe[g] has preserved as well as Holinshed,[h] the martyrologist says, it is given "as near out of her own mouth as could be penned." The people of London were strangely moved by her courage and address. Protestant was as ready for her defence as Catholic. The day after the queen went to Guildhall the householders of London were in armour in the streets; "yea," says Stow,[i] "this day and other days, the justices, sergeants-at-the-law, and other lawyers in Westminster Hall pleaded in harness."[e]

Twenty-five thousand of the citizens forthwith enrolled themselves for the protection of the city. Wyatt[1] meantime was at Southwark with a force diminished to two thousand men, for his followers slunk away when they found that the Londoners would oppose them. Finding that they were exposed to the guns of the Tower, he led them up the river to Kingston, and having there repaired the bridge, which had been broken, and crossed, he proceeded rapidly towards London in the hope of surprising Ludgate before sunrise. But the carriage of one of his cannon happening to break, he most unwisely delayed for an hour to repair it. This gave time for information to be conveyed to the court. The ministers on their knees implored the queen to take refuge in the Tower, but she scorned the timid counsel.

A force of ten thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, under the lords Pembroke and Clinton, was ready to oppose the rebels. At nine o'clock, February 7th, Wyatt reached Hyde Park. Though exposed to the fire of the royal cannon at St. James's, he forced his way up Fleet street with a few followers and reached Ludgate, where, being refused admittance, he turned and fought his way back to Temple Bar; but here finding further resistance hopeless, he surrendered to Sir Maurice Berkeley. His followers meantime had been routed, one hundred being slain and about four hundred made prisoners.

EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GREY

If Mary on the former occasion had neglected the advice of the emperor, and acted with lenity, she resolved to do so no longer.[2] The very day after the capture of Wyatt (February 8th) she signed a warrant for the execution

[1 When he heard that it was proclaimed that whoever took him should have a thousand pounds, he set his name of Thomas Wyatt, fair written, on his cap.[e]]

[2 At the termination of the former conspiracy, the queen had permitted but three persons to be put to death—an instance of clemency, considering all the circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages. But the policy of her conduct had been severely arraigned both by the emperor and some of her own counsellors. Impunity, they

EXECUTION OF LADY JANE GREY, IN THE TOWER OF LONDON, FEBRUARY 12, 1554

(From the painting by Paul Delaroche, in the Tate Gallery)

[1554 A.D.]

of "Guildford Dudley and his wife," as it was insultingly expressed. Feckenham, the former abbot of Westminster, was sent to endeavour to convert the lady Jane to the Catholic religion.[d] She was not likely to be pardoned who could boldly say to the priest sent to examine her, four days before her death, "I ground my faith upon God's word, and not upon the church. For if the church be a good church, the faith of the church must be tried by God's word, and not God's word by the church."[e]

Feckenham was acute, eloquent, and of a tender nature; but he made no impression on her considerate and steady belief. She behaved to him with such calmness and sweetness that he had obtained for her a day's respite. So much meekness has seldom been so free from lukewarmness. She wrote a letter to Harding on his apostasy, couched in ardent and even vehement language, partly because she doubted his sincerity. Never did affection breathe itself in language more beautiful than in her dying letter to her father, in which she says, "My guiltless blood may cry before the Lord, Mercy to the innocent!"

A Greek letter to her sister, the lady Catherine, written on a blank leaf of a Greek Testament, is needless as another proof of those accomplishments which astonished the learned of Europe, but admirable as a token that neither grief nor danger could ruffle her thoughts, nor lower the sublimity of her sentiments. In the course of that morning she wrote in her note-book three sentences in Greek, Latin, and English, of which the last is as follows: "If my fault deserved punishment, my youth, at least, and my imprudence were worthy of excuse. God and posterity will show me favour."

The history of tyranny affords no other example of a female of seventeen put to death for acquiescence in the injunction of a father, sanctioned by the concurrence of all that the kingdom could boast of what was illustrious in nobility, or grave in law, or venerable in religion, by the command of a female and a relation. The example is the more affecting as it was that of a person who exhibited a matchless union of youth and beauty with genius, learning, and piety; whose affections were so warm, while her passions were so perfectly subdued. It was a death sufficient to honour and dishonour an age.[f]

On the morning appointed for the execution (February 12th) Lord Guildford, whom Jane had refused to see lest their feelings should overcome their fortitude,[1] was led out and beheaded on Tower Hill in the presence of a great multitude of people. Jane, from her window, saw him go forth, and she afterwards beheld his bleeding trunk as it was brought back in a cart. Her own execution was to take place within the precincts of the Tower, either on account of her royal extraction, or more probably from fear of the effect the sight of her youth and innocence might have on the minds of the spectators. She ascended the scaffold with a firm step and then addressed those present, saying that she was come there to die for the commission of an unlawful act in taking what belonged to the queen; but adding that, as to the desire or procurement of it, she washed her hands in innocency, and she called on them to bear witness that she died a true Christian, and hoped for salvation only through the blood of Jesus. She then knelt down and repeated the fifty-first Psalm in English. As she was placing herself before the block she said to the executioner, "I pray you despatch me quickly." She then asked him, "Will you take it off

argued, encourages the factious to a repetition of their offence; men ought to be taught by the punishment of the guilty that if they presume to brave the authority of the sovereign, it must be at the peril of their lives and fortunes. Mary now began to admit the truth of these maxims; she condemned her former lenity as the cause of the recent insurrection.—LINGARD.*f*]

[1 They would meet soon enough in the other world, she said.]

before I lay me down?" "No, madam," replied he. Her eyes being bandaged, she groped about for the block, and not finding it she became a little agitated and said, "What shall I do? where is it? where is it?" Her head was then guided to the right spot. She stretched forth her neck, saying, "Lord! into thy hands I commend my spirit," and one blow terminated her existence.[j]

The note to the duke of Suffolk, her father, was probably written on the last morning of her life—perhaps in the very hour when she saw her Guildford's head taken out of the cart. It is worth extracting: "The Lord comfort your grace, and that in his Word, wherein all creatures only are to be comforted. And though it has pleased God to take away two of your children, yet think not, I most humbly beseech your grace, that you have lost them, but trust that we, by leasing this mortal life, have won an immortal life. And I, for my part, as I have honoured your grace in this life, will pray for you in another life." For three hundred years the simplest recital of the fate of this victim of ambition has stirred the sympathy of all true hearts.

On the wall of the Beauchamp tower, in which the Dudleys were imprisoned, is carved the word Jane; and there was formerly a second inscription of the same name. May this record be kept as a sacred memorial of the noble creature to whom one of the earnest Puritan race, Sir Simonds d'Ewes,[l] has paid an eloquent tribute: "How justly may the masculine constancy of this excellent lady, whose many virtues the pens of her very enemies have acknowledged, rise up in judgment against all such poor spirits who, for fear of death, or other outward motives, shall deny God and his truth."

The punishments which followed Wyatt's rebellion are considered by some moderns to have been mild. Mary's contemporaries thought them severe. On the day that Guildford and Jane Dudley were beheaded, the gallows was set up at every gate, and in every great thoroughfare of London. There is a brief catalogue of the use to which these machines were applied on the 13th, when, from Billingsgate to Hyde Park Corner, there were forty-eight men hanged at nineteen public places. On the 17th certain captains and twenty-two of the common rebels were sent into Kent to suffer death. Simon Renard, the ambassador from the emperor, writes to his master, on the 24th of February: "The queen has granted a general pardon to a multitude of people in Kent, after having caused about five score of the most guilty to be executed."

Such executions were made under martial law, although Wyatt and some other leaders were reserved for trial by a jury. According to Renard, Mary was bent on severity: "Numerous are the petitions presented to her majesty to have the pains of death exchanged for perpetual imprisonment, but to this she will not listen." The duke of Suffolk was tried on the 17th, and beheaded on the 23rd. Wyatt and others pleaded guilty. Sir Nicholas Throcmorton was tried on the 17th of April. His trial is one of the more remarkable in our criminal jurisprudence. It is chiefly remarkable for the boldness and ability with which Throcmorton defended himself for hours against the system then pursued by judges and counsel, of heaping accusation upon accusation upon a prisoner; of perplexing him with questions and urgent exhortations to confess his guilt; of reading over garbled evidence, not taken in open court, and requiring him to answer each separate charge as produced. The talent and energy of Throcmorton produced a most surprising result. He was acquitted. Of this rare event the ambassador of the emperor writes that the jury were "all heretics"; and adds, "When they carried him back to the Tower after his acquittal, the people with great joy raised shouts and threw their caps in the air."[e]

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But the court had no idea of being balked of its prey by the consciences of jurors. They were all summoned before the council, committed to prison, and made to pay fines of from one thousand marks to two thousand pounds apiece. This made other juries more pliant, and Sir John Throcmorton and others were found guilty at once. Wyatt was reserved for some time, and efforts were made to prevail on him to accuse the lady Elizabeth and Courtenay. He partly yielded, but what he had been induced to say being not deemed sufficient, he was sent to the scaffold. At his execution (April 11th) he declared, it is said, that led by a promise of his life, he had been induced to charge them falsely with a knowledge of his enterprise.

According to the accounts of both the French and the imperial ambassadors, upwards of four hundred persons were hung. Our own writers would seem to limit this number to little more than sixty.[1] On the 20th of February four hundred others were led coupled together with halters round their necks to the tilt-yard, where the queen from her gallery pronounced their pardon, and the poor men went away shouting "God save Queen Mary!"

ELIZABETH A PRISONER

But the great object of Mary and her council was to get the lady Elizabeth into their toils, as the emperor strongly urged her execution. In the beginning of December she had with difficulty obtained permission to retire to her house at Ashridge near Berkhampstead. It is very probable that she had received some intimation of the designs of the conspirators, and that, knowing her life to be in constant danger from the bigotry of her sister, she may have secretly approved of them; but there is no reason to suppose that she ever committed herself by giving her consent to them. But whether the court had evidence against her or not, the very moment Wyatt's insurrection was suppressed a body of five hundred cavalry was sent to Ashridge, whose commanders had orders to bring her up "quick or dead." She was at this time very unwell, and was retired to rest when they arrived at ten at night. She requested not to be disturbed till morning; but they insisted on seeing her immediately, and followed her lady into her chamber. Two physicians having reported that she might travel without danger to her life, she was placed next morning, February 18th, 1555, at nine o'clock, in a litter, and her weakness was such that she did not reach London till the fifth day.

As she passed along the streets she caused the litter[2] to be opened and she appeared clad in white, but pale and swollen with her disease, yet still displaying that air of majesty and dignity which nature had impressed on her features. She was kept for a fortnight a close prisoner at her own residence. It was then determined to send her to the Tower. She wrote to her sister,

[1 Froude[m] says eighty or a hundred bodies were dangling in St. Paul's churchyard, on London Bridge, in Fleet Street, and at Charing Cross, in Southwark and Westminster. At all crossways and in all thoroughfares, says Noailles,[n] "the eye was met with the hideous spectacle of hanging men." But Lingard,[f] who, although a Catholic, is quite as unprejudiced as the other historians, says: "These executions have induced some writers to charge Mary with unnecessary cruelty; perhaps those who compare her with her contemporaries in similar circumstances will hesitate to subscribe to that opinion. If, on this occasion, sixty of the insurgents were sacrificed to her justice or resentment, we shall find in the history of the next reign that, after a rebellion of a less formidable aspect, some hundreds of victims were required to appease the offended majesty of her sister. If we look at the conduct of government after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, we shall not find that the praise of superior lenity is due to more modern times."]

[2 As Lingard[f] points out, this was the queen's own litter, sent for her sister's comfort.]

asserting her innocence in the strongest terms, and claiming a personal interview on the grounds of a promise the queen had made her.

Her letter was unheeded, and on Palm Sunday she was led to a barge in order to embark for the Tower. She ventured to say that she wondered the nobility of the realm would suffer her to be led into captivity. She objected to landing at Traitors' Stairs, but one of the lords said she must not choose, and offered her his cloak, as it was raining. She flung it from her and stepped out, saying, "Here lands as true a subject, being a prisoner, as ever landed at these stairs. Before thee, O God! I speak it, having no other friends but thee alone." The warders who came to receive her knelt down and prayed for her safety, for which they were dismissed next day. She passed on, and sat on a stone to rest herself. The lieutenant begged of her to come in out of the rain;

she replied, "Better sitting here than in a worse place." She was then led to her apartment; the doors were locked and bolted on her, and she remained there to meditate on the fate of her guiltless mother and the innocent Jane Grey, a fate which she had little doubt awaited herself.

Mary, in whose bosom fanaticism had stifled all natural feeling, was willing to shed her sister's blood;[1] the emperor, acting perhaps on the principles of his grandfather in the case of the earl of Warwick, was urgent to have her executed if possible; Arundel and Paget were for the same course; but Gardiner saw plainly that neither she nor Courtenay could be brought within the provisions of 25 Edward III, now the only law of treason. It may be that motives of humanity had some influence on the chancellor's mind, but there is nothing to prove it. The queen feared to take on herself the responsibility of executing her sister contrary to law. The rigour of Elizabeth's confinement was so far

[1 This is also Froude's[m] declaration, but Lingard[f] denies this intention or desire, and emphasises Gardiner's determined opposition to Renard, who laboured to have Elizabeth put out of the way.]

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relaxed that she was allowed to walk in a small garden within the Tower. On the 19th of May Sir Henry Bedingfield came with one hundred soldiers and conveyed her to Richmond, and thence to Woodstock castle, where she was confined as strictly as when in the Tower. Courtenay, who was a close prisoner in this fortress, was sent on the 22nd to Fotheringay.

The queen meantime lay on no bed of roses. She was in a state of constant apprehension; she distrusted even those who were about her, and did not venture to move without a large body of guards. She is said to have had thoughts of ordering a general muster of the people, and then seizing their arms and laying them up in the fortresses. At this time great numbers of the gentry, apprehensive of the persecution which they saw coming, sold their properties and went over to France.

A parliament met on the 4th of April, 1554; a sum of four hundred thousand crowns, sent for the purpose by the emperor, is said to have been employed to gain over the members; and Mary, to quiet the apprehensions which might be felt about the church lands, resumed the title of supreme head of the church. The object proposed was to get a bill passed enabling the queen to dispose of the crown and appoint a successor. But the parliament easily saw who the successor would be, and that in her blind folly and hatred of her sister the queen would make England but a province of the Spanish monarchy. All the arts of Gardiner therefore failed; they would not even make it treason to compass the death of the queen's husband. Bills for reviving the law of the six articles and other statutes against heresy were introduced to no purpose, and the queen finding the parliament not to answer her ends dissolved it.

THE QUEEN'S MARRIAGE WITH PHILIP II

If we believe the malicious but probably true statements of the French ambassador, the queen manifested her impatience for the arrival of her young husband in a very ridiculous manner. She frequently complained of his delay, regarding it as intentional, and remarked that though she brought him a kingdom as her dower he had not favoured her with a single letter; and as she viewed her ordinary and careworn features in her glass, she feared lest she might fail of inspiring him with affection. At length, to her great joy, Philip landed at Southampton (July 19th). He was received by the lords of the council and presented with the order of the Garter. After a short delay he rode to Winchester, where he was met by the anxious queen, and on the feast of St. James, the patron saint of Spain (July 25th), the marriage ceremony was performed by Gardiner, the bishop of that see. The royal pair remained there for some days, and then proceeded to Windsor. They visited the metropolis, where they were received with those very dubious marks of affection, shows and pageants; but the character of neither was calculated to gain the popular favour. The queen was anxious to have her husband all to herself, and his own Spanish pride contributed to fence him round with pomp and etiquette.

But the object nearest the queen's heart was to bring her kingdom again into the bosom of the church. As this could never be effected while the nobility and gentry had to fear for their property in the church lands, the pope yielded to the representations of Gardiner, and signed a bull empowering the legate to "give, alienate, and transfer" to the present possessors all the property taken from the church in the two late reigns. It was now deemed advisable to convene a new parliament; and as the queen knew she might depend on the

compliance of the degenerate or upstart nobles, who never dreamed of opposing the royal will, no matter who possessed the crown, her sole care was to obtain a pliant house of commons. Orders were therefore sent to the sheriffs to have those who held the ancient faith elected; the Protestants were dispirited, and consequently a house containing probably not a single one of them was returned.

On the 1st of November, 1554, the parliament was opened by a speech from the chancellor in the presence of the king and queen, whose expectation he said it was that they would accomplish the reunion of the realm with the Catholic church. One of the first measures for this purpose was to introduce a bill for reversing the attainder of Cardinal Pole. It was passed, of course, without hesitation.

The cardinal meantime was on his way to England. He entered a barge at Gravesend; then, fixing his silver cross in the prow, he proceeded to Westminster. The chancellor received him as he landed, the king at the palace gate, the queen at the head of the staircase. After a short stay he retired to Lambeth, and occupied the archiepiscopal palace, which had been prepared for his abode.

THE SUBMISSION TO ROME (1554 A.D.)

Four days after, the legate returned to court, whither the lords and commons had been summoned. He thanked them for reversing his attainder, and assured them of his readiness to aid in restoring them to the unity of the church. They then retired, and next day (November 29th) they unanimously voted a petition to the king and queen, expressing their sorrow for the defection of the realm, and hoping through their mediation to be again received into the bosom of the church.[i]

The motion for the reunion was carried almost by acclamation. In the lords every voice was raised in its favour; in the commons, out of three hundred members, two only demurred, and these desisted from their opposition the next day. It was determined to present a petition in the name of both houses to the king and queen, stating that they looked back with sorrow and regret on the defection of the realm from the communion of the apostolic see; that they were ready to repeal, as far as in them lay, every statute which had either caused or supported that defection; and that they hoped, through the mediation of their majesties, to be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and to be received into the bosom of the universal church.

On November 30th the queen took her seat on the throne. The king was placed on her left hand, the legate, but at greater distance, on her right. The chancellor read the petition to their majesties; they spoke to the cardinal; and he, after a speech of some duration, absolved "all those present, and the whole nation, and the dominions thereof, from all heresy and schism, and all judgments, censures, and penalties for that cause incurred; and restored them to the communion of holy church in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." "Amen," resounded from every part of the hall; and the members, rising from their knees, followed the king and queen into the chapel, where Te Deum was chanted in thanksgiving for the event. The next Sunday the legate, at the invitation of the citizens, made his public entry into the metropolis; and Gardiner preached at Paul's Cross the celebrated sermon in which he lamented in bitter terms his conduct under Henry VIII, and exhorted all who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the Catholic church.

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A bill was now enacted which provided that all papal bulls, dispensations, and privileges not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws of the realm, may be put in execution, used, and alleged in all courts whatsoever; and concludes by declaring that nothing in this act shall be explained to impair any authority or prerogative belonging to the crown in the twentieth year of Henry VIII; that the pope shall have and enjoy, without diminution or enlargement, the same authority and jurisdiction which he might then have lawfully exercised; and that the jurisdiction of the bishops shall be restored to that state in which it existed at the same period. In the lords, the bill was read thrice in two days; in the commons, it was passed after a sharp debate on the third reading. Thus was re-established in England the whole system of religious polity which had prevailed for so many centuries before Henry VIII.[f]

The present parliament readily passed the bill against heresy, and the others which had been rejected by the last. They also made it treason to compass or attempt the life of Philip during his union with the queen; but even they would go no further, refusing to consent even to his coronation. An act, however, was passed, giving him the guardianship of the queen's expected issue, "if it should happen to her otherwise than well in the time of her travail."

The lovesick Mary actually fancied at this time that her longing desires for issue were about to be gratified. At the first sight of Pole, she felt, as she thought, the babe moving in her womb; this by some of the zealous was likened to John the Baptist's leaping in his mother's womb at the salutation of the Virgin. The council wrote that very night to Bonner to order a Te Deum to be sung in St. Paul's and the other churches. Prayers were composed for the safe delivery of the queen, one of which ran partly thus: "Give therefore unto thy servants Philip and Mary a male issue, which may sit in the seat of thy kingdom. Give unto our queen a little infant, in fashion and body comely and beautiful, in pregnant wit notable and excellent." Public rejoicings were made, and the household of the prince (for so it was to be) was arranged. But all was mere illusion; the pregnancy, as afterwards appeared, was but the commencement of dropsy.

To ingratiate himself with the nation, Philip caused those who were in confinement in the Tower for treason to be set at liberty. Through his means the same favour was extended to Courtenay. This young man went to the Continent, and died soon after at Padua. But Philip's most popular act was obtaining pardon for the princess Elizabeth. As we have seen, she was now a prisoner at Woodstock, and Sir Henry Bedingfield proved so rigorous a jailer, that, it is said, hearing one day the blithe song of a milkmaid, she could not refrain from wishing that she were a milkmaid too, that she might carol thus gay and free from care. Her situation was a precarious one; as the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and as a Protestant in her heart, she was an object of aversion to the queen, who, according to Elizabeth's assertion, actually thirsted for her blood. The Spanish match alone saved Elizabeth, for it became the interest of him who had the power to do it to protect her.

Foxe[g] tells us that when Lord Paget said that the king would not have any quiet commonwealth in England unless her head were stricken from the shoulders, the Spaniards answered, "God forbid that their king and master should have that mind to consent to such a mischief"; and he adds, that they never ceased urging Philip till he had her released from prison. To this is to be added Elizabeth's extreme prudence, which prevented her enemies from gaining any advantage over her, and her feigning to be a Catholic. Something also must be ascribed to the mild temper of Cardinal Pole.

Hatfield was now assigned to Elizabeth as a residence, under the charge of Sir Thomas Pope, a gentleman of honour and humanity, and she was frequently received at court. It was proposed to marry her to some foreign prince, but she steadfastly declined all the offers made to her.[1] She spent her time chiefly in reading the classics with the learned Roger Ascham.

THE PERSECUTIONS BEGIN

The year 1555 opened with dismal prospects for the Protestants. The queen had already, even before the parliament met, made this reply to the lords of the council in writing: "Touching the punishment of heretics, methinketh it ought to be done without rashness, not leaving in the meantime to do justice to such as by learning would seem to deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used that the people might well perceive them not to be condemned without just occasion; by which they shall both understand the truth, and beware not to do the like. And especially within London I would wish none to be burned without some of the council's presence, and both there and everywhere good sermons at the same time."

On the 23rd of January all the bishops went to Lambeth to receive the legate's blessing and directions. Pole, whose natural temper was mild and whose character was virtuous, desired them to return to their sees and endeavour to win back their flocks by gentle methods. On the 25th (the conversion of St. Paul) there was a solemn procession through London. First went one hundred and sixty priests, all in their copes; then came eight bishops, and lastly Bonner, bearing the host; thanksgivings were offered to God for reconciling them again to his church; bonfires blazed all through the night, and this day was appointed to be annually observed under the name of the Feast of Reconciliation. On the 28th the chancellor, aided by the bishops Bonner, Tunstall, Heath, Thirlby, Aldrich, and other prelates, with the duke of Norfolk and the lords Montague and Wharton, opened his court under the legatine authority for the trial of heretics at St. Mary Overy's in Southwark.

The bishops Hooper and Ferrar, and Rogers, Taylor, and some other divines had been brought on the 22nd before the chancellor and council; they had to undergo the ill language and browbeating of Gardiner, but they persisted in maintaining their principles. Hooper and Rogers were now put on their trial. The former was charged with marrying, though a priest; with maintaining that marriages may be legally dissolved for fornication and adultery, and that persons so released may marry again; and with denying transubstantiation. He admitted the truth of all.

Rogers was asked if he would accept the queen's mercy and be reconciled to the Catholic church. He replied that he had never departed from that church, and that he would not purchase the queen's clemency by relapsing into anti-Christian doctrines. Gardiner then asked the fatal question, did he believe that the body of the Lord was really present in the sacrament. He answered that he did not. The two prisoners were brought up again, and as they refused to recant they were condemned on the charges already mentioned. Rogers requested that his poor wife, being a stranger (she was a German), might come and speak with him while yet he lived. "She is not thy wife," said Gardiner. "Yea, but she is, my lord," replied Rogers,

[1 Courtenay had been proposed as her husband, but she had declined him as well as Emmanuel Philibert, duke of Savoy, and Eric, son of the Swedish king. She had already begun that policy of the evasion of marriage which so characterised her reign.]

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"and hath been so these eighteen years." His request was refused. The two prisoners were then committed to the sheriffs, with directions to keep them in the Clink till night and then to transfer them to Newgate. In order that the city might be enveloped in darkness, orders were given that the costermongers, who then, as now, sat with candles at their stalls, should put them out; but the people stood with lights at their doors, and greeted, prayed for, and praised the confessors as they passed.

Some days after, Bonner came to Newgate, and in the chapel performed the ceremony of degrading them, on which occasion he rejected the renewed request of Rogers to be allowed to see his wife. On the 4th of February Rogers was led forth to be burned in Smithfield. Immense crowds were assembled in the streets, who cheered and applauded him as he went along repeating the fifty-first Psalm. Among them he beheld his wife and his ten children, one of them an infant at the breast. At the stake a pardon was offered him if he would recant; he refused it, and died with constancy, England's Protestant proto-martyr.[1]

Hooper, whom it was determined to burn in his own diocese, was committed to the charge of six men of the royal guard, who were to conduct him to Gloucester. As it was market-day (February 9th) about seven thousand people were assembled, but strict orders from the council not to permit him to address the people had been received.[2] A box containing his pardon was set before the victim. "If you love my soul, away with it!" said he twice. When he was fixed to the stake, one of his guards came and kindly fastened some bags of gunpowder about him to shorten his torments. The pyre was then inflamed, but most of the wood was green, and the wind blew the flames from him. At length it blazed up, but it sank again, leaving him all scorched; even the explosion of the powder did him little injury. His sufferings lasted for three-quarters of an hour, during which he was seen to move his lips constantly in prayer, and to beat his breast, which he continued to do with one hand after his other arm had dropped off. At length his agonies came to their close.*i*

Of all the heroes of the Reformation, Rowland Taylor is, to our minds, the most interesting, because the most natural. Of a hearty, bluff English nature, full of kindliness and pleasantry, he is perfectly unconscious of playing a great part in this terrible drama, and goes to his death as gaily as to a marriage-feast. Fuller *p* says that those "who admire the temper of Sir Thomas More jesting with the axe of the executioner, will excuse our Taylor making himself merry with the stake." He has been compared to Socrates in his simplicity and jocularity, his affection for his friends, and his resolution to shrink from no danger rather than compromise the goodness of his cause.

The account which Foxe *g* has given of Rowland Taylor is held by Heber *q* to be only inferior to the eloquence and dignity of the Phædo of Plato. Taylor had been chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer, but having been appointed rector of Hadleigh in Suffolk, he devoted himself most zealously to the duties of his parish. He was married and had nine children. Soon after the accession of Mary some zealous papists took forcible possession of his church and brought a priest to perform mass. Taylor remonstrated, with more wrath

[1 Gardiner's *o* statement should be noted: "It was not only Mary who thought it meet that heretics should be burned. John Rogers, who was the first to suffer, had in the days of Edward pleaded for the death of Joan Becher. Hooper was carried to Gloucester that he might die at the one of his two sees which he had stripped of its property to enrich the crown."]

[2] The martyrs were usually enjoined not to speak. Foxe *g* says that the council used to threaten to cut out their tongues if they did not pledge themselves to be silent.

than worldly prudence, against what he called popish idolatry; and he was cited to appear in London before the chancellor. He remained in confinement for about a year and three-quarters, when he was brought before the commissioners and condemned as a heretic.

His degradation was performed by Bonner, the usual mode being to put the garments of a Roman Catholic priest on the clerk-convict, and then to strip them off. Taylor refused to put them on, and was forcibly robed by another. "And when he was thoroughly furnished therewith, he set his hands to his sides, and said, 'How say you, my lord, am I not a goodly fool? How say you, my masters, if I were in Cheap should I not have boys enough to laugh at these apish toys?' " The final ceremony was for the bishop to give the heretic a blow on his breast with his crosier-staff. "The bishop's chaplain said, 'My lord, strike him not, for he will sure strike again.' 'Yes, by St. Peter, will I,' quoth Doctor Taylor; 'the cause is Christ's and I were no good Christian if I would not fight in my Master's quarrel.' So the bishop laid his curse on him, and struck him not." When he went back to his fellow-prisoner, Bradford, he told him the chaplain had said he would strike again; "and by my troth," said he, rubbing his hands, "I made him believe I would do so indeed." We give the scene as we find it, as an exhibition of character and of manners. What Heber calls "the coarse vigour of his pleasantry" may justly appear to some as foolish irreverence. But under this rough contempt of an authority which he despised, there was in this parish priest a tenderness and love most truly Christian.[e]

JOHN FOXE'S ACCOUNT OF TAYLOR'S DEATH

On the next morrow after that Doctor Taylor had supped with his wife, which was the 5th day of February, the sheriff of London with his officers came to the compter by two o'clock in the morning, and so brought forth Doctor Taylor, and without any light led him to the Woolsack, an inn without Aldgate. Doctor Taylor's wife, suspecting that her husband should that night be carried away, watched all night in St. Botolph's church-porch beside Aldgate, having with her two children. Now when the sheriff and his company came against St. Botolph's church, Elizabeth cried, saying, "O my dear father! mother, mother, here is my father led away." Then cried his wife, "Rowland, Rowland, where art thou?" for it was a very dark morning, that the one could not see the other. Doctor Taylor answered, "Dear wife, I am here"; and stayed.

Then came she to him, and he took his daughter Mary in his arms; and he, his wife, and Elizabeth kneeled down and said the Lord's prayer. At which sight the sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, "Farewell, my dear wife; be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my conscience. God shall stir up a father for my children." And then he kissed his daughter Mary, and said, "God bless thee, and make thee his servant"; and kissing Elizabeth, he said, "God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his word, and keep you from idolatry." Then said his wife, "God be with thee, dear Rowland; I will, with God's grace, meet thee at Hadley."

And so was he led forth to the Woolsack, and his wife followed him. At the coming out of the gates, John Hull [his servant] stood at the rails with Thomas, Doctor Taylor's son. When Doctor Taylor saw them, he called

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them, saying, "Come hither, my son Thomas." And John Hull lifted the child up, and set him on the horse before his father; and Doctor Taylor put off his hat, and said to the people that stood there looking on him, "Good people, this is mine own son, begotten of my body in lawful matrimony; and God be blessed for lawful matrimony." Then lifted he up his eyes towards heaven and prayed for his son; laid his hat upon the child's head and blessed him; and so delivered the child to John Hull, whom he took by the hand and said, "Farewell, John Hull, the faithfullest servant that ever man had."

And so they rode forth to Brentwood, where they caused to be made for Doctor Taylor a close hood, with two holes for his eyes to look out at, and a slit for his mouth to breathe at. This they did that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man; which practice they used also with others. Their own consciences told them that they led innocent lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared lest if the people should have heard them speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more strengthened by their godly exhortations to stand steadfast in God's word and to fly the superstitions and idolatries of the papacy.

All the way Doctor Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bridal. He spake many notable things to the sheriff and yeomen of the guard that conducted him, and often moved them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to die. Then said Doctor Taylor, "I will tell you how I have been deceived, and, as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great carcase, which I thought should have been buried in Hadley churchyard, if I had died in my bed, as I well hoped I should have done; but herein I see I was deceived; and there are a great number of worms in Hadley churchyard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this carrion, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we be deceived, both I and they; for this carcase must be burnt to ashes; and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, that they looked to have had of it."

When the sheriff and his company heard him say so they were amazed, and looked one on another, marvelling at the man's constant mind, that thus, without all fear, made but a jest at the cruel torment and death now at hand prepared for him. Coming within two miles of Hadley, he desired, for somewhat, to light off his horse; which done, he leaped and set a frisk or twain, as men commonly do in dancing. "Why, master doctor," quoth the sheriff, "how do you now?" He answered: "Well, God be praised, good master sheriff, never better; for now I know I am almost at home. I lack not past two stiles to go over, and I am even at my Father's house. But, master sheriff," said he, "shall we not go through Hadley?" "Yes," said the sheriff, "you shall go through Hadley." Then said he, "O good Lord! I thank thee, I shall yet once more ere I die see my flock, whom thou, Lord, knowest I have most heartily loved and truly taught. Good Lord! bless them and keep them steadfast in thy word and truth."

The streets of Hadley were beset on both sides the way with men and women of the town and country who waited to see him; whom when they beheld so led to death, with weeping eyes and lamentable voices they cried, saying one to another, "Ah, good Lord! there goeth our good shepherd from us that so faithfully hath taught us, so fatherly hath cared for us, and so

godly hath governed us. O merciful God! what shall we poor scattered lambs do? What shall come of this most wicked world? Good Lord, strengthen him, and comfort him"; with such other most lamentable and piteous voices. Wherefore the people were sore rebuked by the sheriff and the catchpoles his men that led him. And Doctor Taylor evermore said to the people, "I have preached to you God's word and truth, and am come this day to seal it with my blood."

At the last, coming to Aldham common, the place assigned where he should suffer, and seeing a great multitude of people gathered thither, he asked, "What place is this, and what meaneth it that so much people are gathered hither?" It was answered, "It is Aldham common, the place where you must suffer; and the people are come to look upon you." Then said he, "Thanked be God, I am even at home"; and so alighted from his horse, and with both his hands rent the hood from his head. Now was his head knotted evil-favouredly, and clipped much like as a man would clip a fool's head; which cost the good bishop Bonner had bestowed upon him, when he degraded him. But when the people saw his reverend and ancient face, with a long white beard, they burst into weeping tears, and cried, saying, "God save thee, good Doctor Taylor! Jesus Christ strengthen thee, and help thee; the Holy Ghost comfort thee"; with such other like godly wishes. Then would he have spoken to the people, but the yeomen of the guard were so busy about him that, as soon as he opened his mouth, one or other thrust a tipstaff into his mouth, and would in nowise permit him to speak.

Doctor Taylor, perceiving that he could not be suffered to speak, sat down, and seeing one named Soyce, he called him and said, "Soyce, I pray thee come and pull off my boots, and take them for thy labour. Thou hast long looked for them, now take them." Then rose he up, and put off his clothes unto his shirt, and gave them away; which done, he said with a loud voice, "Good people! I have taught you nothing but God's holy word, and those lessons that I have taken out of God's blessed book, the holy Bible; and I am come hither this day to seal it with my blood." With that word, Homes, yeoman of the guard aforesaid, who had used Doctor Taylor very cruelly all the way, gave him a great stroke upon the head with a waster, and said, "Is that the keeping of thy promise, thou heretic?" Then he, seeing they would not permit him to speak, kneeled down and prayed, and a poor woman that was among the people stepped in and prayed with him; but her they thrust away, and threatened to tread her down with horses; notwithstanding she would not remove, but abode and prayed with him. When he had prayed, he went to the stake, and kissed it, and set himself into a pitch-barrel, which they had set for him to stand in, and so stood with his back upright against the stake, with his hands folded together, and his eyes towards heaven, and so he continually prayed.

Four were appointed to set up the fagots, and to make the fire, which they most diligently did; and this Warwick cruelly cast a fagot at him, which lit upon his head, and brake his face, that the blood ran down his visage. Then said Doctor Taylor, "O friend, I have harm enough, what needed that?"

Furthermore, Sir John Shelton there standing by, as Doctor Taylor was speaking, and saying the psalm *Miserere* in English, struck him on the lips. "Ye knave," said he, "speak Latin; I will make thee." At the last they set to fire; and Doctor Taylor, holding up both his hands, called upon God, and said, "Merciful Father of heaven, for Jesus Christ my Saviour's sake, receive my soul into thy hands." So stood he still without either crying or

moving, with his hands folded together, till Soyce with a halbert struck him on the head that the brains fell out, and the dead corpse fell down into the fire.

Thus rendered the man of God his blessed soul into the hands of his merciful Father, and to his most dear and certain Saviour Jesus Christ, whom he most entirely loved, faithfully and earnestly preached, obediently followed in living, and constantly glorified in death.[g]

FURTHER PERSECUTIONS

Foxe gives at length a letter written anonymously to Bishop Bonner by a woman he had sought to apprehend. As an index of the mood of the time, part of it is worth quoting:

"I see that you are set all in a rage like a ravening wolf against the poor lambs of Christ appointed to the slaughter for the testimony of the truth. Indeed, you are called the common cutthroat and general slaughter-slave to all the bishops of England; and therefore it is wisdom for me and all other simple sheep of the Lord to keep us out of your butcher's stall as long as we can. The very papists themselves begin now to abhor your bloodthirstiness, and speak shame of your tyranny. Like tyranny, believe me, my lord, every child that can any whit speak, can call you by your name and say, 'Bloody Bonner is bishop of London'; and every man hath it as perfectly upon his fingers' ends, as his Paternoster, how many you, for your part, have burned with fire and famished in prison; they say the whole sum surmounteth to forty persons within this three-quarters of this year. Therefore, my lord, though your lordship believeth that there is neither heaven nor hell, nor God nor devil, yet if your lordship love your own honesty, which was lost long agone, you were best to surcease from this cruel burning of true Christian men, and also from murdering of some in prison; for that indeed offendeth men's minds most. Therefore, say not but a woman gave you warning, if you list to take it. And as for the obtaining of your popish purpose in suppressing the truth, I put you out of doubt, you shall not obtain it so long as you go this way to work as ye do; for verily I believe that you have lost the hearts of twenty thousand that were rank papists within this twelve months."[g]

In Guernsey a pregnant woman was brought to the stake, and in her terror gave birth to a child, which a compassionate spectator attempted to save; but others snatched up the infant and threw it into the flames, with the assent of the officers; for it was already infected with the poison of heresy and ought to perish! Thus, by religious persecution, man sinks in wickedness lower than the spirits of hell, and in stupidity below the brute beast.[r]

Our limits do not allow us to enter into the details of the martyrdom of Sanders, Bradford, and others. Suffice it to say that they all died with the utmost constancy, especially those who were married,[1] thus nobly refuting the slanderous assertions of their adversaries, that sensual pleasure was the bait which allured them to the reformed creed.

It is remarkable that after the condemnation of Hooper and Rogers, the chancellor Gardiner sat no more, but resigned the odious office to Bonner, of whom it has been truly said by Mackintosh,[t] that he "seems to have been of so detestable a nature, that if there had been no persecution he must have sought other means of venting his cruelty."

Another notable circumstance is this: On the 10th of February, 1555, Alfonso de Castro, a Franciscan friar and confessor to the king, preached a

[1 "The married clergy were observed to suffer with most alacrity. They were bearing testimony to the validity and sanctity of their marriage; the honour of their wives and children were at stake; the desire of leaving them an unsullied name, and a virtuous example, combined with a sense of religious duty; and thus the heart derived strength from the very ties which in other circumstances might have weakened it."—SOUTHEY.s]

sermon, in which he condemned these sanguinary proceedings in very strong terms, as contrary to both the text and the spirit of the Gospel. Whether the friar in doing so acted from conscience or the directions of Philip cannot be ascertained.[1] If the latter was the cause, it must have been that Philip, seeing the horror caused by these barbarous executions, and knowing that they would be laid to his charge, and that he would thus lose all chance of obtaining the government of England, took this mode of clearing himself. But the stratagem, if it was such, was of no avail; in a few weeks the piles were rekindled, and every one knew that he had such influence over the queen that he could have ended the persecution at his pleasure.

The possessors of the church lands, as we have seen, seem to have cared little about religion or conscience in comparison with their houses and manors; but they now ran some risk of seeing their rights of possession disputed. A splendid embassy, headed by Lord Montague, Thirlby, bishop of Ely, and Sir Edward Carne, was sent to Rome to lay the submission of England before the papal throne. But while they were on the road Pope Pius died, and his successor, Marcellus, followed him to the tomb within a few days after his elevation. The choice of the college now fell on the cardinal Caraffa, a man hitherto distinguished for the austerity of his manners. This haughty pontiff condescended to forgive the English nation the sin of their defection, and he confirmed the erection of Ireland into a kingdom.

While England was thus brought again within the papal fold, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer lay in prison expecting the fate which they knew awaited them. In the beginning of March in the preceding year they had been transmitted to Oxford, where they were required to dispute with a commission, presided over by Doctor Weston, on the subject of the eucharist and the mass. This disputation lasted for three days, April 13th–15th, 1554. The prisoners met with little but sophistry, insult, and derision; and as they steadfastly maintained their opinions, they were condemned as heretics, "themselves, their fautors and patrons." Cranmer, probably being regarded as an attainted traitor, was confined in the common gaol, which was named Bocardo; the other two prelates were kept in separate houses.

As there was no law at this time by which deniers of the real presence could be burned, the government was obliged to wait till parliament should have armed them with powers for the purpose. The prelates were therefore left in their prisons till the autumn of the following year (1555), when Brookes, bishop of Gloucester, came down by commission from the legate as papal sub-delegate, attended by two civilians, Martin and Storey, as the royal proctors.

He opened his commission (September 12th) in St. Mary's church, seated on a scaffold ten feet high over the high altar. Cranmer was led in, habited in his doctor's dress; he took no notice of Brookes, but saluted the royal proctors. Brookes observed that his present situation entitled him to more respect. Cranmer mildly replied that he meant no personal disrespect to him, but that he had solemnly sworn never to readmit the bishop of Rome's authority into the realm. Brookes then addressed him, charging him with heresy, perjury, treason, and adultery.

Cranmer proceeded to deny the authority of the pope, and to inveigh against the practice of saying prayers in a foreign language. Speaking of his book on the eucharist, he maintained that it was conformable to the decisions of the church for the first thousand years. He objected to the witnesses who

[1 In view of the atrocities committed in Spain and the Netherlands, it is more probable, according to Aubrey,[u] that Philip urged on the persecutions. According to Lingard[f] the resumption of the fires was due to the insurrections against Mary.].

appeared against him as being perjured men, who had before sworn to renounce the pope. The next day he was cited to appear in person before the pope within eighty days, and was then sent back to his prison.

On the 30th of September Brookes sat again, aided by White of Lincoln and Holiman of Bristol. Ridley and Latimer were brought before them. Five articles, two of which related to transubstantiation and the mass, were offered to them to subscribe. They refused, and protested against the authority of the court.

They were excommunicated as impugners of the real presence, transubstantiation, and the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass. Some days after the mockery of degradation was undergone.

The following morning (October 16th) the martyrs were led from their prisons to the pyre in the old city-ditch, opposite Balliol college. As Ridley passed by Bocardo he looked up, hoping to catch a last view of Cranmer; but he was at that moment engaged in an argument with de Soto, a Spanish dominican and some others. He afterwards, it is said, went up to the roof of the prison, whence he had a view of the pyre, and on his knees, with outspread hands, prayed to God to give them constancy of faith and hope in their agony. When the prisoners arrived at the fatal spot, they embraced each other, and Ridley said, "Be of good heart, brother, for God will either assuage the fury of the fire or else strengthen us to abide it." They kissed their stakes, knelt and prayed, and then conversed together. Doctor Smyth, a man who always thought with those in power, then mounted a pulpit and preached from the text, "Though I give my body to be burned and have not charity it profiteth me nothing," and the sort of charity which his discourse contained may be easily conjectured. When they were fastened to the stakes Ridley's brother-in-law attached bags of gunpowder to them. A lighted fagot was then thrown at their feet.

"Be of good comfort, master Ridley," then said Latimer, "and play the man. We shall this day, by God's grace, light in England such a candle as I trust shall never be put out." He washed his hands, as it were, in the flames, and then stroked his face with them, and crying, "Father of heaven, receive my soul!" speedily expired. Ridley's sufferings were greatly protracted; the bottom of the pyre being composed of furze, with fagots heaped upon it, the flame beneath was at first strong, and it burned his lower extremities, but it then subsided. In agony he cried, "Oh, for Christ's sake, let the fire come unto me!" His brother-in-law heaped on more fagots; the victim became enveloped in a dense smoke, when he kept crying, "I cannot burn; oh, let the fire come unto me!" Some of the fagots were then removed, the flame sprang up, the smoke cleared off, and it was seen that on one side his shirt was not even discoloured. He turned eagerly to the flame, the gunpowder exploded, and he ceased to exist.

The arch-persecutor Gardiner soon followed his victims to the tomb. He had been suffering from disease of late. On the 21st of October, however, when the parliament met, he addressed it, and displayed even more than his usual powers. But the effort was too much for him; he returned to his house, where he died on the 12th of November. He is said to have shown some penitence, for on the Saviour's passion being read to him, when they came to St. Peter's denial, he bade them stop there, for, said he, "I have denied with Peter, I have gone out with Peter, but I have not yet wept bitterly with Peter"; words, however, rather ambiguous. He was, as his whole life shows, a worldly minded, ambitious man, of unscrupulous conscience, proud and arrogant, false and artful. The reformers charged him with looseness and

incontinence of living. He was, however, an able statesman, and there is something not unworthy of respect in his conduct during the late reign.[1]

The parliament, owing either to the want of Gardiner to manage it, or to the horror caused by the late sanguinary proceedings, or aversion to the Spanish alliance, was much less compliant than was wished. The queen's zeal had already led her to give back to the church such portions of its lands as were in the possession of the crown; but she wished to do more, and to restore the tenths, first-fruits, etc., which had been transferred from the pope to Henry VIII by the act which made him supreme head of the church. This measure passed the lords without opposition, but the resistance in the commons was vigorous, the numbers being one hundred and ninety-three for, one hundred and twenty-six against, it. As a revenue of sixty thousand pounds a year was thus abandoned, the commons were naturally indignant at being called on to grant considerable supplies. "What justice is there," said they, "in taxing the subject to relieve the sovereign's necessities, when she refuses to avail herself of funds legally at her disposal?" The ministers were finally obliged to be content with much less than they originally demanded. The commons refused to pass a bill of penalties against the duchess of Suffolk and those who had sought refuge abroad against persecution, and another to disable certain persons from acting as justices of peace; for it was known that their aversion to persecution was their offence. Parliament was dissolved on the 9th of December, 1555.

When Philip found that the queen's pregnancy had been all an illusion, and that there remained little or no hope of offspring, and saw the utter impossibility of his ever acquiring the affections of the nation, he readily complied with his father's desire of returning to Flanders. He took his leave of the queen on the 4th of September, and on the 25th of the following month the emperor made to him the famous resignation of his dominions.[2] Mary meantime beguiled the tedium of his absence by persecuting her heretical subjects and by re-establishing the friars in their houses; the Grey Friars were replaced at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the Brigittines at Sion. Westminster again became an abbey, and the house of the Knights of St. John rose from its ruins. She doubtless, in her blind fanaticism, reckoned it as not her least merit in the sight of God that in the course of this year not less than sixty-seven impugners of the real presence, of whom four were bishops and fifteen were priests, had perished in the flames.

THE LAST DAYS OF CRANMER

Cranmer still lay in prison. He had written a very manly letter to the queen, wherein he stated his reasons for denying the pope's authority. To this, by her direction, Pole wrote a reply; it was in his usual vague declamatory style, well seasoned with invective, but containing a memorable attestation of Cranmer's merciful exercise of his authority. The pontiff meantime, as soon as the eighty days were expired, condemned him, collated Pole to the primacy, and issued a commission for Cranmer's degradation.

On the 14th of February, 1556, Bonner of London and Thirlby of Ely took their seats in the choir of Christ Church at Oxford as papal com-

[1 Lingard *f* denies that he was the soul of the persecution, as alleged, and points out that while his enemies accused him of amassing between thirty and forty thousand pounds, his will, in which he bequeathed his all to the queen, showed that he possessed "but an inconsiderable sum."]

[2 See the histories of the Netherlands and of the Holy Roman Empire.]

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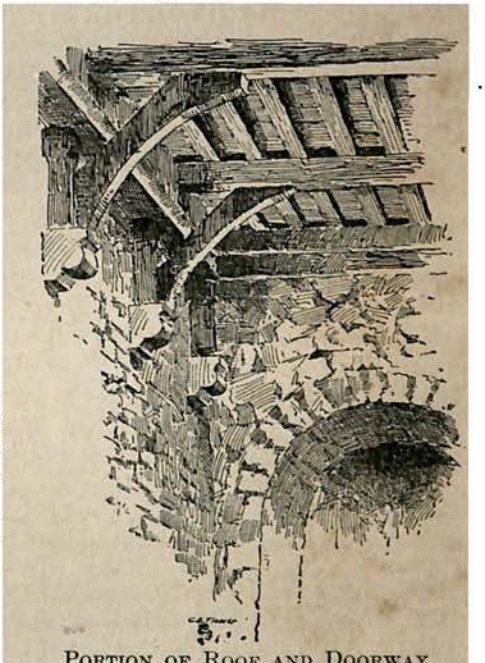
missioners. Cranmer was led in; the commission was read, dwelling as usual on the papal impartiality, and stating what ample time had been given to the accused to proceed with his appeal and defence. "My lord," cried Cranmer, "what lies be these! that I, being continually in prison, and never suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should procure witness and appoint counsel at Rome. God must needs punish this open and shameless falsehood." When the commission was read, the various Romish vestments, made of canvas by way of insult, were produced, and he was arrayed in them; a mock mitre was placed on his head, and a mock crosier in his hand. The brutal Bonner then began to scoff at him. "This is the man," cried he, "that hath despised the pope, and now is to be judged by him! This is the man that hath pulled down so many churches, and now is come to be judged in a church! This is the man that contemned the blessed sacrament, and now is come to be condemned before that sacrament!" And so he ran on, though Thirlby, who was a man of gentle nature and had been very intimate with the primate, shed floods of tears, declared that he sat there against his will, and implored him to recant.



PORTION OF ROOF AND DOORWAY IN THE TOWER.

Cranmer was now civilly degraded, and might be burned; but his enemies would have him morally degraded also; every engine was therefore set at work to induce him to recant. He was assured that the queen felt favourably towards him; "but then," it was added, "her majesty will have Cranmer a Catholic, or she will have no Cranmer at all." To these various temptations he at length yielded.

There are in fact not less than six recantations preserved which Cranmer is said to have subscribed. Of these, the fifth alone contains an unequivocal assent to the doctrines of popery. The love of life led Cranmer into duplicity, and we have his own assertion that he had written or signed papers containing "many things untrue."

Aware of his duplicity, or determined that it should not save him, the government had sent down the writ for his execution, but his fate was concealed from him. Between nine and ten o'clock of March 21st, 1556, he was led forth to be burned in the place where his friends had suffered, but as the morning was wet, the sermon was to be preached in St. Mary's church. He walked thither—now, it would seem, aware of his fate—between two friars, who mumbled psalms as they went; and as they entered the church they sang the *Nunc dimittis*, which must have assured him that his time was come.

Cole then commenced his sermon, by assigning reasons why in the present case a heretic, though penitent, should be burned. He then exhorted Cranmer and assured him that masses and dirges should be chanted for the repose of his soul. He concluded by calling on all present to pray for the prisoner. All knelt. Cole then called on Cranmer to perform his promise and make a con-

fession of his faith, so that all might understand that he was a Catholic indeed. "I will do it," said Cranmer, "and that with a good will."

He rose, put off his cap, and gravely addressed the people, exhorting them "not to set overmuch by the false glosing world, to obey the king and queen, to love one another like brethren and sistren, to give unto the poor." He then declared his belief in the creed, and in all things taught in the Old and New Testaments. "And now," said he, "I am come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that I ever said or did in my life, and that is the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth; which here now I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death and to save my life if might be; and that is all such papers as I have written or signed since my degradation, wherein I have written many things untrue; and forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, my hand when I come to the fire shall first be burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him as Christ's enemy and Antichrist with all his false doctrine." At these words murmurs were heard. Lord Williams charged him with dissembling. "Alas, my lord," said he, "I have been a man that all my life loved plainness, and until this time never did I dissemble against the truth; I am most sorry for this my fault, but now is the time in which I must strip off all disguise." He would have spoken more, but Cole cried out, "Stop the heretic's mouth, and take him away."

He was now hurried away to the stake. He again declared "that he repented his recantation right sore," whereupon the lord Williams cried, "Make short, make short!" Fire being now put to him, he stretched out his right hand and thrust it into the flame, and held it there a good space before the fire came to any other part of his body, when his hand was seen of every man sensibly burning, crying with a loud voice, "This hand hath offended." His sufferings were short, as the fire soon blazed fiercely; his heart was found entire amidst the ashes.*i*

Macaulay's Estimate of Cranmer

If we consider Cranmer merely as a statesman, he will not appear a much worse man than Wolsey, Gardiner, Cromwell, or Somerset. But when an attempt is made to set him up as a saint, it is scarcely possible for any man of sense who knows the history of the times to preserve his gravity. The origin of his greatness, common enough in the scandalous chronicles of courts, seems strangely out of place in a hagiology. Cranmer rose into favour by serving Henry in the disgraceful affair of his first divorce. He promoted the marriage of Anne Boleyn with the king. On a frivolous pretence he pronounced that marriage null and void. On a pretence, if possible, still more frivolous, he dissolved the ties which bound the shameless tyrant to Anne of Cleves. He attached himself to Cromwell while the fortunes of Cromwell flourished. He voted for cutting off Cromwell's head without a trial when the tide of royal favour turned. He conformed backwards and forwards as the king changed his mind.

He assisted, while Henry lived, in condemning to the flames those who denied the doctrine of transubstantiation. He found out, as soon as Henry was dead, that the doctrine was false. He was, however, not at a loss for people to burn. The authority of his station and of his gray hairs was employed to overcome the disgust with which an intelligent and virtuous child regarded persecution. Intolerance is always bad; but the sanguinary intolerance of a man who thus wavered in his creed excites a loathing to which it is

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difficult to give vent without calling foul names. Equally false to political and to religious obligations, the primate was first the tool of Somerset, and then the tool of Northumberland. When the protector wished to put his own brother to death, without even the semblance of a trial, he found a ready instrument in Cranmer. In spite of the canon law, which forbade a churchman to take any part in matters of blood, the archbishop signed the warrant for the atrocious sentence. When Somerset had been in his turn destroyed, his destroyer received the support of Cranmer in a wicked attempt to change the course of the succession.

The apology made for him by his admirers only renders his conduct more contemptible. He complied, it is said, against his better judgment, because he could not resist the entreaties of Edward. A holy prelate of sixty, one would think, might be better employed by the bedside of a dying child than in committing crimes at the request of the young disciple. If Cranmer had shown half as much firmness when Edward requested him to commit treason as he had before shown when Edward requested him not to commit murder, he might have saved the country from one of the greatest misfortunes that it ever underwent. He became, from whatever motive, the accomplice of the worthless Dudley. The virtuous scruples of another young and amiable mind were to be overcome. As Edward had been forced into persecution, Jane was to be seduced into treason. No transaction in our annals is more unjustifiable than this.

To the part which Cranmer, and, unfortunately, some better men than Cranmer, took in this most reprehensible scheme, much of the severity with which the Protestants were afterwards treated must in fairness be ascribed.

The plot failed, popery triumphed, and Cranmer recanted. Most people look on his recantation as a single blemish on an honourable life, the frailty of an unguarded moment. But, in fact, his recantation was in strict accordance with the system on which he had constantly acted. It was part of a regular habit. It was not the first recantation that he had made; and, in all probability, if it had answered its purpose, it would not have been the last. We do not blame him for not choosing to be burned alive. It is no very severe reproach to any person that he does not possess heroic fortitude. But surely a man who liked the fire so little should have had some sympathy for others. A persecutor who inflicts nothing which he is not ready to endure, deserves some respect. But when a man who loves his doctrines more than the lives of his neighbours, loves his own little finger better than his doctrines, a very simple argument *a fortiori* will enable us to estimate the amount of his benevolence.

But his martyrdom, it is said, redeemed everything. It is extraordinary that so much ignorance should exist on this subject. The fact is that, if a martyr be a man who chooses to die rather than to renounce his opinions, Cranmer was no more a martyr than Doctor Dodd. He died, solely because he could not help it. He never retracted his recantation till he found he had made it in vain. The queen was fully resolved that, Catholic or Protestant, he should burn. Then he spoke out, as people generally speak out when they are at the point of death and have nothing to hope or to fear on earth. If Mary had suffered him to live, we suspect that he would have heard mass and received absolution, like a good Catholic, till the accession of Elizabeth, and that he would then have purchased, by another apostasy, the power of burning men better and braver than himself.

We do not mean, however, to represent him as a monster of wickedness. He was not wantonly cruel or treacherous. He was merely a supple, timid,

interested courtier in times of frequent and violent change. That which has always been represented as his distinguishing virtue, the facility with which he forgave his enemies, belongs to the character. Slaves of his class are never vindictive, and never grateful. A present interest effaces past services and past injuries from their minds together. Their only object is self-preservation; and for this they conciliate those who wrong them, just as they abandon those who serve them. Before we extol a man for his forgiving temper, we should inquire whether he is above revenge or below it.[v]

In contrast with the tremendous scorn of Macaulay for the weaknesses of Cranmer, we may quote Sir James Mackintosh in his defence. He begins with a citation from Strype,[w] who quotes the testimony of a Catholic eye-witness of Cranmer's death.[a]

Mackintosh's Estimate of Cranmer

"His patience in the torment, his courage in dying, if it had been for the glory of God, the weal of his country, or the testimony of truth, as it was for a pernicious error, I could worthily have commended the example, and marked it with the fame of any father of ancient time. His death much grieved every man—his friends for love, his enemies for pity, strangers for a common kind of humanity whereby we are bound to one another."[1]

To add anything to this equally authentic and picturesque narration from the hand of a generous enemy,[2] which is one of the most beautiful specimens of ancient English, would be an unskilful act of presumption. The language of Cranmer speaks his sincerity, and demonstrates that the love of truth still prevailed in his inmost heart. It gushed forth at the sight of death, full of healing power, engendering a purifying and ennobling penitence, and restoring the mind to its own esteem after a departure from the strict path of sincerity. Courage survived a public avowal of dishonour, the hardest test to which that virtue can be exposed; and if he once fatally failed in fortitude, he in his last moments atoned for his failure by a magnanimity equal to his transgression.[3] Let those who require unbending virtue in tempestuous times condemn the amiable and faulty primate. Others, who are not so certain of their own steadiness, will consider the fate of Cranmer as perhaps the most memorable example in history of a soul which, though debased, was not depraved by an act of weakness, and preserved a heroic courage after the forfeiture of honour, its natural spur, and, in general, its inseparable companion.

The firm endurance of sufferings by the martyrs of conscience, if rightly contemplated, is the most consolatory spectacle in the clouded life of man; far more ennobling and sublime than the outward victories of virtue, which must be partly won by weapons not her own, and are often the lot of her foulest foes. Magnanimity in enduring pain for the sake of conscience is not, indeed, an unerring mark of rectitude; but it is, of all other destinies, that which most exalts the sect or party whom it visits, and bestows on their story an undying command over the hearts of their fellow-men.[t]

[1] The extracts above are from the narrative of a Catholic who was present; it is given by Strype in his *Life of Cranmer*.

[2] The narrative of the Catholic eye-witness quoted by Strype.]

[3] Compared to others of his rank and station, Cranmer appears a miracle of constancy and perseverance. Lords and ladies were almost everywhere on the side of the queen. Elizabeth herself was an assiduous embroiderer of petticoats for female saints, and a devout walker in solemn processions. Cecil, Sadler, and all the great names we shall meet with in the next reign, were vacillating bondsmen of the pope.—WHITE.*ii*]

Froude on Cranmer

As the translation of the Bible bears upon it the imprint of the mind of Tyndale, so, while the church of England remains, the image of Cranmer will be seen reflected on the calm surface of the liturgy. The most beautiful portions of it are translations from the breviary; yet the same prayers translated by others would not be those which chime like church-bells in the ears of the English child. The translations, and the addresses which are original, have the same silvery melody of language, and breathe the same simplicity of spirit. So long as Cranmer trusted himself, and would not let himself be dragged beyond his convictions, he was the representative of the feelings of the best among his countrymen. He was brought out, with the eyes of his soul blinded, to make sport for his enemies, and in his death he brought upon them a wider destruction than he had effected by his teaching while alive.[m]

THE PUNISHMENT OF DEAD BODIES

The day after the murder of Cranmer, Cardinal Pole was consecrated archbishop of Canterbury, and he then assumed the public functions of the papal legate. He was a man of too much moderation to suit the temper of the furious Paul IV, who subsequently attempted to supersede him as legate, which attempt Mary had the spirit to resist. But he either wanted the inclination or the power to control the extravagant bigotry of the English universities, whose authorities, in 1557, perpetrated deeds that show how little learning is akin to wisdom when it associates itself with superstitions that outrage the natural feelings of mankind.

At the period when two new colleges were founded in Oxford—Trinity by Sir Thomas Pope, and St. John's by Sir Thomas White—that university was visited by the commissioners of the cardinal, who not only burned all the English Bibles and other heretical books, but went through the farce of making a process against the body of Peter Martyr's wife, who had been buried in one of the churches. They could find no witnesses who had heard her utter any heresies, for she could speak no English. So, under the direction of the cardinal, they transferred her body to a dunghill, upon the plea that she had been a nun and had died excommunicated. A scene equally disgusting was perpetrated by Pole's commissioners at Cambridge. They laid the churches of St. Mary's and St. Michael's under interdict, because the bodies of the great reformers, Bucer and Fagius, were buried in them. The dead were then cited to appear; but not answering to the summons, they were judged to be obstinate heretics, and their bodies were to be taken out of their graves and delivered to the secular power. On the 6th of February these bodies were publicly burned, according to the ancient ceremonies, which Rome had found so effectual in the case of Wycliffe.[e]

WAR WITH FRANCE (1557-1558 A.D.)

Philip, who was now at war with France, was anxious to obtain the aid of England;[1] for this purpose he came over in March, 1557. He assured the queen that it would be his last visit if he was refused. Mary was, of course,

[1 The resources of the kingdom were at Philip's command, and he even took ships of the English fleet to escort his father, the emperor, on his abdication, to Spain. More extra-

most desirous of gratifying him, but Pole and other members of the council were decidedly opposed to engaging England in a war for Spanish interests. Fortunately for Philip, just at this time Thomas Stafford, grandson to the last duke of Buckingham, sailed with a small force from Dieppe, landed and seized the old castle of Scarborough, and put forth a proclamation stating that he was come to deliver the nation from its present thraldom to the Spaniards. But no one joined him, and he was obliged to surrender on the fourth day (April 28th) to the earl of Westmoreland. He was brought up to London and beheaded, after being made to confess that the king of France had aided and encouraged him in his enterprise. The resistance of the council, whom the queen had in vain menaced even with a dismissal, was now overcome, and war was declared against France.

COSTUME IN THE TIME OF MARY

The queen, who two years before had had recourse to sundry unjust and violent modes of raising money, put some of them now again in practice, especially that of privy seals, that is, letters addressed to persons of substance requiring them to lend the sums specified in them to the crown. To victual a fleet she seized all the corn that could be come at in Norfolk and Suffolk; and having by the aid of impressment raised an army of ten thousand men, she sent it under the earl of Pembroke to join that of Philip in the Low Countries. In order to secure herself against disturbances at home, she put into the Tower such of the gentry as she most suspected, and they were taken thither either by night or muffled up that they might not be recognised.

The Spanish army, when joined by the English auxiliaries, numbered forty thousand men. The Duke of Savoy, who commanded it, laid siege to the town of St. Quentin. The constable Montmorency advanced to its relief; but failing in his attempts to throw succour into the town, he was attacked on

ordinary still, he ultimately succeeded in committing England to a war against France, when France had made an alliance with the pope against him as king of Spain; so the very marriage which was to confirm England in the old religion led to a war against the occupant of the see of Rome.—GAIRDNER.x]

his retreat by the besieging army, and defeated (August 10th) with a loss of three thousand men. The English fleet meantime made descents on various parts of the coast of France. The French, however, soon had ample revenge on the English queen for her share in the war. The duke of Guise, who had been recalled from Italy, resolved to attempt a plan which had been suggested by the admiral Coligny for surprising Calais. In the month of December he assembled at Compiegne an army of twenty-five thousand men with a large battering train; and while it was expected that he would attempt the recovery of St. Quentin, he suddenly marched for Calais, and on New Year's day, 1558, he was seen approaching that town. Calais was surrounded by marshes, impassable during the winter, except by a dike defended by two castles, St. Agatha and Newnhambridge. The French carried the former by a vigorous assault, and the latter was soon also obliged to surrender; the same was the fate of another castle named the Risbank, which guarded the entrance of the harbour.

Batteries were now opened on the town and castle, and the governor, Lord Wentworth, was obliged to capitulate (January 7th, 1558). Guines surrendered shortly after; and thus, after a possession of two hundred and eleven years, was lost the only acquisition of Edward III. The loss was in truth a real benefit to England, but neither the queen nor the people viewed it in that light; it was regarded as a stain on the national character, and it augmented the already great unpopularity of Mary. She was herself so affected that, when on her death-bed, she said to her attendants, "When I am dead and opened, ye shall find Calais lying in my heart."

Parliament when assembled (January 20th) made a liberal grant. A fleet was equipped, and sent to make an attempt on the port of Brest in Brittany; but it failed to achieve its object. A small squadron of ten English ships, however, lent such valuable aid to Count Egmont, in his attack at Gravelines on a French force which had invaded Flanders, as enabled him to give it a total overthrow.

DEATH OF QUEEN MARY (1558 A.D.)

The inauspicious reign of Mary was now drawing to its close. She was suffering under disease; she felt that she had lost the affections of even that portion of her people who agreed with her in religious sentiments, by her subserviency to the Spanish councils and by her arbitrary taxation, while her cruelties had drawn on her the well-merited hatred of the Protestants. She had also the mournful conviction that she had exercised cruelty to little purpose, as the heresy had been hardly checked by it; and she knew that her successor, however she might now dissemble, secretly held the reformed doctrines, and would probably re-establish them. Finally, her husband, for whom she had forfeited the affection of her subjects, and for whom she felt such extravagant fondness, was negligent if not unkind. Her mind is also said to have been kept in a constant ferment by the paper-war that was carried on against herself and her religion by the exiles at Geneva.

While such was the state of her mind and body she was attacked by the epidemic fever then prevalent, and after languishing for three months she breathed her last (November 17th), during the performance of mass in her chamber, in the forty-third year of her age. Cardinal Pole, who was ill of the same fever, died the following day.

The cardinal was a man of letters, polished in manners and virtuous in mind, generous, humane, and to a certain extent liberal in feeling; yet relig-

ion made him a traitor to his sovereign and benefactor, a scurrilous libeller, and a persecutor even unto death of those who dissented from his creed; for though it may be true that he did not urge on the persecution, he always assented to it; and not a week before his death, five persons, the last of the victims whom his own certificate had given over to the secular arm, were burned in his diocese.

With the deaths of Mary, Pole, and Gardiner, ended forever the dominion of the papacy in England. The cruelties perpetrated by them were even of advantage to the reformed faith. The English nation is naturally averse to cruelty, and the sight of the constancy and even exultation with which the martyrs met their fate, while it caused pity and admiration for the sufferers, inspired a natural favour towards the religion which enabled men to die thus cheerfully, and raised doubts as to the truth of the system which required the aid of the stake and fagot. Hence many who were Catholics at the commencement of Mary's reign were Protestants at its close; and hence her successor found so little difficulty in establishing the reformed faith. The number who perished in the flames during the four years of the persecution was little short of three hundred, of whom more than a sixth were women, and some were children and even babes.[i]

Speed[y] says two hundred and seventy-four, Burnet[z] two hundred and eighty-four, Collins[bb] two hundred and ninety. Lord Burleigh[cc] (in Strype) states the number who perished in this reign by imprisonments, torments, famine and fire at four hundred, of whom two hundred and ninety were burned. Doctor Lingard[f] says that "almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion." S. R. Gardiner[o] places the number at two hundred and seventy-seven—"almost all in the eastern and southeastern parts of England." Aubrey[u] fixes on two hundred and ninety-six, including an archbishop, four bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred handicraftsmen, labourers, and servants, twenty widows, twenty-six wives, and nine maidens. "An unknown number perished in prison by starvation, noxious disease, or torture."

A CATHOLIC ESTIMATE OF MARY (LINGARD'S)

It was the lot of Mary to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty, no less by those who rejected than by those who asserted the papal authority.[1] It might perhaps have been expected that the reformers, from their sufferings under Henry VIII, would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary. They had no sooner obtained the ascendancy during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had formerly condemned, burning the Anabaptist, and preparing to burn the Catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by the existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death; the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority.

But the zeal of Archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency; and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the reformed church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient worship with those more recently promulgated by Muncer

[1] This is equally true of the foreign religionists. See Calvin,[dd] Beza,[ee] and Melanchthon.[ff]

[1558 A.D.]

and Socinus. By the new canon law of the metropolitan, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy; and it was ordained that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts, should be excommunicated on conviction, and after a respite of sixteen days should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment provided by law.

Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature. By the accession of Mary the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time Cranmer and his associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents.

With whom the persecution under Mary originated is a matter of uncertainty. By the reformed writers the infamy of the measure is usually allotted to Gardiner, more, as far as I can judge, from conjecture and prejudice than from real information. The charge is not supported by any authentic document; it is weakened by the general tenor of the chancellor's conduct.

While the ministers in prison sought to mollify their sovereign by a dutiful address, their brethren at liberty provoked chastisement by the intemperance of their zeal. On the eve of the new year, 1555, Ross, a celebrated preacher, collected a congregation towards midnight, administered the communion, and openly prayed that God would either convert the heart of the queen or take her out of this world. He was surprised in the fact, and imprisoned with his disciples; and the parliament hastened to make it treason to have prayed since the commencement of the session, or to pray hereafter, for the queen's death. It was, however, provided that all who had been already committed for this offence might recover their liberty, by making an humble protestation of sorrow, and a promise of amendment.

It had at first been hoped that a few barbarous exhibitions would silence the voices of the preachers, and check the diffusion of their doctrines. In general they produced conformity to the established worship; but they also encouraged hypocrisy and perjury. It cannot be doubted that among the higher classes there were some who retained an attachment to the doctrines which they professed under Edward, and to which they afterwards returned under Elizabeth. Yet it will be useless to seek among the names of the sufferers for a single individual of rank, opulence, or importance. All of this description embraced, or pretended to embrace, the ancient creed. The victims of persecution, who dared to avow their real sentiments, were found only in the lower walks of life. Of the reformed clergy a few suffered—some who were already in prison, and some whose zeal prompted them to brave the authority of the law. Others, who aspired not to the crown of martyrdom, preferred to seek an asylum in foreign climes. The Lutheran Protestants refused to receive them, because they were heretics, rejecting the corporeal presence in the sacrament; but they met with a cordial welcome from the disciples of Calvin and Zwingli, and obtained permission to open churches in Strasburg, Frankfort, Basel, Geneva, Arau, and Zurich. Soon, however, the demon of discord interrupted the harmony of the exiles.

Each followed his own judgment. The very prisons became theatres of controversy; force was occasionally required to restrain the passions of the contending parties, and the men who lived in the daily expectation of being summoned to the stake for their denial of the ancient creed, found leisure to condemn and revile each other for difference of opinion respecting the use

of habits and ceremonies, and the abstruse mysteries of grace and predestination.

The persecution continued till the death of Mary. Sometimes milder counsels seemed to prevail; and on one occasion all the prisoners were discharged on the easy condition of taking an oath to be true to God and the queen. But these intervals were short, and, after some suspense, the spirit of intolerance was sure to resume the ascendancy. From the catalogue of the martyrs should be expunged the names of all who were condemned as felons or traitors, or who died peaceably in their beds, or who survived the publication of their martyrdom, or who would for their heterodoxy have been sent to the stake by the reformed prelates themselves, had they been in possession of the power.

QUEEN MARY
(1516–1558 A.D.)

Yet these deductions will take but little from the infamy of the measure. After every allowance, it will be found that, in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion, a number at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is nowhere liable to the penalties of death.

If anything could be urged in extenuation of these cruelties, it must have been the provocation given by the reformers. They heaped on the queen, her bishops, and her religion, every indecent and irritating epithet which language could supply. Her clergy could not exercise their functions without danger to their lives; a dagger was thrown at one priest in the pulpit; a gun was discharged at another; and several wounds were inflicted on a third, while he administered the communion in his church. The chief supporters of the treason of Northumberland, the most active among the adherents of Wyatt, professed the reformed creed; an impostor was suborned to personate Edward VI; some congregations prayed for the death of the queen; tracts filled with libellous and treasonable matter were transmitted from the exiles of Germany; and successive insurrections were planned by the fugitives in France.

[1558 A.D.]

We are inclined to believe that the queen herself was not actuated so much by motives of policy as of conscience; that she had imbibed the same intolerant opinion which Cranmer and Ridley laboured to instil into the young mind of Edward; "that, as Moses ordered blasphemers to be put to death, so it was the duty of a Christian prince, and more so of one who bore the title of defender of the faith, to eradicate the cockle from the field of God's church, to cut out the gangrene, that it might not spread to the sounder parts."[1] In this principle both parties seem to have agreed; the only difference between them regarded its application, as often as it affected themselves. Still, the foulest blot on the character of Mary is her long and cruel persecution of the reformers. The sufferings of the victims naturally begat an antipathy to the woman by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however, but fair to recollect that the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party. Mary only practised what they taught. It was her misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries.

With this exception, she has been ranked, by the more moderate of the reformed writers, among the best, though not the greatest, of our princes. They have borne honourable testimony to her virtues; have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion for the poor, and liberality to the distressed; and have recorded her solicitude to restore to opulence the families that had been unjustly deprived of their possessions by her father and brother, and to provide for the wants of the parochial clergy, who had been reduced to penury by the spoliations of the last government. It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproof. It extorted respect from all, even from the most virulent of her enemies. The ladies of her household copied the conduct of their mistress; and the decency of Mary's court was often mentioned with applause by those who lamented the dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her successor.*f*

HALLAM'S ESTIMATE OF MARY

No one of our historians has been so severe on Mary's reign, except on a religious account, as Carte,*gg* on the authority of the letters of Noailles.*n* Doctor Lingard, though with these before him, has softened and suppressed, till this queen appears honest and even amiable. But, admitting that the French ambassador had a temptation to exaggerate the faults of a government wholly devoted to Spain, it is manifest that Mary's reign was inglorious, her capacity narrow, and her temper sanguinary; that, although conscientious in some respects, she was as capable of dissimulation as her sister, and of breach of faith as her husband; that she obstinately and wilfully sacrificed her subjects' affections and interests to a misplaced and discreditable attachment; and that the words with which Carte has concluded the character of this unlamented sovereign are perfectly just: "Having reduced the nation to the brink of ruin, she left it, by her seasonable decease, to be restored by her admirable successor to its ancient prosperity and glory." I fully admit, at the same time, that Doctor Lingard has proved Elizabeth to have been as dangerous a prisoner as she afterwards found the queen of Scots.*hh*

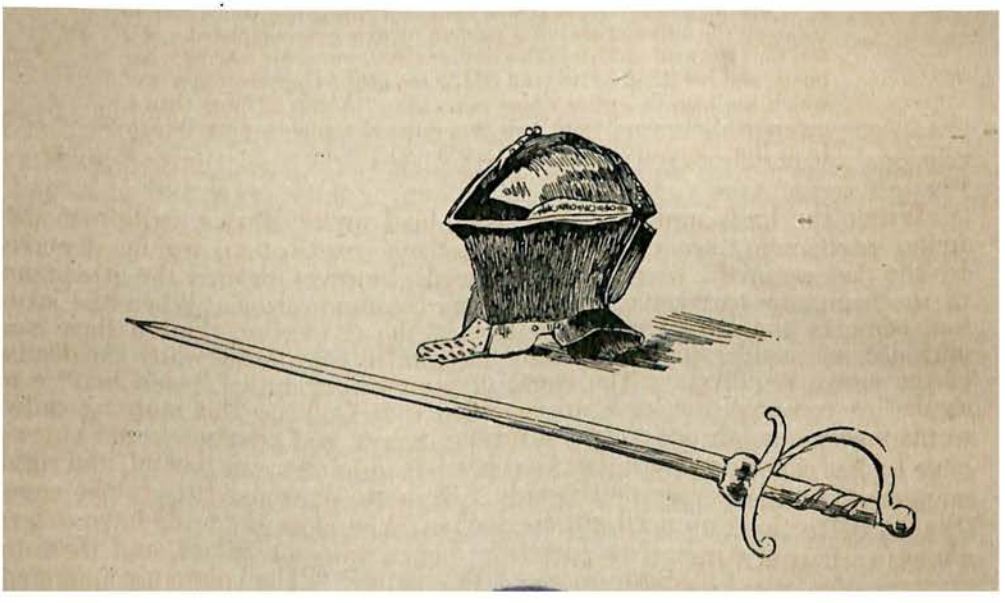
[1] To the same purpose Elizabeth, in a commission for the burning of heretics, to Sir Nicholas Bacon, says, "they have been justly declared heretics, and therefore, as corrupt members to be cut off from the rest of the flock of Christ, lest they should corrupt others professing the true Christian faith."

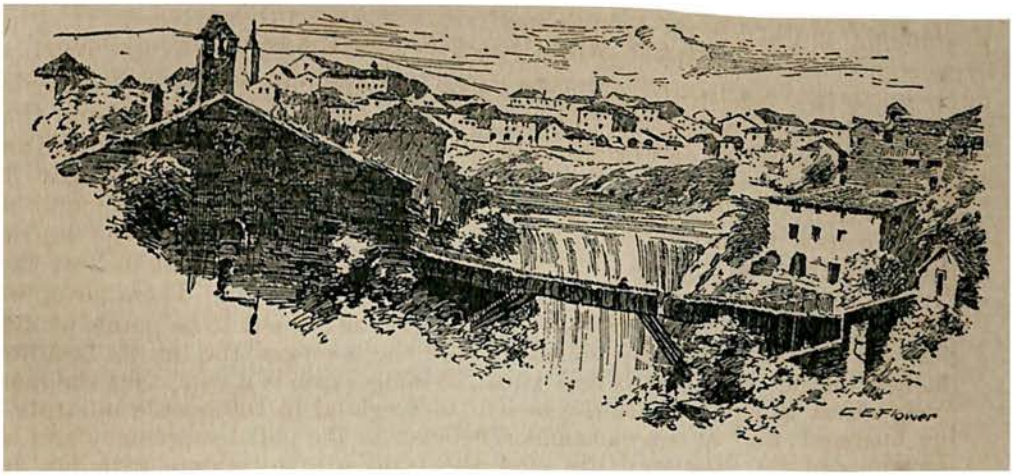
JAMES WHITE'S ESTIMATE OF MARY

From this time forth the conduct of this unhappy queen was regulated entirely by her conscience. No one can deny her the possession of the great qualities of sincerity and firmness, or the character of an affectionate wife and zealous friend; but behind the scenes there were persons who managed the conscience by which all her deeds were guided; and the nation soon found out that a conscientious oppressor, who thought cruelty a merit, and the destruction of liberty the highest duty of kings, was far more difficult to bear than tyrants to whom the word conscience is utterly unknown. There never was an instance where private virtues so uniformly turned out to be public wrongs. She was so conscientious a daughter, that she revenged the insults bestowed on her mother with death and ruin; so conscientious a wife, that she made every effort to subordinate the benefit of England to the hostile interests of her husband; and so conscientious a believer in the papal supremacy and the doctrines of the Roman faith, that she tried to exterminate with fire and fagots all who ventured to express a different opinion.[i]

R. CARRUTHER'S ESTIMATE OF MARY

The temper of Mary, never frank or amiable, had been soured by neglect, persecution, and ill health; and her fanatical devotion to the ancient religion had become the absorbing and ruling passion of her mind. She was not devoid of private virtues—certainly excelling Elizabeth in sincerity and depth of feeling; but her virtues "walked a narrow round"; and whenever the Romish church was in question, all feelings of private tenderness, and all considerations of public expediency or justice, were with Mary as flax in the fire. The five years of her reign are perhaps the most un-English epoch in our annals.[ii]





CHAPTER VIII

THE ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH

[1558–1561 A.D.]

THE completed national character of England dates from the days of the Tudors, and mainly from the reign of Elizabeth. From this time, in dealing with the actors in English history we seem, more thoroughly than in any earlier time, to be dealing with men who are in all things our own fellows. One main cause of this is that the language of the sixteenth century is the earliest form of English which an ordinary reader can understand without an effort. And, as it was with language, so it was with everything else which goes to make up the national life. Its modern form is now completed. We feel that the men of Elizabeth's day, her statesmen, her warriors, her poets, and her divines, are men who come near to ourselves in a way which the men of earlier times cannot do. A gap of more than a generation, of more than two generations, seems to part Wolsey from Burghley.—E. A. FREEMAN.[b]

WHEN the lords and commons assembled under Mary's writs met they found parliament, according to the ancient constitution, legally dissolved by the decease of the sovereign. The lords, however, desired the attendance of the commons to receive an important communication. When the latter had come to the bar, Archbishop Heath, the chancellor, desired their concurrence, as considerable men of the realm, in the solemnities which the demise of the crown required. "The cause of your calling hither," said he, "is to signify to you that the lords are certified that God has this morning called to his mercy our late sovereign; a mishap heavy and grievous to us; but we have no less cause to rejoice that God has left unto us a true, lawful, and right inheritress in the person of the lady Elizabeth, of whose title to the same (thanks be to God) we need not to doubt. Wherefore the lords have determined, with your consent, to pass from hence unto the palace, and there to proclaim the lady Elizabeth queen of this realm." The commons answered by cries of "Long live Queen Elizabeth!" and both houses proceeded to the great gate of Westminster Hall, where she was proclaimed by the heralds, with the accustomed solemnities, in the midst of shouts of joy from the sur-

rounding multitude. The lords, perhaps, considered themselves to be acting as counsellors of the crown; but their desire of the consent of the dissolved commons gave the appearance of a parliamentary proclamation to the solemnity.

Elizabeth received the tidings of this great change in her fortunes at Hatfield, where she had been residing for several years in the mild custody of Sir Thomas Pope, but under the watchful eye of a guard. On being apprised of her accession she fell down on her knees, saying, "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."[1] Elizabeth almost immediately gave an earnest of the principles which were to govern her reign by accepting, on the same day, a note of advice on urgent matters from Sir William Cecil, whom she restored to the post of secretary of state which he had occupied under Edward, but from which he had been removed by Mary. Although he had been charged by some with compliances in the latter years of that princess, he was nevertheless known and trusted as a zealous and tried adherent of the Protestant cause. He was forthwith sworn a privy councillor, with his friends and followers, Parry, Rogers, and Cave. On the same day, also, the earl of Bedford, who had only a short time before returned from a visit to the Protestant exiles at Zurich, took his seat at the board. Though many of the privy councillors of Mary were reappointed, the principles of the majority of the queen's confidential servants who held their sittings at Hatfield left no doubt of her policy.

The council at Hatfield performed all the duties of administration. They gave orders to the admirals in the Channel; they despatched instructions to the English plenipotentiaries at Cambrai; they thanked the magistrates for staying prosecutions for religion; they released such as were prisoners for the Protestant cause.

Orders were issued without delay for the ceremonial of the queen's entrance into London. At the age of twenty-five it is easy for a queen to be applauded for personal attractions. We are told by the Venetian minister Micheli,[c] that she was then "a lady of great elegance both of mind and body; of a countenance rather pleasing than beautiful; tall and well made; her complexion fine, though rather dark; her eyes beautiful; and, above all, her hands, which she did not conceal." She is described by some as majestic, by others as haughty; but all agree that her countenance and port were rather commanding than alluring, yet not without a certain lofty grace becoming a ruler. She is mentioned by her preceptor as at the head of the lettered ladies of England, excelling even Jane Grey and Margaret Roper.[d]

VON RAUMER'S PORTRAIT OF ELIZABETH AND HER MINISTER

Elizabeth, who was born on the 7th of September, 1533, and lost her mother in the third year of her age, had been hereupon wholly neglected by the timid servants of her passionate father, publicly repudiated by him as illegitimate, and left so destitute that her governess, Lady Bryan, wrote to Lord Cromwell: "I beseech you to be good, my lord, to my lady, and to all hers, and that she may have some raiment. She has neither gown, nor kirtle, nor petticoat, nor no manner of linen, nor foresmocks, nor kerchiefs, nor sleeves, nor rails, nor body stitchets, nor mufflers, nor biggins." Afterwards, when

[1] Her exclamation was actually the Latin equivalent: *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile oculis nostris*—words which she afterwards had placed on a gold coin, also striking a silver coin with the phrase *Posui Deum adjutorem meum*, "I have chosen God as my helper."]

[1558 A.D.]

Henry's anger had been allayed, more attention was paid to her education; on this subject the learned Roger Ascham writes to a friend in 1550:

"Amongst the numberless honourable ladies of the present time my illustrious mistress, the lady Elizabeth, shines like a star, excelling them more by the splendour of her virtues and her learning than by the glory of her royal birth.

"The lady Elizabeth has accomplished her nineteenth year; and so much solidity of understanding, such courtesy, united with dignity, have never been

ELIZABETH
(1533–1603)

observed at so early an age. She has the most ardent love of true religion, and of the best kind of literature.

"The constitution of her mind is exempt from female weakness, and she is endued with a masculine power of application. No apprehension can be quicker than hers, no memory more retentive. French and Italian she speaks like English; Latin with fluency, propriety, and judgment; she also spoke Greek with me frequently, willingly, and moderately well. Nothing can be more elegant than her handwriting, whether in the Greek or Roman characters. In music she is very skilful, but does not greatly delight. With respect to per-

sonal decoration she greatly prefers a simple elegance to show and splendour,[1] so despising the outward adorning of plaiting the hair and wearing of gold, that in the whole manner of her life she rather resembles Hippolita than Phædra. She read with me almost the whole of Cicero and a great part of Livy; from these two authors, indeed, her knowledge of the Latin language has been almost exclusively derived.

"The beginning of the day was always devoted by her to the New Testament in Greek, after which she read select orations of Isocrates and the tragedies of Sophocles, which I judged best adapted to supply her tongue with the purest diction, her mind with the most excellent precepts, and her exalted station with a defence against the utmost power of fortune.

"For her religious instruction she drew first from the fountains of Scripture, and afterwards from St. Cyprian, the 'Commonplaces' of Melanchthon, and similar works, which convey pure doctrine in elegant language. In every kind of writing she easily detected any ill-adapted or far-fetched expression. She could not bear those feeble imitators of Erasmus, who bind the Latin tongue in the fetters of miserable proverbs; on the other hand, she approved a style chaste in its propriety and beautiful by perspicuity; and she greatly admired metaphors when not too violent, and antitheses when just and happily opposed."

The accounts given by other writers entirely coincide with those of Ascham. Several orations of Demosthenes and Isocrates she translated into Latin.

The years of youth which Mary Stuart spent in cheerfulness and pleasure, surrounded by admirers of all kinds, were passed by Elizabeth in solitude and silence.[2] Instead of the royal diadems which adorned the brow of Mary, she saw the axe of the executioner suspended over her head, and the flames of the funeral piles arise, on which her friends and fellow-believers were cruelly sacrificed. A serious, learned education, and so hard a school of adversity, by which even ordinary men are elevated above their original nature, could not fail to have the greatest influence on a mind of such eminent powers—a character of such energy; and this is manifest in the whole history of the reign of Elizabeth.

The manner in which she chose her highest officers of state, consulted them in all important matters, defended them against secret as well as violent attacks, without ever being subject to them, proves her penetrating understanding and firmness of character. Such men as Nicholas Bacon, Francis Walsingham, William Cecil, and many others, would deserve, in this place, a more particular description. The first, who in the beginning was lord keeper of the seals, and then, till 1579, lord chancellor, is celebrated for his extraordinary activity and ability; and if his son Francis was even superior to him in intellectual powers, he was inferior to him in probity.

Walsingham, descended from a good family, accomplished by diligent study and by travelling, was a man of distinguished prudence and the most acute understanding. He had few equals in the art of penetrating, of gaining, and guiding the minds of men. As ambassador in France and Scotland, and in England itself, he served his queen with the greatest fidelity and disinterestedness till his death, which took place in 1590. He died so poor that

[1 Creighton says that this love of simplicity soon passed away. "Indeed, it was never real, and Ascham's mention of it shows that Elizabeth was acting a part." Referring to her affair with Lord Seymour, he says: "She had been detected as a shameless coquette; she adopted the attitude of a modest and pious maiden. It was the wisest thing which she could do, for the times were stormy."]

[2 The same contrast with the brilliant early life of Mary Queen of Scots has been noted.]

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his friends caused him to be secretly buried by night that his body might not be seized by his creditors.

Next to God, says a writer with justice, William Cecil was the main support of Elizabeth; and Roger Ascham says of him: "He is a young man, but rich in wisdom, equally versed in the sciences and in business, and yet so modest in the performance of his public duties that by the unanimous testimony of the English the praise which Thucydides gives to Pericles might be given to him fourfold. He knew all that ought to be known, he understood how to apply what he knew; he loved his country, and was inaccessible to the power of money." William Cecil, born in the year 1520, at Bourn, in Lincolnshire, and consequently now thirty-eight years of age, and thirteen years older than Elizabeth, was educated at Cambridge, and under the reign of Edward VI had been master of requests and afterwards secretary of state. Since the accession of Mary to the throne he had mostly lived in retirement, but was restored by Elizabeth to his former office, and in 1571 appointed lord high treasurer and elevated to the peerage by the title of baron of Burghley.

Superior to all the little arts, intrigues and disputes of the court,[1] he stood in a firm and exalted position with respect to his queen, with which he combined the most conscientious regard for the interest of the subjects, especially by economy in his office of treasurer. Indefatigable activity and strict love of truth, moderation, and noble gravity, which, however, did not disdain the most cheerful relaxation in a narrow circle; love of order and impenetrable secrecy; the eagle eye with which he penetrated the characters of men, and the clearness with which he saw and developed the most complex subjects, place him in the rank of the greatest statesmen recorded in history.

"He is prudent who is patient," said he, "and prudence constrains the stars. Modesty is a protection against envy and danger; excessive ambition, on the contrary, leads to ruin. The world is a storehouse of tools, of which man must make himself master; there are no greater artists than diligence and perseverance. Counsel without resolution is but wind. War is soon kindled, but peace very hardly preserved. War is the curse, peace the blessing, of God on a nation: one year of peace brings more profit than ten years of the most successful war."*g*

Elizabeth, as we have seen, was at Hatfield when she heard of her sister's death, and after a few days she went thence to London through crowds, who strove in giving her the strongest testimony of their affection. On her entrance into the Tower she could not forbear reflecting on the great difference between her present fortune and that which a few years before had attended her, when she was conducted to that place as a prisoner, and lay there exposed to all the bigoted malignity of her enemies. She fell on her knees and expressed her thanks to heaven for the deliverance which the Almighty had granted her from her bloody persecutors; a deliverance, she said, no less miraculous than that which Daniel had received from the den of lions. This act of pious gratitude seems to have been the last circumstance in which she remembered any past hardships and injuries.

With a prudence and magnanimity truly laudable she buried all offences in oblivion, and received with affability even those who had acted with the greatest malevolence against her; Sir Henry Bedingfield himself, to whose custody she had been committed, and who had treated her with severity,

[1] Elizabeth called him her "spirit." Lodge*f* says: "Burghley delythe with matters of the state only. With these love matters he will not meddle any way." He had indeed sometimes reason to complain, but he always became reconciled to the queen. They were made for each other.

never felt, during the whole course of her reign, any effects of her resentment. Yet was not the gracious reception which she gave undistinguishing: when the bishops came to make their obeisance to her, she expressed to all of them sentiments of regard, except to Bonner, from whom she turned aside as from a man polluted with blood, who was a just object of horror to every heart susceptible of humanity.

After employing a few days in ordering her domestic affairs, Elizabeth notified to foreign courts her sister's death and her own accession. She sent Lord Cobham to the Low Countries, where Philip then resided, and she took care to express to that monarch her gratitude for the protection which he had afforded her, and her desire of persevering in that friendship which had commenced between them.

Philip, who had long foreseen this event, and who still hoped, by means of Elizabeth, to obtain that dominion over England of which he had failed in espousing Mary, immediately despatched orders to the duke of Feria, his ambassador at London, to make proposals of marriage to the queen, and he offered to procure from Rome a dispensation for that purpose; but Elizabeth soon came to the resolution of declining the proposal.

She saw that the nation had entertained an extreme aversion to the Spanish alliance, and that one great cause of the popularity which she herself enjoyed was the prospect of being freed, by her means, from the danger of foreign subjection. She was sensible that her affinity with Philip was exactly similar to that of her father with Catherine of Aragon, and that her marrying that monarch was, in effect, declaring herself to be illegitimate, and incapable of succeeding to the throne; and though the power of the Spanish monarchy might be sufficient to support her title, her masculine spirit disdained such precarious dominion, which, as it would depend solely on the power of another, must be exercised according to his inclinations. But while these views prevented her from entertaining any thoughts of a marriage with Philip, she gave him an obliging though evasive answer, and he still retained such hopes of success that he sent a messenger to Rome with orders to solicit the dispensation.

DID ELIZABETH NOTIFY THE POPE OF HER ACCESSION?

Hume says: "The queen, on her sister's death, had written a letter to Sir Edward Carne, the English ambassador at Rome, to notify her accession to the pope; but the precipitate nature of Paul broke through all the cautious measures concerted by this young princess. He told Carne that England was a fief of the holy see, and it was great temerity in Elizabeth to have assumed, without his participation, the title and authority of queen; that, being illegitimate, she could not possibly inherit that kingdom; nor could he annul the sentence pronounced by Clement VII and Paul III with regard to Henry's marriage; that were he to proceed with rigour, he should punish this criminal invasion of his rights by rejecting all her applications; but, being willing to treat her with paternal indulgence, he would still keep the door of grace open; and if she would renounce all pretensions to the crown, and submit entirely to his will, she should experience the utmost lenity compatible with the dignity of the apostolic see. When this answer was reported to Elizabeth, she was astonished at the character of that aged pontiff; and having recalled her ambassador, she continued with more determined resolution to pursue those measures which already she had secretly embraced."[h]

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This picturesque incident was universally accepted till recent years, since when it has been proved that Carne was never recognised by Elizabeth as her ambassador, and seems to have ignored the pope entirely, and to have shown towards him an attitude of determined independence.[a]

RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION

The queen, as we have seen, not to alarm the partisans of the Catholic religion, had retained eleven of her sister's councillors; but in order to balance their authority she added eight more, who were known to be inclined to the Protestant communion:[1] the marquis of Northampton, the earl of Bedford, Sir Thomas Parry, Sir Edward Rogers, Sir Ambrose Cave, Sir Francis Knollys, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and Sir William Cecil.

With these councillors, particularly Cecil, she frequently deliberated concerning the expediency of restoring the Protestant religion, and the means of executing that great enterprise. Cecil told her that the greater part of the nation had ever since her father's reign inclined to the Reformation; and though her sister had constrained them to profess the ancient faith, the cruelties exercised by her ministers had still more alienated their affections from it; that, happily, the interests of the sovereign here concurred with the inclinations of the people; nor was her title to the crown compatible with the authority of the Roman pontiff: that a sentence so solemnly pronounced by two popes against her mother's marriage could not possibly be recalled without inflicting a mortal wound on the credit of the see of Rome; and even if she were allowed to retain the crown, it would only be on an uncertain and dependent footing; that this circumstance alone counterbalanced all dangers whatsover; and these dangers themselves, if narrowly examined, would be found very little formidable; that though the bigotry or ambition of Henry or Philip might incline them to execute a sentence of excommunication against her, their interests were so incompatible that they never could concur in any plan of operations; and the enmity of the one would always insure to her the friendship of the other; that if they encouraged the discontent of her Catholic subjects, their dominions also abounded with Protestants, and it would be easy to retaliate upon them; that even such of the English as seemed at present zealously attached to the Catholic faith would, most of them, embrace the religion of their new sovereign; and the nation had of late been so much accustomed to these revolutions that men had lost all idea of truth and falsehood in such subjects: that the authority of Henry VIII, so highly raised by many concurring circumstances, first inured the people to this submissive deference, and it was the less difficult for succeeding princes to continue the nation in a track to which it had so long been accustomed; and that it would be easy for her, by bestowing on Protestants all preferment in civil offices and the militia, the church and the universities, both to insure her own authority, and to render her religion entirely predominant.

The education of Elizabeth, as well as her interest, led her to favour the Reformation, and she remained not long in suspense with regard to the party which she should embrace. But, though determined in her own mind, she resolved to proceed by gradual and secure steps, and not to imitate the

[1 In a body composed of such discordant elements much harmony could not be expected; but this council was rather for show than real use; there was another and secret cabinet, consisting of Cecil and his particular friends, who possessed the ear of the queen, and controlled through her every department in the state.—LINGARD.*j*]

example of Mary, in encouraging the bigots of her party to make immediately a violent invasion on the established religion. She thought it requisite, however, to discover such symptoms of her intentions as might give encouragement to the Protestants, so much depressed by the late violent persecutions. She immediately recalled all the exiles, and gave liberty to the prisoners who were confined on account of religion. We are told of a pleasantry of one Rainsford on this occasion, who said to the queen that he had a petition to present her in behalf of other prisoners called Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John; she readily replied, that it behoved her first to consult the prisoners themselves, and to learn of them whether they desired that liberty which he demanded for them.

Elizabeth also proceeded to exert in favour of the reformers some acts of power which were authorised by the extent of royal prerogative during that age. Finding that the Protestant teachers, irritated by persecution, broke out in a furious attack on the ancient superstition, and that the Romanists replied with no less zeal and acrimony, she published a proclamation, by which she inhibited all preaching without a special license; and though she dispensed with these orders in favour of some preachers of her own sect, she took care that they should be the most calm and moderate of the party. She also suspended the laws so far as to order a great part of the service—the litany, the Lord's Prayer, the creed, and the Gospels—to be read in English. And having first published injunctions that all the churches should conform themselves to the practice of her own chapel, she forbade the host to be any more elevated in her presence—an innovation which, however frivolous it may appear, implied the most material consequences.

THE CORONATION AND FIRST PARLIAMENT (JANUARY, 1559)

These declarations of her intentions concurring with preceding suspicions made the bishops foresee, with certainty, a revolution in religion. They therefore refused to officiate at her coronation, January 15th, and it was with some difficulty that the bishop of Carlisle was at last prevailed on to perform the ceremony.[1] When she had been conducted through London the day before her coronation, amidst the joyful acclamations of her subjects, a boy, who personated Truth, was let down from one of the triumphal arches and presented to her a copy of the Bible. She received the book with the most gracious deportment,[2] placed it next her bosom, and declared that, amidst all the costly testimonies which the city had that day given her of their attachment, this present was by far the most precious and most acceptable.

Such were the innocent artifices by which Elizabeth insinuated herself into the affections of her subjects. Open in her address, gracious and affable in all public appearances, she rejoiced in the concourse of her subjects, entered into all their pleasures and amusements, and without departing from her dignity—which she knew well how to preserve—she acquired a popularity beyond what any of her predecessors or successors ever could attain. Her own sex exulted to see a woman hold the reins of empire with such prudence and fortitude; and while a young princess of twenty-five years, who possessed all the graces and insinuation though not all the beauty of her sex, courted the affections of individuals by her civilities, of the public by her

[1 Mass was sung as usual at the coronation.]
[2 "How reverendlie did she, with both her hands, take it, kiss it, and lay it upon her breast!" says Holinshed.[k]]

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services, her authority, though corroborated by the strictest bands of law and religion, appeared to be derived entirely from the choice and inclination of the people.

A sovereign of this disposition was not likely to offend her subjects by any useless or violent exertions of power; and Elizabeth, though she threw out such hints as encouraged the Protestants, delayed the entire change of religion till the meeting of the parliament which was summoned to assemble. The elections had gone entirely against the Catholics, who seem not indeed to have made any great struggle for the superiority,[1] and the houses met, January 25th, 1559, in a disposition of gratifying the queen in every particular which she could desire of them. They began the session with an unanimous declaration that Queen Elizabeth was, and ought to be, as well by the word of God as the common and statute laws of the realm, the lawful, undoubted, and true heir to the crown, lawfully descended from the blood-royal, according to the order of succession settled in the 35th of Henry VIII.

This act of recognition was probably dictated by the queen herself and her ministers; and she showed her magnanimity as well as moderation in the terms which she employed on that occasion. She followed not Mary's practice in declaring the validity of her mother's marriage, or in expressly repealing the act formerly made against her own legitimacy. She knew that this attempt must be attended with reflections on her father's memory, and on the birth of her deceased sister; and as all the world was sensible that Henry's divorce from Anne Boleyn was merely the effect of his usual violence and caprice, she scorned to found her title on any act of an assembly which had too much prostituted its authority by its former variable, servile, and iniquitous decisions. Satisfied, therefore, in the general opinion entertained with regard to this fact, which appeared the more undoubted the less anxiety she discovered in fortifying it by votes and inquiries, she took possession of the throne both as her birthright and as insured to her by former acts of parliament, and she never appeared anxious to distinguish these titles.

The first bill brought into parliament with a view of trying their disposition on the head of religion was that for suppressing the monasteries lately erected, and for restoring the tenths and first-fruits to the queen. This point being gained with much difficulty, a bill [called the act of supremacy] was next introduced annexing the supremacy to the crown; and though the queen was there denominated Supreme Governess, not Supreme Head, of the church, it conveyed the same extensive power which under the latter title had been exercised by her father and brother.

All the bishops who were present in the upper house strenuously opposed this law, and as they possessed more learning than the temporal peers they triumphed in the debate; but the majority of voices in that house as well as amongst the commons was against them. By this act the crown, without the concurrence either of the parliament or even of the convocation, was vested with the whole spiritual power; might repress all heresies, might establish or repeal all canons, might alter every point of discipline, and might ordain or abolish any religious rite or ceremony. In determining heresy, the sovereign was only limited (if that could be called a limitation) to such doctrines as had been adjudged heresy by the authority of the Scripture, by the first four general councils, or by any general council which followed the Scripture as their rule, or to such other doctrines as should hereafter be denominated heresy by the parliament and convocation.

[1] Notwithstanding the bias of the nation towards the Protestant sect, it appears that some violence, at least according to our present ideas, was used in these elections.

In order to exercise this authority, the queen, by a clause of the act, was empowered to name commissioners, either laymen or clergymen, as she should think proper;[1] and on this clause was afterwards founded the court of Ecclesiastical Commission, which assumed large discretionary, not to say arbitrary powers, totally incompatible with any exact boundaries in the constitution. Their proceedings, indeed, were only consistent with absolute monarchy, but were entirely suitable to the genius of the act on which they were established —an act that at once gave the crown alone all the power which had formerly been claimed by the popes, but which even these usurping prelates had never been able fully to exercise, without some concurrence of the national clergy.

Whoever refused to take an oath acknowledging the queen's supremacy was incapacitated from holding any office; whoever denied the supremacy, or attempted to deprive the queen of that prerogative, forfeited, for the first offence, all his goods and chattels; for the second, was subjected to the penalty of a premunire; but the third offence was declared treason. These punishments, however severe, were less rigorous than those which were formerly, during the reigns of her father and brother, inflicted in like cases.

A law was passed confirming all the statutes enacted in King Edward's time with regard to religion. The nomination of bishops was given to the crown without any election of the chapters; the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any see, to seize all the temporalities, and to bestow on the bishop-elect an equivalent in the impropriations belonging to the crown. This pretended equivalent was commonly much inferior in value; and thus the queen, amidst all her concern for religion, followed the example of the preceding reformers in committing depredations on the ecclesiastical revenues.

The bishops and all incumbents were prohibited from alienating their revenues, and from letting leases longer than twenty-one years or three lives. This law seemed to be meant for securing the property of the church; but as an exception was left in favour of the crown, great abuses still prevailed. It was usual for the courtiers during this reign to make an agreement with a bishop or incumbent, and to procure a fictitious alienation to the queen, who afterwards transferred the lands to the person agreed on. This method of pillaging the church was not remedied till the reign of James I. The present depression of the clergy exposed them to all injuries; and the laity never stopped till they had reduced the church to such poverty that her plunder was no longer a compensation for the odium incurred by it.

A solemn and public disputation was held during this session, in presence of Lord Keeper Bacon, between the divines of the Protestant and those of the Catholic communion. The champions appointed to defend the religion of the sovereign were, as in all former instances, entirely triumphant; and the papal disputants, being pronounced refractory and obstinate, were even punished by imprisonment. Emboldened by this victory, the Protestants ventured on the last and most important step, and brought into parliament a bill [called

[1 Mackintosh[d] says: "Nothing can be urged in defence of such a clause, considered even as a menace, but the disposition of the consistent adherents of papal supremacy to deny the legitimate birth and dispute the civil authority of the queen. Two temporal peers and nine prelates voted against the bill. On its return from the commons, however, the lay lords withdrew their opposition, but the spiritual ones persevered. The next act, for re-establishing the common prayer book of Edward VI, gave occasion to more serious scruples, and excited a more numerous as well as firmer resistance. The clause subjecting the ministers of the established church to punishment for disobedience, is rather to be blamed as a departure from clemency than as a breach of justice. The severe penalties denounced against all who libelled the authorised ritual, though they would now be condemned, were probably then blamed, if at all, for laxity."]

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the act of uniformity] for abolishing the mass and re-establishing the liturgy of King Edward. Penalties were enacted, as well against those who departed from this mode of worship as against those who absented themselves from the church and the sacraments. And thus in one session, without any violence, tumult, or clamour, was the whole system of religion altered, on the very commencement of a reign, and by the will of a young woman whose title to the crown was by many thought liable to great objections: an event which, though it may appear surprising to men in the present age, was everywhere expected on the first intelligence of Elizabeth's accession.

A Rich Merchant of London
(Time of Elizabeth)

The commons also made a sacrifice to the queen, more difficult to obtain than that of any articles of faith: they voted a subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on movables, together with two fifteenths. The house in no instance departed from the most respectful deference and complaisance towards the queen. Even the importunate address which they made her on the conclusion of the session, to fix her choice of a husband, could not, they supposed, be very disagreeable to one of her sex and age. The address was couched in the most respectful expressions, yet met with a refusal from the queen. She told the speaker that as the application from the house was conceived in general terms, only recommending marriage without pretending to direct her choice of a husband, she could not take offence at the address, or regard it otherwise than as a new instance of their affectionate attachment to her; that any farther interposition on their part would have ill become either them to make as subjects, or her to bear as an independent princess; that even while she was a private person, and exposed to much danger, she had always declined that engagement, which she regarded as an incumbrance; much more, at present, would she persevere in this sentiment, when the charge of a great kingdom was committed to her, and her life ought to be entirely devoted to promoting the interests of religion and the happiness of her subjects.

That as England was her husband, wedded to her by this pledge (and here she showed her finger with the same gold ring upon it with which she had solemnly betrothed herself to the kingdom at her inauguration), so all Englishmen were her children; and while she was employed in rearing or governing such a family, she could not deem herself barren, or her life useless and unprofitable; that if she ever entertained thoughts of changing her condition, the care of her subjects' welfare would still be uppermost in her thoughts;

but should she live and die a virgin, she doubted not but divine Providence, seconded by their counsels and her own measures, would be able to prevent all dispute with regard to the succession, and secure them a sovereign who, perhaps better than her own issue, would imitate her example in loving and cherishing her people; and that, for her part, she desired that no higher character or fairer remembrance of her should be transmitted to posterity than to have this inscription engraved on her tombstone, when she should pay the last debt to nature: "Here lies Elizabeth, who lived and died a maiden queen."

After the prorogation of the parliament, May 8th, the laws enacted with regard to religion were put in execution[1] and met with little opposition from any quarter. The liturgy was again introduced in the vulgar tongue, and the oath of supremacy was tendered to the clergy. The number of bishops had been reduced to fourteen by a sickly season which preceded; and all these, except the bishop of Llandaff,[2] having refused compliance, were degraded from their sees; but of the inferior clergy throughout all England, where there were near ten thousand parishes, only eighty rectors and vicars, fifty prebendaries, fifteen heads of colleges, twelve archdeacons, and as many deans sacrificed their livings to their religious principles. Those in high ecclesiastic stations, being exposed to the eyes of the public, seem chiefly to have placed a point of honour in their perseverance; but on the whole, the Protestants, in the former change introduced by Mary, appear to have been much more rigid and conscientious.[h]

The second statute trenched more on the natural rights of conscience; it prohibited, under pain of forfeiting goods and chattels for the first offence, of a year's imprisonment for the second, and imprisonment for life for the third, the using of any but the established liturgy of the church of England; and it moreover imposed a fine of one shilling on everyone that should absent himself from the only true Protestant church on Sunday and holidays. By this act the Catholic rites, however privately celebrated, were interdicted. In some respects, where it was not deemed expedient to irritate persons of very high rank, the government connived at the secret or domestic exercise of the Roman religion; but such cases were rare, even in the early part of Elizabeth's reign; and the restored Protestant clergy, who had learned no toleration from their own sufferings, propelled the agents of government into the paths of persecution. As early as 1561, Sir Edward Waldegrave and his lady were sent to the Tower for hearing mass and keeping a popish priest in their house. Many others were punished for the same offence about the same time. The penalty for causing mass to be said was only one hundred marks for the first offence, but these cases seem to have been referred to the Protestant high commission court, and the arbitrary Star Chamber, whose violence, however illegal, was not often checked.

It is dishonest to deny so obvious a fact, nor can the denial now serve any purpose; it was this commencement of persecution that drove many English Catholics beyond the seas, and gave rise to those associations of unhappy and desperate exiles which continued to menace the throne of Elizabeth even

[1] It is thought remarkable by Camden,[i] that though this session was the first of the reign, no person was attainted, but, on the contrary, some restored in blood by the parliament—a good symptom of the lenity, at least of the prudence, of the queen's government; and that it should appear remarkable, is a proof of the rigour of preceding reigns.

[2] Kitchen, who was originally a Benedictine monk, always believed or professed according to the last act of parliament, which meant the last enunciation of the royal will. In the time of Henry VIII, when he received the see, he professed the mitigated Romanism held by that monarch; in the time of Edward VI he became a complete Protestant; and when Mary

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down to the last years of her long reign. In the same year, 1559, which saw the enforcing of the statutes of supremacy and uniformity, the queen published certain injunctions after the manner of those of her brother, and, for the larger part, expressed in the very same words as those of Edward, twelve years before. There was, however, a greater decency of language in several of the clauses, and the church of Rome was treated with more courtesy than in Edward's time. According to Edward's commands, images, shrines, pictures, and the like, were to be destroyed, nor was any memory of the same to be left in walls and glass windows. Elizabeth enjoined that "the walls and glass windows shall be nevertheless preserved."

Meanwhile the monastic establishments were universally broken up; three whole convents of monks and nuns were transferred from England to the Continent; many of the dispossessed clergy were conveyed to Spain in the retinue of Feria.[n]

After these enactments it devolved on the queen to provide a new hierarchy for the new church. Before winter all Queen Mary's prelates had been weeded out of the church, with the exception of Kitchen, who submitted to take the oath, and in consequence was suffered to retain the see of Llandaff. To supply their places a selection had been made out of the exiles who hastened back from Geneva, Basel, and Frankfort, and out of the clergymen in England, who during the last reign had distinguished themselves by their attachment to the reformed worship. At their head Elizabeth resolved to place, as metropolitan, both through respect to the memory of her mother and in reward of his own merit, Dr. Matthew Parker, formerly chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and, under Edward, dean of the church of Lincoln. In obedience to a *congé d'élire*, he was chosen by a portion of the chapter, the major part refusing to attend; but four months were suffered to elapse between his election and his entrance on the archiepiscopal office. This was on account of two very extraordinary impediments. By the revival of the 25th of Henry VIII, it was made necessary that the election of the archbishop should be confirmed, and his consecration be performed by four bishops.

But how were four bishops to be found, when, by the deprivation of the Catholic prelates, there remained in the kingdom but one lawful bishop—he of Llandaff? Again, the use of the ordinal of Edward VI had been abolished by parliament in the last reign, that of the Catholic ordinal by parliament in the present; in what manner, then, was Parker to be consecrated, when there existed no form of consecration recognised by law? Six theologians and canonists were consulted, who returned an opinion that in a case of such urgent necessity the queen possessed the power of supplying every defect through the plenitude of her ecclesiastical authority as head of the church. In conformity with this answer a commission with a sanatory clause was issued, and four of the commissioners—Barlow, the deprived bishop of Bath, and Hodgkin, once suffragan of Bedford, who had both been consecrated according to the Catholic pontifical, and Scory, the deprived bishop of Chichester, and Coverdale, the deprived bishop of Exeter, who had both been consecrated according to the reformed ordinal—proceeded to confirm the election of Parker, and then to consecrate him after the form adopted towards the close of the reign of Edward VI. A few days later, Parker, as archbishop, confirmed the election of two of those by whom his own election had been confirmed—of Barlow to the see of Chichester, and of Scory to that of Hereford; and then,

came to the crown, he turned back to the point from which he had originally started, and became once more a thorough papist. Now he turned Protestant again, and was allowed to keep the bishopric of Llandaff to the year 1563, when he died.—SOAMES.[m]

assuming them for his assistants—for three bishops were requisite by law—confirmed and consecrated all the other prelates elect.[1]

The new bishops, however, were doomed to meet with a severe disappointment on their very entry into office. It had been the uniform practice, wherever the Reformation penetrated, to reward the services of its lay abettors out of the possessions of the church; but in England it was conceived that few gleanings of this description could now remain, after the spoliations of the late reigns. Still the ingenuity of Elizabeth's advisers discovered a resource hitherto unobserved, and had procured two acts to be passed in the late parliament, by the first of which all the ecclesiastical property restored by Queen Mary to the church was reannexed to the crown; and by the other the queen was empowered, on the vacancy of any bishopric, to take possession of the lands belonging to such bishopric, with the exception of the chief mansion-house and its domain, on condition that she gave in return an equivalent in tithes and parsonages appropriate. Now, by the deprivation of the Catholic prelates every bishopric but one had become vacant, and commissioners had already been appointed to carry into effect the exchange contemplated by the act.

The new prelates saw with dismay this attempt to tear from their respective sees the most valuable of their possessions. They ventured to expostulate with their royal patroness; they appealed to her charity and piety; they offered her a yearly present of one thousand pounds. But their efforts were fruitless; she refused to accept their homage, or to restore their temporalities, till the work of spoliation was completed. Then they accepted their bishoprics in the state to which they had been reduced; and the lands taken from them were distributed by the queen among the more needy or the more rapacious of her favourites.

After the consecration of the new bishops there was little to impede the progress of the reformed worship. With the aid of commissions, injunctions, and visitations, the church was gradually purged of the non-juring clergy; but their absence left a considerable vacancy, which was but inadequately supplied by the reformed ministers, and it became necessary to establish for the moment a class of lay instructors, consisting of mechanics, licensed to read the service to the people in the church, but forbidden to administer the sacrament.[i]

The forms and ceremonies still preserved in the English liturgy, as they bore some resemblance to the ancient service, tended farther to reconcile the Catholics to the established religion; and as the queen permitted no other mode of worship, and at the same time struck out everything that could be offensive to them in the new liturgy, even those who were addicted to the Roman communion made no scruple of attending the established church. Had Elizabeth gratified her own inclinations, the exterior appearance, which is the chief circumstance with the people, would have been still more similar between the new and the ancient form of worship. Her love of state and magnificence, which she affected in everything, inspired her with an inclination towards the pomp of the Catholic religion, and it was merely in compliance with the prejudices of her party that she gave up either images or the addresses to saints or prayers for the dead. Some foreign princes interposed to procure the Romanists the privilege of separate assemblies in particular

[1 There was long a story current that the consecration ceremony which founded the English church took place in Nag's Head inn, the bishops kneeling on the tavern floor, and Bishop Scory jocularly laying a Bible on their heads and calling them consecrated. As Aubrey *o* says, this story has now joined the fable of Pope Joan.]

[1559 A.D.]

cities, but the queen would not comply with their request; and she represented the manifest danger of disturbing the national peace by a toleration of different religions.

PEACE WITH FRANCE

While the queen and parliament were employed in settling the public religion, the negotiations for a peace were still conducted at Château Cambresis, between the ministers of France, Spain, and England; and Elizabeth, though equally prudent, was not equally successful in this transaction. Philip employed his utmost efforts to procure the restitution of Calais, both as bound in honour to indemnify England, which, merely on his account, had been drawn into the war, and as engaged in interest to remove France to a distance from his frontiers in the Low Countries. Though all his own terms with France were settled he seemed willing to continue the war till she should obtain satisfaction, provided she would stipulate to adhere to the Spanish alliance and continue hostilities against Henry during the course of six years; but Elizabeth, after consulting with her ministers, wisely rejected this proposal. She was sensible of the low state of her finances; the great debts contracted by her father, brother, and sister; the disorders introduced into every part of the administration; the divisions by which her people were agitated; and she was convinced that nothing but tranquillity during some years could bring the kingdom again into a flourishing condition, or enable her to act with dignity and vigour in her transactions with foreign nations. Well acquainted with the value which Henry put upon Calais, and the impossibility, during the present emergence, of recovering it by treaty, she was willing rather to suffer that loss than submit to such a dependence on Spain as she must expect to fall into if she continued pertinaciously in her present demand. It was at last agreed, April, 1559, that Henry should restore Calais at the expiration of eight years; that, in case of failure, he should pay five hundred thousand crowns, and the queen's title to Calais still remain; that if Elizabeth broke the peace with France or Scotland during the interval, she should forfeit all title to Calais; but if Henry made war on Elizabeth, he should be obliged immediately to restore that fortress. All men of penetration easily saw that these stipulations were but a colourable pretence for abandoning Calais; but they excused the queen on account of the necessity of her affairs, and they even extolled her prudence, in submitting, without farther struggle, to that necessity.

Philip and Henry terminated hostilities by a mutual restitution of all places taken during the course of the war, and Philip espoused the princess Elizabeth, eldest daughter of France, formerly betrothed to his son, Don Carlos. The duke of Savoy married Margaret, Henry's sister, and obtained a restitution of all his dominions of Savoy and Piedmont, except a few towns retained by France. And thus general tranquillity seemed to be restored to Europe.

BITTERNESS BETWEEN THE QUEEN AND MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

But though peace was concluded between France and England, there soon appeared a ground of quarrel of the most serious nature, which was afterwards attended with the most important consequences. The two marriages of Henry VIII, that with Catherine of Aragon and that with Anne Boleyn, were incompatible with each other, and it seemed impossible that both of them

could be regarded as valid and legal; but still the birth of Elizabeth lay under some disadvantages to which that of her sister, Mary, was not exposed. Henry's first marriage had obtained the sanction of all the powers, both civil and ecclesiastical, which were then acknowledged in England; and it was natural for Protestants as well as Romanists to allow, on account of the sincere intention of the parties, that their issue ought to be regarded as legitimate. But his divorce and second marriage had been concluded in direct opposition to the see of Rome; and though they had been ratified by the authority both of the English parliament and convocation, those who were strongly attached to the Catholic communion and who reasoned with great strictness, were led to regard them as entirely invalid, and to deny altogether the queen's right of succession.

COURT COSTUME OF THE TIME OF ELIZABETH

The next heir of blood was the queen of Scots,[1] now married to the dauphin; and the great power of that princess, joined to her plausible title, rendered her a formidable rival to Elizabeth. The king of France had secretly been soliciting at Rome a bull of excommunication against the queen, and she had here been beholden to the good offices of Philip, who, from interest more than either friendship or generosity, had negotiated in her favour, and had successfully opposed the pretensions of Henry. But the court of France was not discouraged with this repulse. The duke of Guise, and his brothers, thinking that it would much augment their credit if their niece should bring an accession of England, as she had already done of Scotland, to the crown of France, engaged the king not to neglect the claim, and, by their persuasion, he ordered his son and daughter-in-law to assume openly the arms as well as title of England, and to quarter these arms on all their equipages, furniture, and liveries.[2]

When the English ambassador complained of this injury, he could obtain nothing but an evasive answer; that as the queen of Scots was descended from the blood royal of England she was entitled, by the example of many princes, to assume the arms of that kingdom. But besides that this practice

[1 For details of Scotch affairs, see the history of Scotland in a later volume.]

[2 We have thus the curious and ridiculous situation that Mary, wife of the French dauphin, frequently called herself "queen of England and Ireland," though she had no shred of authority; while Elizabeth, following the style of her father and sister, called herself "queen of France," though she had no authority, and the laws of that country forbade female inheritance of the crown.]

had never prevailed without permission being first obtained, and without making a visible difference between the arms, Elizabeth plainly saw that this pretension had not been advanced during the reign of her sister Mary; and that therefore the king of France intended on the first opportunity to dispute her legitimacy and her title to the crown. Alarmed at the danger, she thenceforth conceived a violent jealousy against the queen of Scots, and was determined, as far as possible, to incapacitate Henry from the execution of his project. The sudden death of that monarch, who was killed in a tournament at Paris while celebrating the espousals of his sister with the duke of Savoy, altered not her views. Being informed that his successor, Francis II, still continued to assume without reserve the title of king of England, she began to consider him and his queen as her mortal enemies; and the present situation of affairs in Scotland afforded her a favourable opportunity both of revenging the injury and providing for her own safety.[h]

Von Ranke on the Political Meaning of the Rivalry

Elizabeth had not only been the princess of the popular opposition against the policy of her sister Mary; from the very first moment she had come in contact with another opponent whose claims were to determine the conditions of her life. When Henry VIII, in establishing his succession, had passed over in silence the rights of his sister, married in Scotland, these rights, which had now descended to her granddaughter, Mary Stuart, were so much the more vividly remembered after his death by the Catholic party in the country. The religious respect which was paid to the papacy was irreconcilable with the recognition of Elizabeth, whose very existence was in opposition to this sentiment. Likewise a political reason for giving the preference to Mary Stuart was not lacking. The union of England and Scotland, for which Henry VIII and Somerset had worked so zealously, would be thereby accomplished with no further difficulty. A predominance of Scotland was not feared, for Henry VII, to whom this serious possibility had been pointed out at the time of the marriage, had stated the maxim that the greater and stronger party always draws the smaller with it. The indispensable condition for the growth of England's power lay in the unification of the whole island; this would have come about in a Catholic, not a Protestant sense. Was it not probable that this union of political advantage with religious concord would influence the privy council of England, which under Mary was so zealously Catholic again, and also effect Queen Mary Tudor herself?

Great political questions, however, do not appear to mankind with such distinctness, but are seen through the modifying circumstances of the moment. It was decisive, for the time, that Mary Stuart was married to the dauphin of France; she would have united England not alone with Scotland but with France also, and would have brought her forever under the influence of that land. How such a prospect must have outraged every English feeling! England would have become a transmarine province of France, she would gradually have become ruined like Brittany, and in the next place French policy would have gained complete supremacy in the world.[p]

THE REFORMATION IN SCOTLAND

Elizabeth was fully aware that it was the secret intention of the court of France to endeavour to make good the claim of Mary to the crown of England. She knew that application had been made at Rome to have her excommuni-

cated, which had only been prevented by the influence of King Philip. As it was reckoned that her Catholic subjects would aid her rival, policy suggested the expediency of forming a connection with Mary's Protestant subjects. Hence arose the great interest which the court of England took in the internal affairs of Scotland. We must therefore enter somewhat minutely into the history of that country at the present conjuncture.

The moderate temper of the queen regent of Scotland [1] made her indisposed to persecute. The reformed doctrines therefore gradually advanced, and many of those who had fled from the tyranny of the fanatic queen of England had found a refuge in the northern kingdom. There is a sternness in the Scottish character unknown to the English, and nowhere is this more manifested than in the progress of the Reformation in the two countries. In England it was conducted with mildness, in Scotland it was wild, destructive, and fanatic.

On the 3rd of December, 1557, the earls of Argyll, Morton and Glencairn, and other nobles, met at Edinburgh and entered into a private association, styled the Congregation of the Lord, binding themselves to struggle to the uttermost against "Satan in his members the antichrist of their time." This convention remained for some time a secret. But the lords of the Congregation, emboldened by manifest indications of the popular feeling, and by the tidings of the death of Mary and accession of Elizabeth, ventured to petition the regent for the reformation of the church and of the "wicked, scandalous, and detestable lives" of the prelates and clergy. The regent temporised till she had obtained the matrimonial crown for the dauphin, and might have conceded some of their demands but that she received directions from her brothers, the Guises, who now directed everything at the court of France, to check the new opinions. As usual, she submitted her own good sense to their will. She had the principal reformed teachers cited before the council at Stirling. The people, enraged, resolved on opposing the regent and the clergy with arms.

While matters were in this state the celebrated John Knox returned to Scotland. Knox, a man of stern, unbending nature, actuated by principle alone, far above all sordid, selfish considerations, but narrow in mind and only moderately learned, had adopted in their utmost extent the rigid principles of Calvin, the apostle of Geneva. Gospel truth (in his own sense of the term) he held to be paramount to all considerations, and all the laws of society should yield before it. Hence Knox was found to vindicate even the murder of Cardinal Beaton.

This daring man now (May 11th, 1559) ascended the pulpit at Perth and poured forth a torrent of declamation against the tenets and practices of the church of Rome. When he concluded, a priest had the folly to prepare to celebrate mass; but the people, who had been wrought up to a high degree of fanaticism by the eloquence of Knox, rushed forward, seized and destroyed his holy implements, then tore the pictures, broke the images, and overthrew the altars. They thence proceeded, their numbers increasing as they went, to the convents of the gray, black, and white friars, where they drove out the inmates and pillaged and destroyed the buildings. The precedent was followed at Cupar in Fifeshire, which was "reformed," as the phrase was, in a similar manner.

The regent, on receiving the intelligence, advanced with what troops she had towards Perth. She was joined by Arran (now duke of Chatellerault in

[1 This was Mary of Guise, mother of the Mary who was later called Mary Queen of Scots.]

France), Argyll, James Stuart, prior of St. Andrews, and other lords of the reformed party, while Glencairn and others led their retainers to the support of the Congregation. They were so formidable in numbers and evinced such a determined spirit of fanaticism and intolerance, that the regent, dubious of the event of a conflict, agreed to an accommodation. She was then admitted into Perth. But it was soon asserted that she had violated the conditions; the Congregation, now joined by Argyll and the prior, again took arms; Knox became their animating spirit, and Anstruther, Scone, Stirling and other places were "reformed" as Perth had been. They advanced to Edinburgh, where they were admitted by the people who had already reformed their city. The queen took refuge at Dunbar; but the usual causes having acted to increase her strength and diminish that of her adversaries, a new accommodation was agreed to, and she regained possession of Edinburgh (July 12th). Soon after troops came from France to her support, and she stationed them at Leith, which she had fortified.

Henry II of France, having lost his life by an accident at the tournament celebrated in honour of his sister's marriage with the duke of Savoy, was succeeded by the dauphin under the title of Francis II, and the power of the Guises was now without limits. The young sovereigns styled themselves king and queen of England. The design of making Scotland and eventually England a dependency of France, and of putting down the Reformation, was still retained. Additional troops were collected to be sent to the former kingdom. The Congregation saw that if not supported by England they ran risk of being crushed; they therefore sent Maitland of Lethington and Robert Melville in secret to London. Cecil stated to his royal mistress the various reasons which rendered imperative on her the support of the applicants. Her scruples about treating with the subjects of another prince gave way.[1] She concluded a treaty with the lords of the Congregation, promising never to desist till the French had evacuated Scotland. Admiral Winter was sent with a fleet of fifteen sail to the Firth of Forth, and an army of eight thousand men was assembled on the borders.

The French troops had surprised Stirling and were laying Fifeshire waste when the appearance of Winter's fleet forced them to return to Leith, where they were besieged by the congregationalists. A treaty for peace was now set on foot at Newcastle, whither Elizabeth sent Cecil and Wotton to meet the French ministers. While it was going on, the queen-regent died (June 11th, 1560). It was then removed to Edinburgh, and it was finally agreed [by the so-called Treaty of Edinburgh, July 6th, 1560] that the French should evacuate Scotland; that twelve persons, seven to be selected by the queen, five by the parliament, should govern the kingdom, and that war or peace should not be made without the consent of the parliament. By a separate treaty with Elizabeth, Francis and Mary were to renounce the title of king and queen of England.[r]

The treaty of Edinburgh was so unpalatable to the house of Guise that for nearly a year the queen of Scotland refused to ratify it. The estates of the kingdom, however, assembled at the time stipulated by the treaty without receiving any commission from their queen. It was held that the express words of the treaty provided that such a meeting of the estates should be lawful without being so convoked. There was no doubt what course affairs

[1 Elizabeth also abhorred Calvinism, and had a deep grudge against John Knox for his book, *The Monstrous Regiment of Women*. Gardiner *q* says, "It is therefore almost certain that she would have done nothing for the lords of the Congregation if France had done nothing for the regent."]

would take, for the question of the legality of the parliament was carried by an overwhelming majority. The first proceeding of the estates was to draw up a confession of faith, founded on the reformed doctrines as received by Calvin. The opposition of the bishops and other Romanists was useless. This remarkable summary of doctrine must have been the result of the most careful consideration. The solemn earnestness of its tone was characteristic of the Scottish people and their spiritual leaders in the Reformation. It concludes with this prayer: "Arise, O Lord, and let thy enemies be confoundit; let theme flee fra thy presence that hait thy godly name: Give thy servandis strenth to speik thy worde in baldness, and lat all natiounis cleif to thy trew knawledge. Amen." [1]

The confession of faith was followed up by three acts, which established the reformed religion upon legislative sanction much more rapidly and sweepingly than had been accomplished in England, and with a more signal display of intolerance. The first abolished the power and jurisdiction of the pope in Scotland; the second repealed all statutes in favour of the Roman church; and the third provided that all who should say mass or hear mass, should incur confiscation of goods for the first offence, banishment for the second, and death for the third.

The proceedings in the parliament of Scotland necessarily gave offence to Queen Mary, and she again refused to ratify the treaty of Edinburgh. When urged to do so by Throcmorton, the English ambassador, she thus addressed him: "My subjects in Scotland do their duty in nothing, nor have they performed one point that belongeth unto them. I am their queen, and so they call me, but they use me not so. They have done what pleaseth them, and though I have not many faithful subjects there, yet those few that be there on my party were not present when these matters were done, nor at this assembly. I will have them assemble by my authority, and proceed in their doings after the laws of the realm, which they so much boast of, and keep none of them. They have sent hither a poor gentleman to me, whom I disdain to have come in the name of them all, to the king and me, in such a legation. They have sent great personages to your mistress. I am their sovereign, but they take me not so. They must be taught to know their duty." [2]

BEGINNING OF THE RIVALRY OF MARY AND ELIZABETH

On the 6th of December, 1560, Francis II, the young king of France, died, after a reign of seventeen months.[3] His death prevented the execution of a project for rooting the reformed doctrines out of France by holding an assembly of the States-General at which all should sign a confession of the Catholic faith, which should then be tendered for signature to every person in the kingdom, the refusal to be punished by banishment or death. Mary

[1] "Acts of the Parliament of Scotland," 1560 A.D.

[2] Letter of Throcmorton to Elizabeth, in State Paper Office.

[3] The queen-dowager, Catherine de' Medici, now became regent for the minority of her son Charles IX; the king of Navarre, whom the Guises had thrown into prison, was liberated and made lieutenant-general of the kingdom; the prince of Condé, who had been condemned to death, was also set at liberty; the constable Montmorency was recalled to court, and a counterpoise to the power of the Guises was thus formed. The widowed queen Mary, finding the court where she had ruled no longer an agreeable abode, retired to that of her uncles in Lorraine. She still persevered in refusing to ratify the treaty with Elizabeth. Her subjects sent praying her to return to her own kingdom; her uncles urged her to the same course; the ill-feeling which prevailed between her and the queen-mother assured her that she could never expect happiness in France.]

appears very soon to have determined upon a return to Scotland, hoping, by previous negotiation, to have won over her subjects to a willing obedience. She was admirably fitted by her beauty, her winning manners, and her acute intellect to obtain the homage of all hearts could she have resolved to separate herself from the policy of her family even if she did not choose to conform to the religion which had been so solemnly proclaimed by a vast majority of the Scottish people assembled in parliament. It was determined in Scotland to send as an ambassador to Mary the lord James Murray,[1] the illegitimate son of James V. Murray wisely and bravely stipulated, in opposition to the remonstrances of the reformed ministers, that his sister should be left free to the private exercise of her own religion. After the death of Francis, Elizabeth also sent an ambassador to condole with her, to assure her of the desire of England to remain at peace, but to demand her confirmation of the treaty[2] concluded by her commissioners at Edinburgh.

Again Mary refused to ratify this treaty till she had returned to her own kingdom and submitted the matter to her parliament. In her conferences with Murray, in whom she seems to have firmly trusted, although he was in intimate correspondence with the English government, Mary, according to Tytler,[s] "did not scruple to admit that the amity between England and Scotland was little agreeable to her, and that, considering the terms of the league lately made betwixt the two realms, she was anxious to have it dissolved." "Murray," continues the historian, "having secretly met the English ambassador, insidiously betrayed to him everything that had passed between Mary and himself."

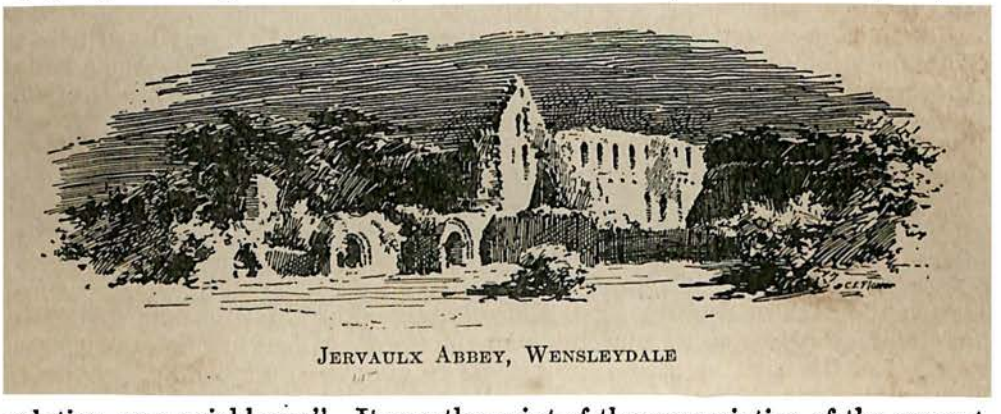
Those who write of the secret transactions of this period, as imperfectly laid open by official letters, have the craft of Elizabeth, the confiding sincerity of Mary, and the treachery of Murray and his associates always ready for argument or illustration. It would be well to consider what the rupture of the amity between England and Scotland, so desired by Mary, really meant. It meant a civil war in Scotland, which the alliance with England kept down. It meant the establishment of the French interest in Scotland under the policy of the Guises, which has been thus described by Tytler[s]: "To put down the Huguenots in France, to encourage the Romanists in England and Scotland, to sow dissensions amongst the Protestant princes of Germany, to support the Council of Trent, now sitting, and, in a word, to concentrate the whole strength of France, Spain, Italy, and the empire against that great moral and religious revolution, by which light and truth were struggling to break in upon a system of long-established error, was the main object to which they directed their efforts."

That Mary Stuart was fully imbued with the desire to support this main object, and that Elizabeth Tudor was equally resolved to oppose it, may more satisfactorily account for the early hostility between these queens than the received theory that the government of England was "constant in nothing, save in a desire to profit by the strifes and embarrassments of the Scottish people." The able writer, Bruce,[t] who has so justly denounced this prevailing fallacy, says, with a distinct knowledge of the historical evidence, that "there were two principles which consistently regulated the English policy in Scotland during the time of Elizabeth. The one was, a determination that no

[1] Many historians spell his name Moray.]
[2] This included a renunciation of Mary's claim on the English crown. Mary might have consented had Elizabeth agreed to name her as her successor, but this Elizabeth would not do. As Gardiner[q] says, "She had a special dislike to fixing on anyone as her successor." This was both a personal eccentricity and a shrewd policy.]

continental power should interfere by force of arms in Scottish affairs; the other, a similar determination to uphold Protestantism and the Protestant party in opposition to that party which befriended Mary." When the queen of Scotland desired to return to her native country, she was assuring the English ambassador that she was most anxious for the friendship of Elizabeth: "I, for my part, am very desirous to have the perfect and the assured amity of the queen, my good sister; and I will use all the means I can to give her occasion to think that I mean it indeed." She was telling Murray, in confidence, that she desired to have the amity dissolved.

Elizabeth, with a perfect knowledge of her real wishes, received the ambassador, D'Oisel, whom Mary had sent to solicit a safe-conduct from the queen, either on her voyage to Scotland, or should she land in the English dominions. He was also to ask for a passport for himself to pursue his journey to Scotland. Elizabeth, with undisguised anger, refused both requests. "Let your queen," she said, "ratify the treaty, and she shall experience on my part, either by sea or land, whatever can be expected from a queen, a



JERVAULX ABBEY, WENSLEYDALE

relation, or a neighbour." It was the point of the renunciation of the present claim to the crown of England that made Elizabeth so resolved. Sir James Mackintosh [d] has pointed out that Doctor Robertson [u] "confounded the right of succession with the claim to possession"; and that "the claim to possession, asserted by the arms, supposed Elizabeth to be an usurper; the right of succession recognised her as a lawful sovereign." This most unwise pretension of Mary, thus reasserted by her refusal to ratify the treaty, was a real declaration of hostility, affecting the quiet of the English nation. The refusal of a safe-conduct had undoubtedly the approval of Elizabeth's ministers, who could not forbear to look with apprehension upon the return to Scotland of one so opposed to their general policy. Their conduct might be ungenerous, but it was not inconsistent.

The indignation of Mary at this refusal was such as might have been expected from so high-spirited a woman. Throcmorton has related his interview with her on this occasion, and has reported her address to him, eloquent and slightly sarcastic.[v]

When Mary saw him, she ordered her attendants to retire; "that," said she, "if like the queen of England I cannot command my temper, I may at least have fewer spectators of my weakness." To his reasons she replied: "Your mistress reproaches me with my youth—it is a defect which will soon be cured—but she might reproach me with my folly, if, young as I am, without husband or counsel, I should take on myself to ratify the treaty. When

[1561 A.D.]

I have consulted the estates of my realm I will return a reasonable answer. I only repent that I had the weakness to ask of your sovereign a favour which I did not want. I came here in defiance of Edward VI; I will return to Scotland in defiance of his sister. I want nothing of her but her friendship; if she choose, she may have me a loving kinswoman, and a useful neighbour; for it is not my intention to intrigue with the discontented in her kingdom, as she intrigues with the discontented in mine."

The resolution of the Scottish queen triumphed over the tortuous policy of the English cabinet. Letters in the name of Elizabeth had been sent to the lords of the Congregation, admonishing them of the danger to which they would be exposed by the return of their sovereign, and advising them to divert her from her purpose by some bold demonstration of their hatred to popery and the renewal of their league with England; and at the same time, to alarm the Scottish queen, a squadron of men-of-war was collected in the Downs for the specious purpose of cruising against pirates in the narrow seas. Mary was not ignorant of the intrigues in Scotland, and suspected the object of the naval armament; still she determined to brave the danger, and when Throcmorton waited on her before her departure, said to him, "I trust that I shall not need to come to the coast of England. If I do; then, Mr. Ambassador, the queen, your mistress, will have me in her hands to do her will of me; and if she be so hard-hearted as to desire my end, she may do her pleasure, and make her sacrifice of me. Peradventure that might be better for me than to live. In this matter God's will be done."[i]

MARY ENTERS SCOTLAND (1561 A.D.)

On the 14th of August, 1561, Mary embarked at Calais on her voyage to Scotland. There was an evil omen in the wreck of a vessel before her eyes as she left the harbour. Brantôme[w] has recorded those touching displays of her feelings, which show how reluctantly she quitted the country where she had moved amidst the universal homage of a gay court; where pleasures surrounded her on every side; and where there were no severe religionists to interpret the most innocent actions into evidences of immorality. Yet at that dangerous court—where female purity had ceased to be regarded as a virtue, and female prudence was ridiculed and despised—this fascinating woman might have learned to forget that self-respect which would have shielded her from harm even amongst the most stern judges of human conduct; and thus France might have been to her a cruel stepmother. She could now only look back upon its shores as the seat of past joys and exclaim, "Farewell, France!"

Again, when the evening was drawing on, would she gaze, and say, "It is now, my dear France, that I lose sight of thee. I shall never see thee more." Awakened at the first dawning, as she had desired to be if the coast were still in sight, she exclaimed, "Farewell, France. It is over." On they went to the North Sea, when a fog came on, and they cast anchor in the open sea.

It was this fog, according to some writers,[1] which prevented the galleys of Mary being captured by Elizabeth's cruisers. One vessel was taken and carried into port; but, says Tytler,[s] "as soon as it was discovered that the young queen was not on board, the prize was released, and pursued her voyage into Scotland. The incident, however, demonstrated clearly the sin-

[1 Among those who believe that Elizabeth really meant to intercept Mary are Lingard[t] and Creighton,[e] while Froude[x] strongly implies the desire, even if the courage were wanting.]

ister intentions of the English queen." The counter-statement, upon the authority of Cecil, is that the small English squadron was in pursuit of pirates who were then cruising in the Scottish sea; that this squadron saluted the royal galleys, but detained one baggage vessel suspected of having pirates on board. "The conduct of the English commanders towards Mary's vessels," says Mackintosh,[d] "minutely corresponds with the assurance of Elizabeth, in her letter of the 16th of August, that she suspended her displeasure at the refusal to ratify the treaty, and had given orders to her naval officers which were equivalent to a safe-conduct."

Elizabeth says: "It seemeth that report hath been made to you that we had sent out our admiral with our fleet to hinder your passage. Your servants know how false that is. We have only, at the desire of the king of Spain, sent two or three small barks to sea, in pursuit of certain Scottish pirates."

Mary landed at the port of Leith on the 19th of August. She was received by a deputation, and conducted to the palace, or abbey, of Holyrood —that seat of Scottish royalty whose chief interest is associated with her name, but of which a very small portion of the original building remains. Mary had been accustomed to grander pageants than now welcomed her. Mean hackneys, wretchedly caparisoned, waited her arrival. She went on to Edinburgh, having no magnificence to show the French courtiers who surrounded her. Under the windows of Holyrood the citizens sang psalms to discordant three-stringed rebecks, which kept the weary queen from sleeping; and the next morning when a popish priest was about to perform mass in her private chapel, he would have been slain by the master of Lindsay and a furious multitude had not Murray placed himself at the door of the chapel and maintained the principle for which he had contended, that the queen should not be molested in the private exercise of her religion.

The fortunes of Mary Stuart and Elizabeth Tudor suggest the most remarkable contrasts, even up to this period. When Mary was in her girlhood she was married to the heir of one of the greatest monarchies of Europe. When Elizabeth had scarcely reached her twenty-first year she became the object of suspicion to her sister; was a close prisoner under apprehension of immediate death, and passed several years of durance and solitary anxiety. The taint of supposed illegitimacy was upon her, and her succession to the crown was more than doubtful. When she came to the throne she had to decide upon heading an ecclesiastical revolution that would make her the proscribed of Rome and the contemned of Rome's supporters, or to support a system which had become odious in England. She threw herself upon her people—and she triumphed. When Mary became the widowed queen of France and returned to assume the rule of Scotland, she found herself supported by the great Catholic powers, but opposed to her people—and she failed. She had to bear the rough monitions of Knox, the ill-concealed hostility and uncertain support of her nobles, and the secret or proclaimed dislike of an angry nation.

Whilst the government of England was carrying out its resolved policy with regard to Scotland and all there was strife and bitterness, Elizabeth was moving amongst her subjects with the love of the many and the fear of the few. Mary could depend upon no advisers, for the adherents to the old religion were too rash in their weakness and the reformers too harsh in their strength. Elizabeth had the ablest men of the time as counsellors, who held to a settled principle of action without provoking hostility by capricious and passionate exercises of authority. Mary was the sovereign of a people amongst

[1561 A.D.]

whom the feudal tyrannies had not yet been held in subjection by the growth of profitable industry. Elizabeth governed a community in which the strength of the middle classes had asserted itself against monarchical and ecclesiastical tyranny, and new channels of prosperity were being opened wherever commerce developed the energies of capital, and adventurous men went forth for the conquests of peace. The most prosaic record of the first two years of Elizabeth's reign shows how remarkably the tranquillity of England was opposed to the turbulence of Scotland.[v]

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CHAPTER IX

MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

[1561–1569 A.D.]

A SPECTACLE unparalleled—these two queens in Albion, proud and wonderful creatures of nature and events. Both were of high intellect. From Mary we have verses in French, of a sincerity and directness rare in the literature of that day. Her letters are spontaneous and fervid expressions of passing moods. From Elizabeth, too, we have verses, not especially poetic nor musically expressed, yet full of high feeling and resolution. Her letters are clever, yet, on account of their allusions and antitheses, are far from clear, though concise and weighty; in her expressions there is revealed at times an insight into the inner relations between history and ideas that is astounding.—VON RANKE *b*.

MARY was now in her nineteenth year. She had been brought up in a court where the serpent too frequently lurked beneath the roses; treachery, falsehood, and cruelty hiding themselves under the covert of honeyed words and wreathed smiles, and where dissoluteness of manners prevailed. She had also been reared in adherence to the tenets and practices of the papacy. She was come to a country poor and semi-barbarous, where deeds of violence and treachery were openly enacted; where the Reformation had breathed its sternest spirit, suiting itself to the people, whose struggles for independence had developed a character peculiar to the nation; and where the reformed clergy, led by John Knox, frowned upon the masks, the dances, the banquets, in which the queen naturally took delight, as frivolous practices introduced from the licentious court of France.

Between a sovereign and a people of such opposite characters long-continued harmony could hardly be expected to prevail. Yet Mary's reign was for some years happy and prosperous. For this she was indebted to her following the advice of her uncles and giving her confidence to her half-brother, the

prior of St. Andrews (whom she raised to the dignity of earl of Mar, and soon after to that of Murray or Moray), the head of the Protestant party and a man of ability. She also held occasional conferences with the rugged Knox, and bore his uncourteous animadversions with no little patience.

Yet all the while her fixed design was the overthrow of the reformed religion. In 1562, when some zealots presented a petition for the suppression of the Roman worship, she angrily replied that she hoped before another year to have the mass restored throughout the whole kingdom. On the 10th of May in the following year (1563) her uncle, the cardinal of Lorraine, read her letters to the council of Trent, professing her submission to its authority, and promising if she succeeded to the throne of England to subject both kingdoms to the holy see. We are further assured that she was a subscribing party to the famous Holy League concluded at Bayonne in 1565 for the extermination of the Protestants. Surely it is not possible that the intentions of Mary with respect to religion could have escaped the knowledge of Elizabeth and her wise minister Cecil; and was it not therefore their duty to guard against her having the power to carry these designs into effect?

The queen of Scots, we have seen, laid claim to the throne of England; and supposing the divorce of Henry VIII not to have been legal, and the power of parliament to limit the succession not paramount, her claim was irresistible.[1] The Catholics in general took this view of the case. On the other hand Henry, by his will, sanctioned by parliament, devised the crown after his own children to the issue of his younger sister the queen of France by the duke of Suffolk; and many of the Protestants, such as Cecil and Bacon, favoured this line. The general feeling, however, was on the side of the elder or Scottish branch, and Elizabeth herself seems to have viewed the queen of Scots as her true heir, though she was probably secretly determined to keep the matter in uncertainty as long as she lived. By an act of great harshness and even cruelty she at this time put it nearly out of her own power to exclude the queen of Scots.

The lady Catherine Grey,[2] next sister to the lady Jane, had been married to the son of the earl of Pembroke, but on the fall of her family that time-serving nobleman had them divorced. Catherine was afterwards privately married to the earl of Hertford, son of the protector. Her pregnancy revealed the secret, and Elizabeth, who could not bear that others should enjoy those delights of love from which she excluded herself, sent the lovers to the Tower. As they were unable to prove their marriage the primate pronounced a divorce; but their keepers allowing them to meet, the birth of a second child was the result. Hertford was heavily fined, and detained in prison till his unhappy wife sank under the ill-treatment she received, and died. The legitimacy of their children was acknowledged in a subsequent reign.

Shortly after her arrival in Scotland Mary sent Maitland of Lethington to Elizabeth to propose a friendly alliance, but at the same time requiring to be declared successor to the throne. Elizabeth insisted on the execution of the treaty of Edinburgh; she declared that in such case she would do nothing to prejudice the rights of Mary; but she said that her own experience when she was at Hatfield had convinced her how dangerous to the present possessor of power it was to have a designated successor, who would thus become a rallying point for the disaffected. This was a subject on which all through

[1 Furthermore, as we have seen, Elizabeth's own parliament had never specifically reversed the attainder of her blood. The reasons have already been shown.]

[2 Lady Catherine was Elizabeth's heir according to Henry VIII's will in favor of the Suffolk line. But Elizabeth would not name her a successor.]

her reign Elizabeth was remarkably jealous, and though, as we have said, she secretly favoured the hereditary principle, she never would declare herself.

The two queens, notwithstanding, kept up an amicable intercourse by letters, and at one time proposed a personal interview at York, which, however, did not take place in consequence of Elizabeth's vanity and jealousy, according to those writers who take a delight in assigning little paltry motives to the actions of this great princess. To us the conduct of Elizabeth towards Mary at this period seems to have been as cordial and friendly as was consistent with her station as the head of the Protestant party in Great Britain, and the obstinate retention by Mary of her claim to the crown of England.

THE SUITORS OF ELIZABETH

It was a curious circumstance that the rulers of the two British kingdoms should be both young women, both handsome, both single. Their hands were therefore naturally objects of ambition to foreign princes, and the disposal of them matter of solicitude to their subjects. The English parliament were particularly anxious that their sovereign should marry, as her having issue would secure a Protestant succession, and preclude the collision which might ensue between the hereditary claims of the descendants of Margaret and the parliamentary title of those of Mary Tudor, the daughters of Henry VII. But the masculine and arbitrary temper of Elizabeth had early brought her to a secret determination never to give herself a master, and though she gave her parliament fair words, and coquetted with some of her suitors, there does not appear any reason to suppose that she seriously thought of marriage.

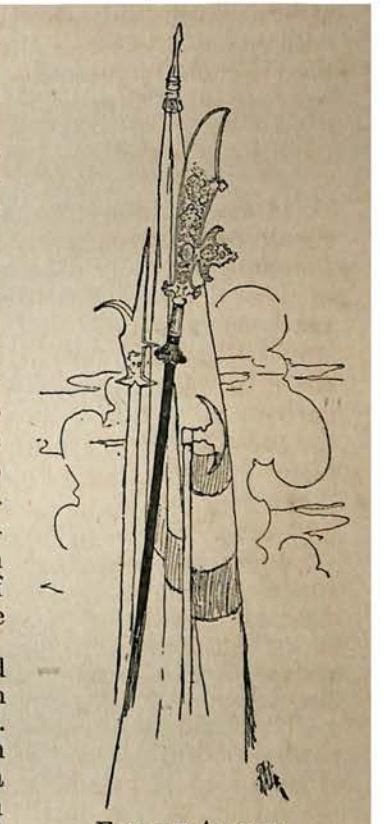
When Philip of Spain had given up all hopes of obtaining the hand of Elizabeth himself, he put forward the pretensions of his cousin Charles, archduke of Austria, in the design of counterbalancing the influence of France in the British island. Some of Elizabeth's leading nobles were strongly in favour of this match, and it continued for some years to be the subject of discussion.[c]

The family connections of this prince promised equal support against the rivalry of Francis and Mary; to his person, talents, and acquirements, no objection could be adduced; but his religion opposed, if not in the opinion of the queen, at least in that of her counsellors, an insuperable obstacle to his suit. Elizabeth's vanity was indeed flattered, and she intimated a wish to see the archduke in England. It was generally understood that he had resolved to visit his intended bride under an assumed character in November, 1559, and in foreign courts an idea prevailed that the marriage was actually concluded; but the emperor conceived it beneath his dignity to proceed with so much precipitancy, and opened a negotiation which defeated his own purpose.

Though he was induced to withdraw his first demand of a church for the celebration of the Catholic service in London; though he consented that Charles should, on occasions of ceremony, attend the queen to the Protestant worship; still he insisted that his son should possess a private chapel for his own use and that of his Catholic family. To this it was replied, that the laws of the realm allowed of no other than the established liturgy, and that the conscience of the queen forbade her to connive at the celebration of an idolatrous worship. So uncourteous an answer cooled the ardour of the young prince. The emperor demanded a positive answer, and the queen replied, January 20th, 1560, that she had in reality no wish to marry. Charles imme-

diately turned his attention towards the widow queen of Scotland, and the subject was dropped without any expression of dissatisfaction by either party.

While the Austrian was thus preferring his suit, John, duke of Finland, arrived in England, September 27th, 1559, to solicit the hand of the queen for his brother Eric, king of Sweden. He was received with royal honours and flattered with delusive hopes. To the queen he paid incessant attention, sought to win the goodwill of her favourites by his affability and presents, and as he went to court, usually threw money amongst the populace, saying that he gave them silver, but the king would give them gold.


ENGLISH ARMOUR

To Eric, a Protestant, no objection could be made on the ground of religion; finding, however, that his suit made little progress, he grew jealous of his brother, and recalling him, confided his interests to the care of an ambassador. At the same time he sent to Elizabeth, October 3rd, 1561, eighteen piebald horses and several chests of bullion, with an intimation that he would quickly follow in person to lay his heart at her feet. The queen had no objection to the present; but to relieve herself from the expense and embarrassment of a visit she requested him, for his own sake, to postpone his journey till the time when she could make up her mind to enter into matrimony. At length his patience was exhausted, and he consoled himself for his disappointment by marrying a lady who, though unequal in rank to Elizabeth, could boast of superior beauty, and repaid his choice by the sincerity of her attachment.

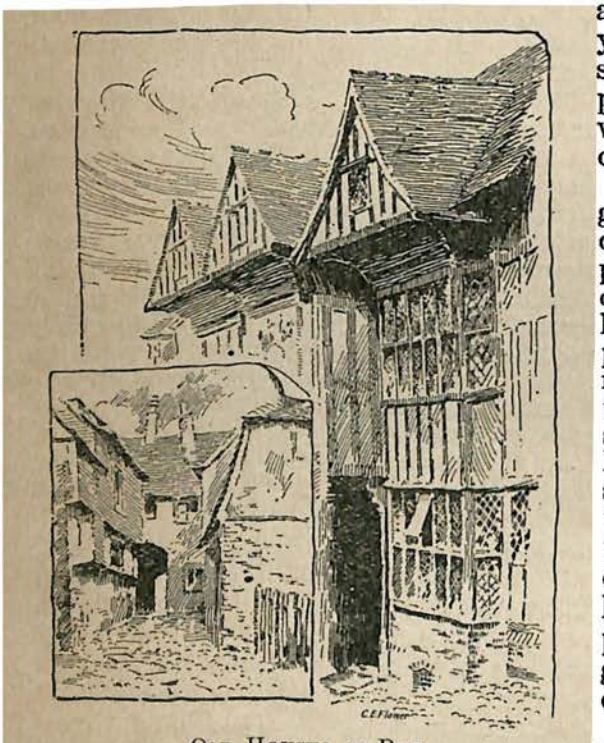
Jealousy of the power of Eric had induced the king of Denmark to set up a rival suitor in the person of Adolphus, duke of Holstein-Eutin. The prince was young, handsome, and (which exalted him more in the eyes of Elizabeth) a soldier and a conqueror. On his arrival, March 20th, 1560, he was received with honour and treated with peculiar kindness. The queen made him knight of the Garter; she granted him a pension for life, still she could not be induced to take him for her husband.

While Charles, and Eric, and Adolphus thus openly contended for the hand, or rather the crown, of Elizabeth, they were secretly opposed by a rival whose pretensions were the more formidable as they received the united support of the secretary and of the secretary's wife. This rival was the earl of Arran, whose zeal for the glory of God had been stimulated with the hope of an earthly reward in the marriage of the queen. During the war of the Reformation he had displayed a courage and constancy which left all his associates, with the exception, perhaps, of the lord James, far behind him; and as soon as the peace was concluded he presumed to apply for the expected recompense of his services.

To the deputies of the Scottish convention who urged his suit Elizabeth, with her usual affectation, replied that she was content with her maiden state, and that God had given her no inclination for marriage. Yet the sudden

departure of the ambassadors deeply offended her pride. She complained that while kings and princes persevered for months and years in their suit, the Scots did not deign to urge their requests a second time. As for Arran, whether it were owing to his disappointment or to some other cause, he fell into a deep melancholy which ended in the loss of his reason.

From foreign princes we may turn to those among the queen's subjects who, prompted by their hopes or seduced by her smiles, flattered themselves with the expectation of winning her consent. The first of these was Sir William Pickering. He could not boast of noble blood, nor had he exercised any higher charge than that of a mission to some of the petty princes of Germany. But the beauty of his person, his address, and his taste in the polite arts, attracted the notice of the young queen; and so lavish was she of her attention to this unexpected favourite that for some weeks he was considered by the courtiers as her future consort.



OLD HOUSES AT RYE

But Pickering was soon forgotten; and if disparity of age could have been compensated by political experience and nobility of descent, the earl of Arundel had a better claim to the royal preference. For some years that nobleman persevered in his suit, to the disquietude of his conscience and the disparagement of his fortune. He was by persuasion a Catholic, but, to please the queen, voted in favour of the Reformation; he possessed considerable estates, but involved himself in debt by expensive presents, and by entertainments given to his sovereign and her court.

When at length he could no longer serve her politics or minister to her amusements, she cast him off, and treated him not only with coldness, but occasionally with severity.[1] The man who made the deepest and most lasting impression on her heart was the lord Robert Dudley [better known by his later title, earl of Leicester], who had been attainted with his father, the duke of Northumberland, for the attempt to remove Elizabeth as well as Mary from the succession.*f*

MOTLEY'S PORTRAIT OF ROBERT DUDLEY, EARL OF LEICESTER

There are few personages in English history whose adventures, real or fictitious, have been made more familiar to the world than his have been, or whose individuality has been presented in more picturesque fashion by chron-

[1] He was forty-seven years old at the queen's accession. From papers in Haynes*d* it appears that he was the great rival of Dudley. If we may believe a note preserved by Cam-

[1560 A.D.]

icle, tragedy, or romance. Born in the same day of the month and hour of the day with the queen, but two years before her birth, the supposed synastry of their destinies might partly account, in that age of astrological superstition, for the influence which he perpetually exerted. They had, moreover, been fellow-prisoners together in the commencement of the reign of Mary, and it is possible that he may have been the medium through which the indulgent expressions of Philip II were conveyed to the princess Elizabeth.

His grandfather, John Dudley, that "caterpillar of the commonwealth," who lost his head in the first year of Henry VIII as a reward for the "grist which he brought to the mill" of Henry VII; his father, the mighty duke of Northumberland, who rose out of the wreck of an obscure and ruined family to almost regal power, only to perish, like his predecessor, upon the scaffold, had bequeathed him nothing save rapacity, ambition, and the genius to succeed.

But Elizabeth seemed to ascend the throne only to bestow gifts upon her favourite. Baronies and earldoms, stars and garters, manors and monopolies, castles and forests, church livings and college chancellorships, advowsons and sinecures, emoluments and dignities, the most copious and the most exalted, were conferred upon him in breathless succession. Wine, oil, currants, velvets, ecclesiastical benefices, university headships, licenses to preach, to teach, to ride, to sail, to pick and to steal, all brought "grist to his mill."

His grandfather, "the horse leech and shearer," never filled his coffers more rapidly than did Lord Robert, the fortunate courtier. Of his early wedlock with the ill-starred Amy Robsart, of his nuptial projects with the queen, of his subsequent marriages and mock-marriages with Douglas Sheffield and Lettice of Essex, of his plottings, poisonings—imaginary or otherwise—of his countless intrigues, amatory and political—of that luxuriant, creeping, flaunting, all-pervading existence which struck its fibres into the mould and coiled itself through the whole fabric of Elizabeth's life and reign—of all this the world has long known too much to render a repetition needful here.

The inmost nature and the secret deeds of a man placed so high by wealth and station can be seen but darkly through the glass of contemporary record. There was no tribunal to sit upon his guilt. A grandee could be judged only when no longer a favourite, and the infatuation of Elizabeth for Leicester terminated only with his life. Yet he had been charged with crimes sufficient to send twenty humbler malefactors to the gibbet. "I think," said a most malignant arraigner of the man, in a published pamphlet, "that the earl of Leicester hath more blood lying upon his head at this day, crying for vengeance, than ever had private man before were he never so wicked."

Certainly the mass of misdemeanours and infamies hurled at the head of the favourite by that "green-coated Jesuit," Father Parsons,[9] under the title of *Leycester's Commonwealth*, were never accepted as literal verities; yet the value of the precept, to calumniate boldly, with the certainty that much of the calumny would last forever, was never better illustrated than in the case of Robert Dudley. Besides the lesser delinquencies of filling his purse by the sale of honours and dignities, by violent ejectments from land, fraud-

[9] ... in his corrected copy of his *Annals*, the earl introduced the use of coaches into England. In 1565 he travelled to the baths at Padua for relief from the gout. Afterwards he fell into disgrace for his participation in the design of marrying the duke of Norfolk to the queen of Scots, and from that time till his death (February 28th, 1580) was almost always confined by order of the council to his house; not, as far as appears, for any real offence, but as a dangerous person on account of his opposition to the designs of the ministers.

ulent titles, rapacious enclosures of commons, by taking bribes for matters of justice, grace, and supplication to the royal authority, he was accused of forging various letters to the queen, often to ruin his political adversaries, and of plotting to entrap them into conspiracies, playing first the comrade and then the informer.

The list of his murders and attempts to murder was almost endless. "His lordship hath a special fortune," saith the Jesuit, "that when he desireth any woman's favour, whatsoever person standeth in his way hath the luck to die quickly." He was said to have poisoned Alice Drayton, Lady Lennox, Lord Sussex, Sir Nicholas Throcmorton, Lord Sheffield—whose widow he married and then poisoned—Lord Essex, whose widow he also married, and intended to poison, but who was said to have subsequently poisoned him—besides murders or schemes for murder of various other individuals, both French and English. "He was a rare artist in poison," said Sir Robert Naunton,[h] and certainly not Cesare Borgia, nor his father or sister, was more accomplished in that difficult profession than was Dudley, if half the charges against him could be believed. Fortunately for his fame, many of them were proved to be false.

His participation in the strange death of his first wife was a matter of current belief among his contemporaries. "He is infamed by the death of his wife," said Burghley, and the tale has since become so interwoven with classic and legendary fiction, as well as with more authentic history, that the phantom of the murdered Amy Robsart is sure to arise at every mention of the earl's name. Yet a coroner's inquest—as appears from his own secret correspondence with his relative and agent at Cumnor—was immediately and persistently demanded by Dudley. A jury was impanelled—every man of them was a stranger to him, and some of them enemies. Antony Forster, Appleyard, and Arthur Robsart, brother-in-law and brother of the lady, were present, according to Dudley's special request; "and if more of her friends could have been sent," said he, "I would have sent them"; but with all their minuteness of inquiry, "they could find," wrote Blount, "no presumptions of evil," although he expressed a suspicion that "some of the jurymen were sorry that they could not." That the unfortunate lady was killed by a fall down stairs was all that could be made of it by a coroner's inquest, rather hostile than otherwise, and urged to rigorous investigation by the supposed culprit himself. Nevertheless, the calumny has endured for three centuries, and is likely to survive as many more.

Whatever crimes Dudley may have committed in the course of his career, there is no doubt whatever that he was the most abused man in Europe. He had been deeply wounded by the Jesuit's artful publication, in which all the misdeeds with which he was falsely or justly charged were drawn up in awful array, in a form half colloquial, half judicial. The earl himself ascribed these calumnies to the Jesuits, to the Guise faction, and particularly to the queen of Scots. He was said, in consequence, to have vowed an eternal hatred to that most unfortunate and most intriguing princess.

Nevertheless, calumniated or innocent, he was at least triumphant over calumny. Nothing could shake his hold upon Elizabeth's affections. The queen scorned but resented the malignant attacks upon the reputation of her favourite. She declared "before God and in her conscience, that she knew the libels against him to be most scandalous, and such as none but an incarnate devil himself could dream to be true." His power, founded not upon genius nor virtue, but upon woman's caprice, shone serenely above the gulf where there had been so many shipwrecks. "I am now passing into another

world," said Sussex, upon his death-bed, to his friends, "and I must leave you to your fortunes; but beware of the gipsy, or he will be too hard for you. You know not the beast so well as I do."

The gipsy, as he had been called from his dark complexion, had been renowned in youth for the beauty of his person, being "tall and singularly well-featured, of a sweet aspect, but high foreheaded, which was of no discommendation," according to Naunton. The queen, who had the passion of her father for tall and proper men, was easier won by externals, from her youth even to the days of her dotage, than befitted so very sagacious a personage. Chamberlains, squires of the body, carvers, cup-bearers, gentlemen-ushers, porters, could obtain neither place nor favour at court, unless distinguished for stature, strength, or extraordinary activity. To lose a tooth had been known to cause the loss of a place, and the excellent constitution of leg which helped Sir Christopher Hatton into the chancellorship was not more remarkable perhaps than the success of similar endowments in other contemporaries.[i]

SUITORS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

The hand of the other British queen was also sought by many. The archduke Charles was a suitor to her also; Philip offered her his son Don Carlos; the king of Navarre would, it is said, willingly have divorced his heretical queen Jeanne d'Albret to marry the queen of Scotland, to whom Catherine proposed a union with another of her sons. Some of the petty princes of Italy also aspired to the widowed queen.

Mary was differently situated from Elizabeth; the latter had only her own inclinations to consult, while from the circumstance of differing in religion from the great bulk of her subjects, who looked up to Elizabeth as their protectress, Mary could not safely venture on any match which would not meet the approbation of that princess, who, as well as the Scottish reformers, was extremely adverse to her marrying anyone but a Protestant. It was a delicate matter for Elizabeth to manage, as it seemed an almost unwarrantable interference in the concerns of an independent sovereign.

Still the safety of England and of the Protestant religion was paramount to all considerations. In November, 1563, Cecil drew up instructions on this subject for Randolph, the English minister at Edinburgh, in which he stated the reasons that ought to influence Mary in her choice, viz., the mutual affection of the parties; the approval of her own subjects; the friendship of Elizabeth, who he said would not be satisfied at a foreign match. He was desired to hint that "nothing would content Elizabeth so much as Mary's choice of some noble person within the kingdom of England having the qualities and conditions meet for such an alliance,[1] and therewith be agreeable to both queens and both their nations."

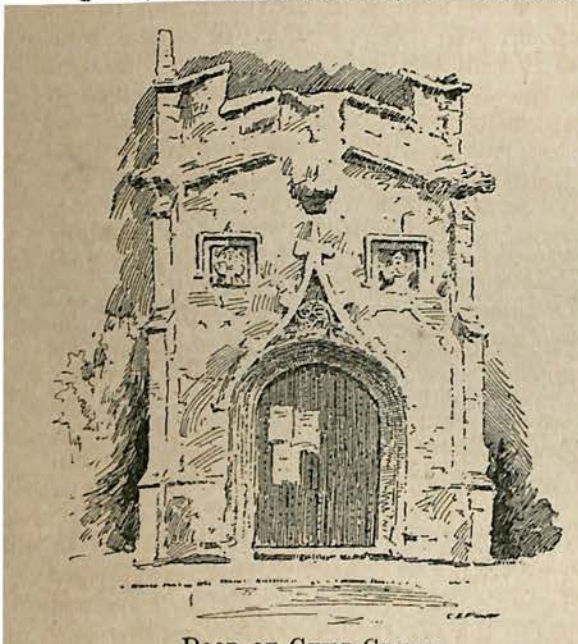
Accordingly Randolph suggested Lord Robert Dudley, accompanied, it would seem, with some favourable prospects respecting the succession. Mary made an evasive reply, alleging that her friends would hardly agree that she should "embase herself so far as that." Dudley himself, who aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, felt no great inclination for the Scottish match; but the negotiations for it still went on, and on the 5th of February, 1565, Randolph wrote that Mary was inclined to marry him. But now Elizabeth began to fluctuate. "I see," writes Cecil, "the queen's majesty very desirous to

[1] At this part is added, in Elizabeth's own handwriting, "Yea, perchance such as she could hardly think we could agree unto."

have my lord of Leicester[1] the Scottish queen's husband; but when it cometh to the conditions which are demanded I see her then remiss of her earnestness." In these words, written from one minister to another where there could be no intention to deceive, we have the key to Elizabeth's conduct in this intricate business.

DARNLEY IN SCOTLAND

In the mean time Mary had turned her thoughts to another English subject. Margaret Tudor, queen of Scots, had by her second husband, the earl of Angus, a daughter, whom Henry VIII gave in marriage, with an estate in England, to Matthew Stuart, earl of Lennox, when he was driven out of Scotland by the regent Arran. Lord Darnley therefore, Lennox's eldest son, was on the father's side of the blood royal of Scotland, on the mother's of that of England, and being a Protestant might prove a formidable rival to Mary for the English crown. Mary with a view to this had kept up a correspondence with the earl and countess of Lennox.



DOOR OF GUILD CHAPEL
(Stratford-on-Avon)

In the autumn of 1564, probably by Mary's invitation, the earl went to Scotland to try to obtain a reversal of his attainder and the restoration of his estates and honours; Elizabeth not merely giving her permission, but recommending him strongly to Mary, whom at the same time she warned to take care of offending the Hamiltons, the present possessors of Lennox's estates. Lennox was received with great distinction by his royal kinswoman; she effected an accommodation between him and Chatellerault, the head of the house of Hamilton; and by inducing Lady Lennox to drop her claim on the earldom of Angus, she prevented any opposition from the potent house of Douglas. In the month of December Lennox was restored by act of parliament to his titles and estates.

A marriage between Mary and Darnley had been for some time in treaty between the former and Lennox; rumours of it were instantly spread, and it

[1] In 1564 Elizabeth, with a view to his marriage with Mary created Dudley earl of Leicester and Baron Denbigh. "It was done," says Melville, *i* "with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put on his ceremonial (mantle), he sitting upon his knees before her with a great gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his neck, smilingly tickling him; the French ambassador and I standing by." Could this be anything but playfulness, like her father's putting his arm round Sir T. More's neck, like Napoleon's pinching his favourite's ears? She had said of him to Melville a little before that "she esteemed him as her brother and best friend, whom she would have herself married had she ever minded to have taken a husband; but being determined to end her life in virginity, she wished the queen her sister might marry him as meetest of all others with (for) whom she could find it in her heart to declare her second person."

[1565 A.D.]

may also be that the English ministers and possibly Elizabeth herself were not displeased at it. Mary was desirous of seeing Darnley, and Elizabeth when applied to made no difficulty of letting him go to Scotland. He reached Edinburgh on the 13th of February, 1565, and on the 16th he waited on the queen at Wemyss castle in Fife.

"Her majesty," says Melville, "took well with him, and said he was the lustiest (handsomest) and best-proportioned lang man that she had seen; for he was of high stature, lang and small, even and brent up (straight): well instructed from his youth in all honest and comely exercises." He was in effect a tall, well-made youth of nineteen years,[1] who danced, played the lute, and had the showy accomplishments of the age. He pleased the eye of Mary; she took no time to ascertain the qualities of his mind, but fell violently in love at once. He offered her his hand and heart without delay; she affected anger at his presumption, but secretly determined to espouse him.

There was a man named David Rizzio or Riccio, an Italian, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy. He remained in the queen's service on account of his skill in music; she raised him to the post of her French secretary, and made him her favourite. As the graces of the crown mostly passed through his hands he was courted by the nobility; wealth came to him from various sources, which he displayed with the usual vanity of an upstart, and his insolence augmented in proportion. The nobility therefore hated and despised him at the same time; a suspicion also prevailed that he was a secret agent of the pope.

With this man did Darnley condescend to ally himself in order that he might employ his influence over the queen's mind in his favour. This indisposed the Protestant nobles to Darnley; the open indifference which he manifested on the subject of religion alarmed them. Murray prognosticated that unkindness to England would be the result, and in sorrow withdrew from court. The queen, however, was resolved to persevere; an agent was despatched to Rome for a dispensation, and Maitland of Lethington was sent to inform Elizabeth and ask her consent.

But the knowledge which the council had now of the state of feeling in both kingdoms made them view the match as fraught with peril, and letters of recall were sent (April 23rd) to Lennox and his son, which they treated with neglect, almost with contempt. On the 1st of May the council met and determined that this marriage would be dangerous to the Protestant religion and to the queen's title, and that it was necessary to provide for war with Scotland if need should be. The able Throcmorton was sent to Edinburgh to make known these resolutions, and in case of failure he was to urge the Protestants to oppose the marriage unless Darnley promised to adhere to the reformed religion.

Murray, as we have seen, had withdrawn from court in disgust; but the queen, who knew of what importance it was to gain his approbation of her marriage, ordered him to repair to her at Stirling. She there employed all her arts and eloquence to induce him to sign a paper recommending the marriage. He hesitated to do so, alleging that he feared Darnley would be an enemy to Christianity. "She gave him," says Melville, "many sore words; he answered with humility, but nothing could be obtained from him." A convention of nobles met a few days after (May 14th, 1565); the gifts and blandishments of Mary had more effect on them than on her brother, and many gave their assent to her marriage. As, however, some hesitated, another convention was appointed to meet at Perth.

[1 Mary was now twenty-three.]

Darnley now mortally hated Murray as the chief obstacle to his ambition; and religious and political motives caused Murray to resolve to prevent the marriage if possible. The former is said to have formed a plan to assassinate the latter; Murray is charged with a design, in conjunction with Chatelle-rault, Argyll, and other nobles with whom he was associated, to seize Darnley and his father and deliver them up to the warden of the English marches. Each party, it is added, received information of the designs of the other, and Mary, taking advantage of the popularity which the good government of Murray had procured her, assembled a force, and advancing to Stirling, where the confederate lords were, obliged them to disperse and retire to their homes.

DARNLEY'S MARRIAGE AND THE REBELLION

Mary had conferred on Darnley the titles of earl of Ross and duke of Albany, dignities appropriated to the royal family, and the dispensation being now arrived and the banns duly published, she gave him her hand (July 29th, 1565) in the chapel of Holyrood House. The ceremony was performed according to the rites of the Roman church; Darnley, however, withdrew during the performance of mass. She had agreed to give him the title of king, but wished to defer it till parliament should meet or till he should have attained his twenty-first year; but the vain, headstrong youth would have it then or never, and she was obliged to consent to his being proclaimed the evening[1] before the marriage-day. On the day succeeding it he was again proclaimed, and though all the lords were present no one said Amen; his father alone cried, "God save his queen!"

Immediately after her marriage Mary outlawed Murray; she set at liberty Lord Gordon and made him earl of Huntly, and she recalled Sutherland and Bothwell, who were in exile—all sworn foes to Murray. When Thomworth came, sent by Elizabeth, to insist that she should do nothing against the Reformation in England, she gave an ambiguous reply; she did the same when warned not to make any change in Scotland; and when, as instructed, he urged her to drop her displeasure against Murray, she desired that there might be no meddling in the affairs of Scotland. She was, in fact, inveterate against her brother. She lost no time in collecting a force with which she drove him and the other lords to seek refuge in Argyll. They soon after appeared in arms in the western counties.

The queen in person led her forces against them, riding at the head of her troops with loaded pistols in her girdle. The lords made a rapid march to Edinburgh, but as the people there did not join them as they had expected, and the queen pursued them closely, they retired to Dumfries, still followed by their implacable sovereign, and finding resistance hopeless they crossed the borders and sought refuge in England. Murray and Hamilton Abbot of Kilwinning repaired to London. In the presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, Elizabeth, it is said, made them declare that she had not excited them to take arms against their sovereign. When they had done so she called them traitors, and ordered them to quit her presence. They retired to the northern marches, where Elizabeth secretly supplied them with money and interceded for their pardon with their queen. Chatellerault was forgiven on condition of his retiring to France, but Mary declared to Randolph that she would rather lose half her kingdom than show mercy to Murray. The king

[1] "She can as much prevail with him in anything that is against his will," writes Randolph to Leicester, "as your lordship may with me to persuade that I should hang myself."

[1566 A.D.]

and her chief counsellors, Huntly, Athol, and Bothwell, were all hostile to him; so also was Rizzio; but what most weighed with the queen was a message from her uncles desiring her not to pardon the banished lords. This was brought by Clernau, the bearer of the treaty lately concluded at Bayonne for the extirpation of Protestantism, to which she readily affixed her signature.

A parliament was summoned for the 12th of March, 1566, in order to attaint the rebel lords, and to take steps towards the re-establishment of the papacy.

THE MURDER OF RIZZIO (1566 A.D.)

The execution of those projects, however, was prevented by the perpetration of a deed which proved pregnant with calamity to the royal house of Scotland. Mary had now ceased to love her husband; the first fervour of her affection being over, she saw that he was devoid of every estimable quality, brutal in temper, and addicted to the grossest intemperance. She therefore gave no heed to his urgent demand of the crown-matrimonial; she treated him with neglect and even aversion; all her favour was monopolised by Rizzio, with whom the jealous Darnley now suspected her of improper familiarity.[1] "It is a sore case," said he one day (February 10th) to his uncle Douglas, "that I can get no help against that villain David." "It is your own fault," was the reply, "you cannot keep a secret." Soon after a league confirmed by the king's oath and signature was formed between him and the lords Ruthven, Morton, Lindsay, and Maitland of Lethington; they were to put Rizzio to death, and procure him the crown-matrimonial; he was to bear them "scathless," to obtain an amnesty for the banished lords, and to secure the Protestant religion.

This compact was made on the 1st of March, 1566, and on the night of the 9th (Saturday) Ruthven, having risen from his bed of sickness for the purpose, and cased himself in his armour, the associates were brought by Darnley up a private staircase which led to the apartment where Mary, now six months gone with child, was sitting at supper with Rizzio and Lady Argyll. The king went in and stood by her chair with his arm round her waist. Ruthven entered supported by two men. He desired that Rizzio should quit the room; the queen said it was her will he should be there. Rizzio ran behind her for safety; a tumult ensued; the table was overturned; Rizzio was dragged out and despatched in the ante-chamber with fifty-six wounds.

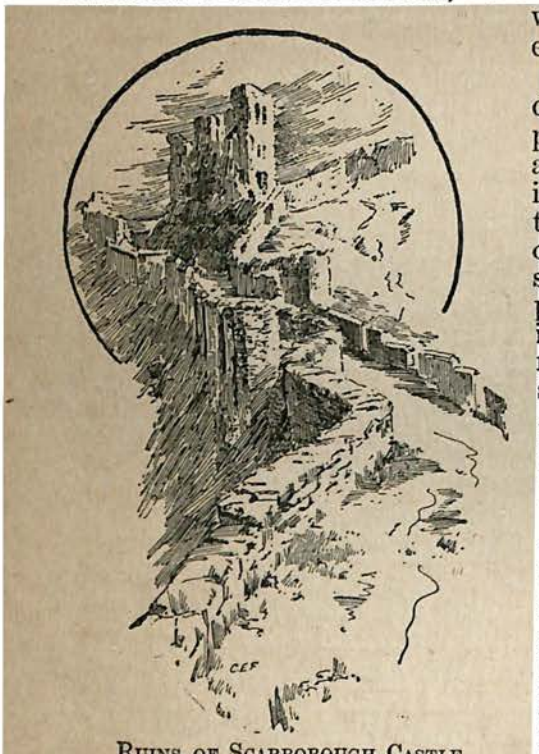
The queen meantime was interceding for him, and a very indelicate conversation took place between her and her husband in the presence of Ruthven respecting his resumption of his conjugal rights.[2] She then sent to learn the fate of Rizzio, and when she found that he was dead, she said, "No more tears; I must think of revenge"; and she never was heard to lament him more. Bothwell and Huntly, when they learned what had occurred [after being overpowered in a fight with superior numbers while trying to come to Mary's rescue], made their escape from the palace by a window.

On Monday (the 11th) Murray and his friends came to Edinburgh. Mary embraced and kissed her brother when she saw him, saying that "if he had been at home he would not have allowed her to be so discourteously handled."

[1 Andrew Lang *k* declares this charge incredible. Froude *l* thinks it possible that Mary was guilty only of great indiscretion with Rizzio.]

[2 He implied that Rizzio was the father of the child she was then carrying, later James I of England. Mary is reported to have called her husband "Judas," and to have said, "I shall never rest till I give you as sorrowful a heart as I have at this present."]

He was affected even to tears. Mary now tried her arts on her weak, unstable husband, and she actually succeeded in prevailing on him to abandon his confederates and make his escape with her the following night out of the palace. They fled to Dunbar.[1] The king issued a proclamation denying all knowledge of the conspiracy. Bothwell, Huntly, and other nobles repaired with their followers to Dunbar, and on the 19th the queen re-entered Edinburgh at the head of eight thousand men. The murderers of Rizzio were obliged to fly into England. The contempt and hatred which Mary felt for her worthless husband she could not conceal; her whole confidence was now given to Bothwell, between whom and Murray she effected a reconciliation.



RUINS OF SCARBOROUGH CASTLE

On the 19th of June the queen was delivered of a son [James Stuart, heir presumptive to the crowns of England and Scotland]. Sir James Melville was immediately despatched with the tidings to Elizabeth. When he arrived, the queen, who had just recovered from a severe illness, was at her favourite palace at Greenwich. She was dancing after supper. Cecil whispered the news to her; she instantly stopped and sat down, resting her cheek on her hand. At length she gave vent to her feelings in these words: "The queen of Scots is mother of a fair son, while I am but a barren stock."

The alienation between Mary and her husband increased from day to day. He found himself generally shunned; for to show him any attention was a sure mode of losing the queen's favour. Meantime the queen's visible partiality for Bothwell gave occasion to rumours injurious to her character, and an incident which occurred in the following October added strength to suspicion. She went to Jedburgh to hold a justiciary court for suppressing the disorders of the borders. Bothwell, whom she had made warden of the marches, preceded her by some days, and being wounded in a scuffle with one of the borderers named Elliott, was conveyed to his castle of Hermitage.

The queen, having passed some days in great anxiety on his account, took the sudden resolution of going herself to see him. Though the weather was bad and the roads in a wretched state, she rode with a few attendants to Hermitage, a distance of twenty miles, and having assured herself that his life was in no danger, returned the same day to Jedburgh.[2] Her bodily exertion,

[1 Froude, commenting on this midnight ride of 20 miles by a woman within 3 months of confinement, and her intense zeal in preparing resistance, says, "Whatever credit is due to iron fortitude and intellectual address must be given without stint to this extraordinary woman."]

[2 Historians in general are not good horsemen; they have considered this journey as something much more remarkable than it really was in a spirited, active woman of four-and-twenty, who was a most excellent horsewoman, and they have fancied that no motive short

combined with mental uneasiness, threw her the next day into a fever, and for some days her life was despaired of; the vigour of her constitution, however, triumphed over the disorder.

THE MURDER OF DARNLEY (1567 A.D.)

After her recovery the queen took up her abode at the castle of Craigmillar, near Edinburgh, and here the measure of a divorce was discussed by Maitland and others; she made no objection but her unwillingness to prejudice her son. On the 17th of December the ceremony of the young prince's baptism[1] was performed at Stirling, and though the king was in the castle, owing to his own caprice or to the coldness of the queen, he was not present at it.

On the other hand, Bothwell was appointed to receive the French and English ambassadors, and to regulate the ceremonial of the christening. Through his influence Morton and the other murderers of Rizzio were pardoned on the 24th, on which day the king left the court[2] and retired to his father's house at Glasgow, where in a few days he was attacked by the small-pox. The queen, when she heard of his illness, sent her own physician to attend him.

On the 20th of January (1567) Bothwell and Maitland of Lethington went to Morton's residence at Whittingham, and Bothwell proposed the murder of the king to him, saying "it was the queen's mind that he should be taken away." Morton objected, being, as he said, but just come out of trouble on a similar account; but finally agreed, provided he had the queen's handwriting for his warrant. This, however, they were unable to procure; either they did not venture to propose such a thing to Mary, or she was too prudent to commit herself.

From the time of Rizzio's murder up to the present date the queen had shown no affection to her husband, and on the 20th she wrote to her ambassador at Paris complaining of him and his father. The next day she set out for Glasgow. While there she feigned the utmost fondness for the king, yet her letters at the same time to Bothwell display the most ardent love for that nobleman. Her object was to get her husband into her power; in this she succeeded, and January 31st she brought him back with her to Edinburgh.[c]

The king's infectious illness was assigned as an imperative reason for lodging him out of the close and crowded palace of Holyrood, where his wife and his child resided. A lonely house called the Kirk of Field, situated near where the college of Edinburgh now stands, but which was then in the suburbs of the town, had been chosen for him by the queen's physician, who is said to have preferred it on account of its open, airy situation, and to have fitted it up for the king's reception.

Here the queen visited him daily, and several times slept in a chamber under that of the king. "But many," says Melville,[j] "suspected that the earl of Bothwell had some enterprise against him (Darnley)." Upon the fatal day Murray—who, be it observed, invariably managed to be out of the way when anything doubtful and dangerous was to be done—absented himself from the

of an amorous one could possibly make the queen ride forty statute miles in one day!—MACFARLANE.[m]]

[1 The baptism was according to Catholic rites, and, says Lang,[k] "Scotland saw for the last time the ecclesiastics in their splendid vestments."]

[2 According to certain rumours, Darnley planned to seize the prince and the sceptre, and put Bothwell to death. Either his discovery that his plot was known, or his discovery of a counterplot to arrest and degrade him, and kill him if he resisted, may account for his sudden departure.]

court under pretence that his wife had fallen sick in the country. This opportune absence is certain, and if we are to believe more questionable authority —the zealous advocates of the queen—Murray, upon his journey, speaking of Darnley's behaviour, told a person in whom he reposed his chief confidence that the king would not live to see another day. This same evening the queen with several of the nobles spent with her husband, whom she only left[1] at eleven o'clock at night in order to be present at an entertainment in Holyrood House, which was given on occasion of the marriage of Sebastian Auvergnac, one of her servants.

About three hours after her departure, at two o'clock in the morning of the 10th of February, the ancient palace and the city were shaken by a violent explosion, and when people went forth to see, they found the house of Kirk-a-Field utterly destroyed, and the bodies of Darnley and his valet lying in the garden without any marks of violence on their persons. The body of Darnley was carried to a house close at hand, was laid within a chamber, and kept by one Sandy (or Alexander) Drurem.

Melville relates that on the morning of February 10th he went to the palace and found that the queen was keeping her chamber. He says: "The earl Bothwell came forth and told me he saw the strangest accident that ever chanced—to wit, the thunder came out of the sky and had burned the king's house, and himself found lying dead a little distance from the house under a tree."

In this story of horror nearly every point is still a mystery.[2] It has never been ascertained how Darnley was killed. According to one account, he was blown up in the house; but this seems to be disproved by the fact (witnessed by hundreds) that the body bore no marks of violence or outward hurt. According to another account, he was strangled in his bed and the house was then blown up to conceal the deed; but if so, why was the body removed to some distance, and placed under a tree in a perfectly sound state? And then the previous strangling would be a useless process with a sick man in his bed and a train of gunpowder under him. Bothwell, unless he was absolutely crazed, could never fancy that the people would believe that the lightning had carried Darnley out of a window and deposited him, without a bone broken, under the tree, and had then reduced the house to a heap of ruins, in which everything was buried except Darnley and his attendant! [It has even been suggested that a secondary plot was at work, and while Bothwell was preparing his murder other conspirators blew up the house.]

Never was an atrocious murder more clumsily executed. The elements had been quiet that night, and even an ignorant eye could detect the effects of a mine of gunpowder. Suspicion immediately fell upon Bothwell, but not so immediately either upon the queen or upon Morton and Maitland, and the others who were afterwards proved to have been accessories and in part active participants in the deed with Bothwell. Some light will be thrown on the horrid mystery by our narration of succeeding events, and the reader will weigh the preceding facts which we have endeavoured to state clearly and without bias. In truth, our own mind is not made up as to the long and hotly debated question of the queen's innocence or guilt in regard to her husband's murder.

Notwithstanding the popular accusation of Bothwell as being the chief murderer, Secretary Maitland, Morton, Huntly, Argyll, in fact all her minis-

[1] Those who believe her guilty say that this was by preconcerted signal.]
[2] Lang *k* ironically observes that if discrepancies could be made to discredit an historical event as they do a ghost story, we might maintain that Darnley never was murdered at all.]

[1567 A.D.]

ters, and nearly every person that approached her, not excepting even her brother Murray, continued their close friendship with that desperate man and joined together in maintaining his innocence. But several of them could not admit his guilt without proclaiming their own. There is, at least, a doubt in favour of the queen—perhaps even in favour of Murray—but there is none as to the rest having taken part, more or less actively, in the murder.

These very men, however, acting as the queen's ministers, issued a proclamation on the 12th of February, offering a reward of two thousand pounds for the discovery of the murderers. On the 16th of the same month placards were set up in the public places of Edinburgh designating the earl of Bothwell and three of his servants as the murderers. No person, either of high or low degree, had courage to come forward in the face of the government. But in the dead of night fierce voices were heard in the streets of Edinburgh charging Bothwell as a principal, and the queen as an accomplice.

Other persons, however, were named in the like manner; and no one pressed any specific charge, till Darnley's father, the earl of Lennox, at the beginning of the month of March, sent from Glasgow, where he was collecting his friends, to request the queen that such persons as were named in the placards should be arrested. He was answered that if he or any would stand to the accusation of any of the persons so named it should be done, but not by virtue of the placards or at his request.

On the 17th of March the earl of Lennox made a more formal accusation of Bothwell and others. On the 21st Bothwell was allowed by Mary and her ministers to get into his own hands the strong castle of Edinburgh. On the 28th of the same month an order was issued by the privy council for Bothwell's trial to take place on the 12th of April.[1] Lennox, who is more than suspected of having had a principal share in the murder of Rizzio and in other dishonourable plots, complained of violence and injustice; and he wrote not only to Mary, but to Queen Elizabeth, to obtain a postponement of the trial, stating with some reason that the time was too short to allow him to collect his witnesses, and that he could not safely present himself where the murderers of his son were not only at large but in possession of power and favour. But it was determined in spite of this remonstrance that the court of justiciary should proceed to trial on the day fixed.

Elizabeth, in a letter which does her honour, entreated of Mary not to precipitate the proceedings in this manner: "For the love of God, madam," says she, "use such sincerity and prudence in this matter, which concerns you so nearly, that the whole world may have reason to declare you innocent of so enormous a crime; which if you committed it you would be justly cast out of the ranks of princesses, and not without reason made the reproach of the vulgar; and sooner than that should befall you I would wish you an honourable grave than a spotted life. You see, madam, that I treat you as my daughter."

Lennox advanced from Glasgow to Stirling, on his way to Edinburgh, but here his fears overcame him; he wrote his excuses, and then fled with all haste into England, where he was kindly received by Elizabeth. On the 9th of April, before the trial came on, Murray, having with great difficulty obtained the queen's permission, set out from Edinburgh for France. He took his journey through England, where he also was well received; and he took care not to return until the course of events left all but the throne

[1 This gave Lennox but fourteen instead of forty days, the usual time, to prepare for the prosecution. The accused meanwhile were at liberty, and Bothwell himself actually sat as a member of the privy council which arranged the trial.—KEIGHTLEY.c]

open to his ambition. Yet his absence could hardly exonerate him from suspicion of treacherous dealing, for the cunning Maitland was his sworn ally and coadjutor, and he, and others equally devoted to the earl, remained quietly at their posts till the vessel of the state was fairly driven upon the rocks.

On the appointed day when the justiciary court opened Bothwell appeared at the bar, supported on the one hand by Maitland, on the other by Morton. No evidence was produced, no prosecutor appeared, and Bothwell was necessarily acquitted; though by this time there was scarcely a man in the kingdom but felt assured of his guilt.

On the 14th of April, two days after this acquittal, a parliament assembled in a regular manner at Edinburgh. It was opened by the queen's commissioners; but on the 16th her majesty appeared in person, Bothwell carrying the sceptre before her. The parliament confirmed to the murderer all the estates and honours he had recently received, and at the same time all their estates and honours to the nobles who had acted with him or were willing to aid him in his ambitious designs.

No Scottish parliament at this time could overlook the great question of religion. The present drew up a bill for the renouncing of all foreign jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs, and for confirming and ratifying the Protestant doctrines and church government; and the queen readily gave the royal assent to this bill which bestowed a constitutional sanction upon the reformed church, and proclaimed a total renunciation of the authority of Rome.[1] Bothwell was indefatigable in this parliament, evidently hoping to conciliate the preachers. During the sitting of the parliament reports got abroad of an intended marriage between the queen and Bothwell.

If some remarkable details in Melville*i* are honestly and correctly given, Mary was evidently at this moment coerced by the ruffianly audacity of Bothwell, who was still in close alliance with Maitland and all her ministers, and who was permitted by them to menace her true friends in her own palace. Immediately after the rising of parliament Bothwell invited the leading members of that body, lay and ecclesiastic, to an entertainment in an Edinburgh tavern,[2] and declared to them his purpose of marrying the queen. Hereupon he drew out a bond from his pocket, wherein, after a full recognition of his innocence of the late king's murder, he (Bothwell) was warmly recommended as a suitable match to her majesty in case she should condescend to marry with a subject; and the bond further stated that the subscribers thereto pledged themselves to advance the said marriage at the risk of life and goods. Voluntarily, or through fear, eight bishops, nine earls, and seven lords subscribed the paper, which Bothwell then returned to his pocket.

Four days after the signing of this bond Bothwell collected about a thousand horse, under pretext of Border service, and lay in wait for the queen, who was then returning from Stirling castle, whither she had been to visit her infant son.[2] Between Linlithgow and Edinburgh Bothwell rode up to her

[1 The strongest possible proof of Bothwell's influence over the queen's mind was given at this time. Mary, who never for a moment had swerved from her purpose of destroying the Protestant religion, who had lately subscribed the treaty of Bayonne, assented to an act of parliament repealing all laws adverse to the reformers, and giving their religion the safeguard of law.—KEIGHTLEY.*c*]

[2 The house was kept by one Ainslie. Hence the famous transaction was called "Ainslie's Supper"—a name which was afterwards applied to the house or tavern itself. [The bond was called "Ainslie's Bond."]

[3 To poison him, according to an outrageous charge made in the recently discovered Lennox papers. It has been well said that Mary's defence has been best served by her rabid accusers, who stop at nothing.]

[1567 A.D.]

and took her majesty's horse by the bridle. His men took the earl of Huntly, the secretary Maitland of Lethington, and Melville, and letting all the rest go free, carried them with the queen as captives to the strong castle of Dunbar. Huntly (though brother to Bothwell's wife) and Maitland were certainly willing prisoners—were plotters in the dark business; but after all that has been said and written, there is some doubt whether the queen were not taken by surprise and force; and this is the point most decisive of Mary's character, far more so than the subsequent act of marriage with Bothwell.

If she went knowingly and willingly she loaded herself with a crushing weight of guilt and folly; but if she were carried away by violence, the marriage would appear, in the eyes of most women of that time, as the only means of covering her honour. Melville,[j] who was, as we have seen, with the queen when she was taken, is not very clear on this point; he says, however, that Bothwell, after taking the queen's bridle, "boasted to marry the queen, who would or who would not; yea, whether she would herself or not."

Bothwell kept the queen five days in that fortress, during which none of her subjects made any efforts for her release—a remarkable fact, susceptible of at least two interpretations: either they believed that she was there willingly, or they wished to see her utterly defamed and ruined by a marriage with Bothwell. The most active of the nobles had conspired to bring this about: Maitland, who remained with her in the castle, continued to urge her to this step. Mary afterwards complained that, while under this thraldom, not a sword was drawn for her relief; but after their marriage a thousand swords flew from their scabbards to drive Bothwell from the country and herself from her throne. On the 29th of April the daring man brought the queen back to Edinburgh castle and placed her in seeming liberty, but she was in fact still in a snare, entirely surrounded by crafty and remorseless men. "Afterwards," says Melville,[j] "the court came to Edinburgh, and there a number of noblemen were drawn together in a chamber within the palace, where they subscribed, all, that the marriage between the queen and the earl Bothwell was very meet, he being well friended in the Lothians and upon the Borders, to cause good rule to be kept; and then the queen could not but marry him, seeing he had ravished her and lain with her against her will. I cannot tell how nor by what law he parted with his own wife, sister to the earl of Huntly."

This hurried parting with his wife was one of the most revolting features of Bothwell's conduct; and yet, in this respect, he was scarcely more infamous than his high-born wife herself, or her brother the earl of Huntly, chancellor of the kingdom and guardian of the purity of the laws! He commenced a process in the consistory court of the popish archbishop of St. Andrews for a divorce, on the plea of consanguinity; and his wife, in collusion with him, sued her husband in the Protestant court of commissaries of Edinburgh for a divorce on a charge of adultery. She had been previously gratified by Bothwell with a grant for life of the lands and town of Nether Hailes in Haddingtonshire; and Huntly, her brother, continued in the closest intimacy with Bothwell, and was even present at his marriage with the queen. Both the ecclesiastical courts proceeded with as much speed as Bothwell could have required, and on different grounds passed sentence of divorce.

A few days after the queen appeared in the court of session and there declared before the chancellor, the judges, and several of the nobility, that though she had been carried off and detained against her will in Dunbar, and greatly injured by the earl of Bothwell, yet considering his former great services, and all that might be hereafter expected from his bravery and

ability, she was disposed not only to forgive him, but also to exalt him to higher honours. Bothwell, of course, had made the best use of his bond signed by the bishops and earls and lords at "Ainslie's Supper"; and it is generally admitted that this document had great weight with Mary, who, it should appear, did not see it until she was at Dunbar. And now the said great lords, spiritual and temporal, who had signed the deed, got from the queen a written assurance that neither they nor their descendants should ever be accused on that account.

Resolving to have his new marriage performed in a strictly Protestant and Presbyterian manner, Bothwell commanded that the banns should be published in the regular parish church at Edinburgh. John Knox was then absent, but his place was supplied by his friend and colleague Craig, who after some hesitation published the banns as required, and then protested from the pulpit that he abhorred and detested the intended marriage as unlawful and scandalous, and solemnly charged the nobility to use their influence to prevent the queen from taking a step which would cover her with infamy. But the nobles were far indeed from any disposition to make efforts in this way, the influence of the greater part of them being engaged to promote the match, and no complaint on their part being made against it until it was completed and the queen irretrievably lost.

Bothwell was now created duke of Orkney, and on the 15th of May, only eight days after the dissolution of his former marriage, he was united to the queen, according to the order of the reformed religion, and not in the chapel of the mass, as was the king's marriage. On the same day, however, the ceremony was also performed in private according to the Catholic forms. At the public celebration there was a great attendance of nobles. A few days after, Du Croc, the French ambassador, represents Mary as being in the extremity of grief and despair. "On Thursday the queen sent for me, when I perceived something strange in the mutual behaviour of her and her husband. She attempted to excuse it, and said, 'If you see me melancholy, it is because I do not choose to be cheerful—because I never will be so, and wish for nothing but death.'"[1] This does not look like an amorous bride who had eagerly thrown herself into the arms of her lover. Envoys were sent to England and to France to communicate the queen's marriage, and to counteract the rumours which were afloat.

Elizabeth, who had certainly been warned beforehand by Morton and Maitland—the very men who were most active in bringing about the match—now prepared to lend her assistance to them in taking up arms against the queen. Morton, as has been observed, was aware that by ruining Mary he should gratify Elizabeth, and raise his own party to the management of affairs; and after the lapse of a few short years, when Murray, who was the first to step to greatness by Mary's fall, was laid in a bloody grave, we shall see this same Morton, one of the murderers of Rizzio as of Darnley, made regent of Scotland, under the protection of the English queen.[m]

Swinburne on Mary's Infatuation for Bothwell

Bothwell as a conscientious Protestant refused to marry his mistress according to the rites of her church; and she, the chosen champion of its cause,

[1 According to Melville[j] she called for a knife to kill herself, and threatened to drown herself. She was "the most changed woman of face that in so little time without extremity of sickness we have seen." According to some, this was dejection at her captivity and the rape upon her person by Bothwell; according to others, it was greatly conscience; according to Lang,[k] it was jealousy of Bothwell's wife, who was still near.]

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agreed to be married to him not merely by a Protestant, but by one who before his conversion had been a Catholic bishop, and should therefore have been more hateful and contemptible in her eyes than any ordinary heretic, had not religion as well as policy, faith as well as reason, been absorbed or superseded by some more mastering passion or emotion. This passion or emotion, according to those who deny her attachment to Bothwell, was simply terror—the blind and irrational prostration of an abject spirit before the cruel force of circumstances and the crafty wickedness of men.

Hitherto, according to all evidence, she had shown herself on all occasions, as on all subsequent occasions she indisputably showed herself, the most fearless, the most keen-sighted, the most ready-witted, the most high-gifted and high-spirited of women; gallant and generous, skilful and practical, never to be cowed by fortune, never to be cajoled by craft; neither more unselfish in her ends nor more unscrupulous in her practice than might have been expected from her training and her creed. But at the crowning moment of trial there are those who assert their belief that the woman who on her way to the field of Corrichie had uttered her wish to be a man, that she might know all the hardship and all the enjoyment of soldier's life, riding forth "in jack and knapscull"—the woman who long afterwards was to hold her own for two days together without help of counsel against all the array of English law and English statesmanship, armed with irrefragable evidence and supported by the resentment of a nation—showed herself equally devoid of moral and of physical resolution; too senseless to realise the significance and too heartless to face the danger of a situation from which the simplest exercise of reason, principle, or courage must have rescued the most unsuspicious and inexperienced of honest women who was not helplessly deficient in self-reliance and self-respect.

FINIAL ON WELL HALL (GABLE)
(Sixteenth century)

The famous correspondence produced the next year in evidence against her at the conference of York may have been, as her partisans affirm, so craftily garbled and fasified by interpolation, suppression, perversion, or absolute forgery as to be all but historically worthless. Its acceptance or its rejection does not in any degree whatever affect, for better or for worse, the national estimate of her character. Even in the existing versions of the letters, translated from the lost originals and retranslated from this translation of a text which was probably destroyed in 1603 by order of King James on his accession to the English throne—even in these possibly disfigured versions, the fiery pathos of passion, the fierce and piteous fluctuations of spirit between love and hate, hope and rage and jealousy, have an eloquence apparently beyond the imitation or invention[1] of art.[n]

[1 Von Ranke[b] says: "I would not say that every word is genuine, but on the whole they are genuine beyond doubt; they contain circumstances which none else could have known at that time, but have since transpired; no human being could have invented them."]

MARY TAKEN PRISONER BY THE LORDS (1567 A.D.)

As soon as the queen's honour was inseparably connected with Bothwell, then Morton, Maitland, and the rest began to talk against the marriage, to revive the mournful fate of Darnley and to insinuate that Bothwell was guilty of that murder. At first all this was said cautiously and secretly; but as soon as they had seen the effects of such discourses and the great force they could rely upon, they openly declared themselves; and three weeks after the marriage they flew to arms, ostensibly only to punish their colleague and brother assassin, Bothwell, to secure the person of the young prince, and to liberate the queen from the control of her husband.

The confederacy of the lords was, in fact, explicitly declared to be for the protection of the queen and her son against the guilty Bothwell; but they had already determined to dethrone Mary and crown the infant James. On the 6th of June, before any declaration was made, they attempted to seize the queen and Bothwell in Borthwick castle, about eight miles southeast of Edinburgh; but the earl easily escaped, and after him the queen, disguised in male attire, rode without stopping, on a common saddle, to the castle of Dunbar. The confederates countermarched upon Edinburgh, where the populace joined them. It was still reported that the life of Prince James was in danger, though the earl of Mar, who had joined the confederacy, had him in perfect safety in Stirling castle.

The confederates assumed the power of government, issuing proclamations as if the queen had been already dethroned. Still, with the exception of the lower orders, few flocked to their standard.

The queen in the mean while summoned her faithful subjects in the adjoining counties, and by the end of two days two thousand fighting men from the Lothians and the Merse gathered round her standard at Dunbar. Here she ought to have remained—for the castle was almost impregnable, the confederates had little or no artillery, and their force was not increasing so rapidly as her own. But the queen, who was always bold and decisive in the face of such dangers as these, and who could not have forgotten how the lords fled before her in the Round-about Raid, marched out of Dunbar towards Edinburgh on the 14th of June. She halted at Gladsmuir, where she caused a proclamation to be read to her little army, exposing the professions of the insurgents, declaring that her late marriage with Bothwell had been contracted and solemnised with the consent and at the persuasion of the chiefs of the insurrection, as their own handwritings testified, and affirming that though they affected to fear for the safety of her son (who was in their own possession), yet they only aimed at overthrowing her and her posterity in order that they themselves might enjoy the supreme power. That night she lay at Seton.

On the following morning, Sunday, the 15th of June, exactly one month after her marriage, she advanced to Carberry Hill. The insurgents had advanced from Edinburgh to meet her and stood in battle array in two divisions, the one commanded by the earl of Morton, the other by the earl of Athol. While the two armies stood thus in presence of each other, the aged Du Croc advanced to the insurgents and endeavoured to effect a peaceful accommodation. Bothwell sent a herald offering to prove his innocence by the old ordeal of single combat. Two of the insurgents successively accepted the challenge, but Bothwell objected to both as being of inferior rank.

During this idle bravadoing the force of the confederates was increased by arrivals from Edinburgh, which was only about five miles in their rear, and

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symptoms of disaffection were observed among the queen's troops. The crisis is described in very different ways. Some say that Bothwell's heart failed him—that after demanding a promise of fidelity from the queen he mounted his horse and galloped away for Dunbar castle, leaving her to fall into the hands of her enemies: and Camden[e] adds, that the nobles, with Morton, gave him secret notice to provide for himself by flight, lest being taken he might impeach them of the part they had had in the Darnley murder. Bothwell passed away with the consent of the insurgent lords.[m]

Mary took leave of her first and last master with passionate anguish and many parting kisses; but in face of his enemies and in hearing of the cries which burst from the ranks demanding her death by fire as a murderess and harlot, the whole heroic and passionate spirit of the woman, represented by her admirers as a spiritless imbecile, flamed out in responsive threats to have all the men hanged and crucified in whose power she now stood helpless and alone. She grasped the hand of Lord Lindsay as he rode beside her and swore "by this hand" she would "have his head for this." In Edinburgh she was received by a yelling mob, which flaunted before her at each turn a banner representing the corpse of Darnley with her child beside it invoking on his knees the retribution of divine justice. From the violence of a multitude in which women of the worst class were more furious than the men, she was sheltered in the house of the provost, where she repeatedly showed herself at the window, appealing aloud with dishevelled hair and dress to the mercy which no man could look upon her and refuse.[n]

When she arose in the morning the first object that met her eyes was the same dismal banner. As soon as she was able she sent Maitland to request that the estates of the realm might be summoned forthwith, as she was willing to submit to their determination—she being present and heard in defence of her own cause. But it did not suit Morton and his confederates to adopt this legal course; and on the following evening they hurried her under a strong guard to the castle of Lochleven, situated on an islet in the loch or lake which bears that name, in Kinross-shire. Mary was treated with excessive harshness in this her first place of captivity, and the whole conduct of the confederate lords was contrary to the agreement upon which the queen placed herself in their hands at Carberry Hill.

It was not long before Bothwell had fled the kingdom forever. On the 26th of June there was issued an act of the privy council for apprehending him, he being charged with the murder of Darnley and with ravishing the queen's person and enforcing her to marry him (this was in a manner declaring the queen innocent); and they offered a reward of a thousand crowns to anyone that should bring the traitor and ravisher to Edinburgh. If they had really wished to have Bothwell there they would have pursued a very different course and left him much less time. Some twenty days after the queen's imprisonment in Lochleven Bothwell quietly retired by water from Dunbar castle into Morayshire, where he stayed some time. He next sought shelter in his dukedom of Orkney, but he was refused admittance into his own castle there by his own keeper or lieutenant. But he fled to the coast of Norway, where he was after a few months taken by the Danish government, who considered him as a pirate, and threw him into the castle of Malmö, where he is said to have gone mad.

At the point of death, nearly ten years after (1576), he is said to have solemnly declared upon his oath that he himself committed the murder of Darnley by the counsels of Murray, Morton, and others; but this point, like most of the rest, is involved in doubt and obscurity, and Bothwell's dying

declaration or testament, as it was called, was purposely kept out of sight by Elizabeth, into whose hands it fell.

The insurgent nobles seized all the queen's plate, jewels, and other movables without anything like a legal authority. The confederates now assumed the title of the "lords of the secret council." They seized Captain Blackadder and a few very obscure persons. The captain was condemned and executed for Darnley's murder, but at his death he would no ways confess himself guilty. Four others by orders of the lords of the secret council were "ironed and tormented," then tried and executed; but the lords did not find it convenient to publish either their trials or their confessions.

At the same time these cunning workmen threatened the French court that if it made any effort in favour of the captive queen they would throw themselves wholly into the arms of the English and, peradventure, make Mary taste of sharper pangs. Thus abandoned by all, and beset with dangers and threats of death and worse, the captive queen, on the 24th of July, put her hand to a deed by which she resigned the crown in favour of the baby James, then about fourteen months old. At the same time she was forced to sign a commission appointing her half-brother Murray to be regent during the minority of her son.

Now was the time for the earl of Murray to return to Scotland; but he was careful to take London on his way. Murray left London on the 31st of July, about a week after his sister had been made to sign the deeds in Lochleven castle. When he reached Berwick he was met by a deputation from the lords; when he reached Edinburgh on the 11th of August he was received with all honour and joy by Morton, Ruthven (son of the murderer of Rizzio), Maitland, John Knox and all the preachers. It was evidently not without calculation that the astute Murray did not arrive till after the coronation of his nephew. That previous ceremony had been performed at Stirling on the 29th of July. About the middle of August Murray, with others, went to Lochleven, where he held a "long conference with Mary in which he told her all her bad government, and left her that night with no hopes of life and desired her to seek God's mercy, which was the only refuge she could expect."

On the 22nd of August he was proclaimed regent. On the 30th of September, being aided by Morton, the regent got possession of the strong castle of Dunbar. Soon after, he heaped fresh honours and emoluments upon the murderer Morton. He restored him to the office of chancellor, which he had forfeited by keeping the door while Ruthven and his satellites murdered Rizzio; and to this high legal office, by a curious combination, he added that of lord high-admiral, which was left vacant by the flight and attainder of Bothwell. Morton, chancellor and high-admiral, was also made sheriff of the shires of Edinburgh and Haddington, and received sundry other emoluments. He accompanied the regent on an expedition to the south, where, under pretense of punishing the moss-troopers on the Borders, they took vengeance on several districts which had manifested an affection for the captive queen.

If this curious revolution had been conducted with any attention to constitutional forms, a parliament would have been called at least six months earlier; but at last Murray assembled one at Edinburgh on the 15th of December in order to legalise the recent changes. All the acts which had been passed in 1560 against the papacy were revived, and new statutes in accordance with the spirit of the times were added to them.

On the 3rd of January four obscure men, servants and retainers of Bothwell, were executed for assisting in the murder of Darnley: it is said that they all acknowledged their guilt and acquitted the queen.[m]

MARY'S FLIGHT TO ENGLAND (1568 A.D.)

It may be asked, How did the queen of England act all this time? The reply is highly to her honour. Elizabeth's notions of the majesty of kings were high, and she was little pleased with the example of subjects rising up against their sovereigns. She moreover regarded Mary as a kinswoman and as the presumptive heiress of her crown. On the intelligence, therefore, of her captivity she despatched Throcmorton to Scotland to exert himself in her behalf; she menaced; she even proposed to the French government to put a stop to all traffic with the rebels, as she styled them, and their abettors. "No council," writes Cecil, "can stop her majesty from manifesting her misliking of the proceedings against the queen of Scots." She ran the risk of seeing the lords throw themselves into the arms of France; and when the Hamiltons, Huntly and others confederated against the regent and in favour of the queen, she gave them encouragement through Throcmorton.

But though Huntly and several of Mary's partisans had attended the Scottish parliament and supported the measures introduced, their jealousy of the regent soon arrayed them again in arms. They opened a communication with Mary, who appointed the duke of Chatellerault to be her lieutenant. Murray meantime visited her again, and she proposed, in order to quiet all fears respecting Bothwell, to marry his half-brother George Douglas, son to the lady of Lochleven, a youth of eighteen years of age, for whom she had begun to spread her snares. Murray objected to his humble birth, so far beneath her rank. It was all, however, but a scheme of Mary's to conceal her real design. She had given amorous encouragement to Douglas to induce him to aid her to escape. On the 25th of March, 1568, having changed clothes with the laundress who used to come from a village near the lake, she got into the boat; she had nearly reached the shore when one of the boatmen went to raise her muffler, saying, "Let us see what sort of a dame this is!" She put up her hand to prevent him; its whiteness raised their suspicions; they refused to land her and carried her back to the island, but did not betray her.

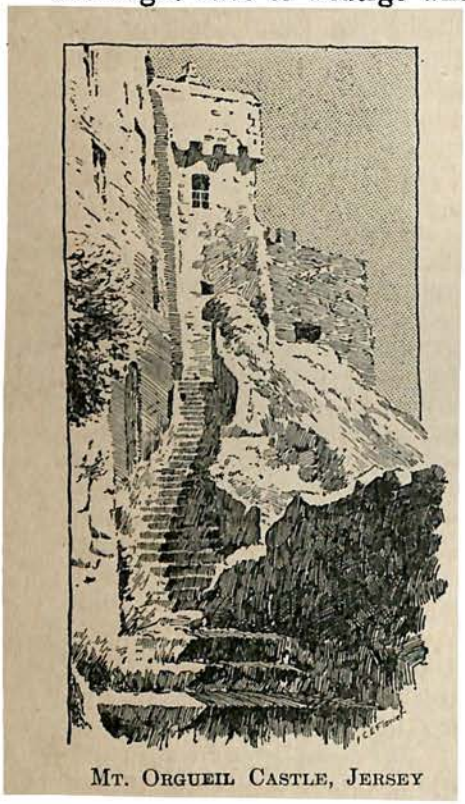
On the 2nd of May she was more fortunate: while Lady Douglas and her eldest son were at supper, a youth called the little Douglas stole the keys of the castle. Mary hastened to a boat that lay ready; Douglas locked the castle gate on the outside and flung the keys into the lake as they rowed across it. On the shore Mary was met by George Douglas, Lord Seton, and others. She mounted a horse and rode to Lord Seton's house of Niddry, and having rested there for three hours she mounted again and rode to Hamilton, where she was received by the nobles of her party at the head of three thousand of their followers. Her first act was to protest against the instruments she had been compelled to sign when in prison, which were pronounced illegal by the nobles present, many of whom had declared the direct contrary in the late parliament.

Murray was meantime at Glasgow with only his ordinary train; some of his friends advised him to fly to Stirling, but he was too prudent to take such a course. He amused the queen for a few days by negotiation, during which time he assembled a force of about four thousand men with which he resolved to give her battle. Though the royal troops were double the number, their leaders wished to wait the return of Huntly and Ogilvie, who were gone to the north to assemble their vassals. Meantime they proposed to place the queen for security in the castle of Dumbarton; but on their way thither

(May 13th) the regent brought them to action at a place named Langside Hill and routed them in the space of a quarter of an hour.

Mary, who from an adjacent eminence viewed the fight, saw at once that all was lost; she turned, urged her horse to speed, and having failed in an attempt to reach Dumbarton, rode without halting to Dundrennan abbey near Kirkcudbright on the Solway Firth, a distance of sixty Scottish miles. Lord Herries and a few others, among whom was the French ambassador, accompanied her flight.

What was this wretched princess now to do? To make her escape to the Highlands was difficult, if not impossible, and the toils and privations she might have to undergo when she reached them were not easy to appreciate; to escape to France was equally difficult, and pride forbade to appear as a fugitive where she had reigned a queen, and the prospect of being shut up in a nunnery (the course which the French government had proposed for her) was probably not an agreeable one; an ignominious death in all probability awaited her if she fell into the hands of her enraged subjects.



MT. ORGUEIL CASTLE, JERSEY

There remained but one course, a flight into England. Elizabeth had of late exerted herself warmly in her favour and might be disposed to assert her cause; she therefore directed Herries to write (May 15th) to Lowther, the governor of Carlisle, to know if she might come thither in safety. She did not, however, venture to wait for a reply; fearing to fall into the power of her enemies, she embarked next day with Lord Herries and about twenty attendants in a fishing boat and landed at Workington. The gentry of the vicinity conducted her with all due respect to Cockermouth, whence Lowther brought her to Carlisle. She had little or no money, and not even a change of clothes,[1] when she landed in England.

Mary lost no time in writing to Elizabeth; she required to be admitted to the queen's presence and to be restored to her authority by force. The English council took the case into most grave and solemn consideration; they weighed the arguments on all sides; they viewed the dangers likely to arise to England and to Protestantism in general; they saw equal peril in suffering Mary to go to France or Spain or return to Scotland; they decided that she should be detained for the present in England.[c]

The great uneasiness of Elizabeth as to any communication between her royal prisoner and her own subjects professing the ancient religion is a very

[1 When Elizabeth heard of her condition she sent her some clothing. When the parcel was opened it contained "two torn shifts, two pieces of black velvet, two pair of shoes, and nothing else." Sir Francis Knollys, who brought this munificent gift, was driven by shame to say "that her highness' maid had mistaken and sent such things necessary for such a maid-servant as she was herself." Was it insolence, or parsimony, or carelessness, which led to such an extraordinary breach of courtesy? Whichever it might be, it betokened ill for Elizabeth's hospitality.—CREIGHTON.*dd*]

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significant feature in the history. Lord Scrope, the warden and governor of Carlisle, was despatched from Cork nearly at the same time as Knollys, and they both waited upon Queen Mary in Carlisle castle, apparently on the 28th or 29th of May. They delivered their sovereign's letter, in which Mary was told that Elizabeth could not honourably receive her into her presence until she was cleared of all suspicion of being concerned in Darnley's murder. Mary had expected a different treatment. She solemnly affirmed to Scrope and Knollys, that both Maitland of Lethington and the lord Morton had been concerned in the murder of her husband, as could well be proved, although now they would seem to prosecute the murderers.

Lord Herries did little good with Elizabeth, who induced him, in a manner, to appoint her judge or arbitrator between Mary and her subjects. At his solicitation, however, the English queen thought fit to send an agent, Middlemore (or Meddlemore), into Scotland, to stop the civil war there; for Mary's partisans, though sorely pressed and persecuted, were not wholly discouraged by the battle of Langside, and the earls of Huntly and Argyll were up in arms in her favour. But as soon as Middlemore got across the Borders he hastened rather than retarded Murray's business and encouraged the regent in his energetic measures against those who favoured the queen.

On the 21st of June the Scottish queen wrote a striking letter to her sister and cousin, which was forwarded to London by means of a gentleman who had been despatched by the French court to ascertain the real situation of the fugitive and the manner in which she was treated in England. Here the captive complains that Middlemore, who was sent as was pretended as a safeguard to her faithful subjects, had allied himself with her enemies, who in her presence had destroyed the house of one of her principal barons, and who were now treating her friends and adherents more harshly than ever. "And I entreat you, as you see what are the effects, do not make an unequal combat, they being armed and I destitute; on the contrary, seeing the dishonour they do me, make up your mind to assist me or let me go; for, without waiting for their giving me a third assault, I must supplicate both the king of France and the king of Spain, if you will not have regard to my just quarrel; and they, restoring me to my place, then will I make you know their falsehood and my innocence: for if you let them conquer the country first, and then come to accuse me after, what shall I have gained by submitting my cause to you? I blame no one; but the very worm of the earth turns when it is trodden upon."

Sir Henry Norris wrote from Paris to warn Cecil, on the authority of an anonymous informer, that the queen's majesty "did now hold the wolf that would devour her," and that "it is conspired betwixt the king of Spain, the pope and the French king that the queen's majesty should be destroyed, whereby the queen of Scots might succeed her majesty."

This alarm, considering where Mary then was, was rather ridiculous, yet scarcely more so than some of the hundred other stories which followed in a crescendo of horrors, and which never ceased till Elizabeth had brought her rival to the block.

It was soon resolved to carry her farther into the realm to some place of greater safety, being "well moated round." Mary made a spirited protest that was of no avail, and on the 16th of July she was carried under a strong escort to Bolton castle, a house of Lord Scrope's in the north riding of Yorkshire, not far from Middleham. By this removal Mary was cut off from all communication with her subjects excepting such as Elizabeth chose to admit.

Murray on his side had a confident reliance on Cecil, and he sent up his secretary, John Wood, to London, to show the minister and the queen copies of sundry secret papers. The regent was not so ready as his imprisoned sister to bring matters to an issue; and though Elizabeth wrote to him to come into England with a commissioner to treat and to answer to the Scottish queen's complaint, he found it very easy to delay so doing till the month of October; and during all that time he was allowed to establish his own authority in Scotland, and was even assisted by Elizabeth in so doing.

Elizabeth declared that if Mary would "commit her cause to be heard by her highness's order, not to make her highness judge over her, but rather as committing herself to the council of her dear cousin and friend," her highness would treat with the Scottish nobles and bring things to a happy conclusion. Elizabeth would, for example, restore the queen of Scots to her royal seat by honourable accommodation, the queen of Scots agreeing that the lords and all her other subjects should continue in their honours, states, and dignities; and this was the promise in case of Murray making out "some reason against her"; but if Murray and his party should fail in proving anything against the queen, then her majesty Elizabeth would replace Mary absolutely by force of arms, Mary agreeing in this case, and as a reward for Elizabeth's assistance, to renounce all claims to England; to convert her close alliance with France into a league with England; and to use the counsel of her dearest sister and her estates in parliament in abolishing papistry, encouraging Protestantism, and in establishing in her dominion the Episcopal and Anglican church—an order of things considered by John Knox and the whole body of the Puritans as only a few degrees less idolatrous than the church of Rome.

Thus in all cases Mary was promised her liberty and her restoration to her kingdom. But very different language had been held in secret with Murray; to him it had been declared that if he could establish his sister's guilt she should never return to Scotland; and it had also been intimated that he could easily prove what he desired.

The famous commission met at York on the 4th of October. On the 8th of October the friends of Mary, as the plaintiff, were allowed to open the charges against Murray and his associates. Elizabeth's commissioners, who, against the spirit of the agreement, had allowed Murray to refuse his sister the title of sovereign and to advance the coronation of the infant James as a constitutional act, now departed still more widely from the promises which had been given to Mary and her agent, Lord Herries. They said that, indeed, their mistress's desire "hath always been, from the beginning, that the said queen might be found free, specially from the crime of her husband's murder; nevertheless, if her majesty shall find to be plainly and manifestly proved (whereof she would be very sorry) that the said queen of Scots was the deviser and procurer of that murder, or otherwise was guilty thereof, surely her majesty would think her unworthy of a kingdom, and would not stain her own conscience in maintenance of such a detestable wickedness hy restoring her to a kingdom." Murray then declared that it was set forth and published in Scotland that Mary should be either amply restored, or otherwise by some degrees restored, and sent home amongst them by the queen of England. Elizabeth's commissioners with a bold face denied that any such promise had ever been made. But Murray was not fully satisfied. A letter was, therefore, despatched to Elizabeth, to request additional instructions.

THE CASKET LETTERS AND MURRAY SONNETS.

But Murray and Maitland certainly did not wait for an answer to charge Mary with such things as, to use their own words, they had "hitherto been content rather to conceal than publish to the world to her infamy and dishonour." They secretly laid before the English commissioners translations of certain letters in French, said to have been written by Mary to Bothwell, some just before the murder of her husband, others before the seizure of her person; two contracts of marriage; and a collection of love sonnets described as being the queen's composition and as sent by her to Bothwell.[1]

On the 11th of October, before any answer could have possibly been received from court, the English commissioners made an abstract from these papers which might tend to Mary's condemnation for "her consent and procurement of the murder of her husband as far forth as they could by their reading gather." They had evidently read the letters and the amorous rhymes with great attention; but they omitted altogether making any inquiry touching the authenticity of these papers, which from first to last Mary and her friends maintained were forgeries. They assumed "from plain and manifest words contained in the said letters, that the inordinate and filthy love between Mary and Bothwell" was proved; that she had hated and abhorred her husband Darnley; that she had taken her journey from Edinburgh to Glasgow to visit him when sick with the intent of inveigling him to Edinburgh, where he was murdered, etc.

These sweeping conclusions as well as the documents upon which they were founded were carefully concealed from Mary's commissioners, who were requested to seek an enlargement of their commission, or, in other words, to ask their mistress to agree, in the dark, to acknowledge Elizabeth's authority. Mary, however, maintained the perfect independence of her crown, while Murray and her enemies now showed themselves ready to acknowledge Elizabeth's supremacy over Scotland that as "superior lady and judge over that realm she might determine in this case." In order to consume time, Murray presented to the commissioners an answer to the charges of his queen, in which he alleged that his friends had never taken up arms but against Bothwell; that they had afterwards sequestrated their queen because she adhered to Bothwell; and that they had at last accepted her resignation, which was willingly given merely from her disgust at the vexations attending power, and never extorted from her.

To this Mary's commissioners replied, that the queen had no means of knowing the atrocities of Bothwell, who had been acquitted by a Scottish jury and recommended to her as a husband by the Scottish nobility; that she had ever been desirous that Bothwell should be arrested and brought to trial; that the resignation of the crown was extorted from her; and that Throcmorton, the English ambassador, had advised her to sign that paper as the only means of saving her life; assuring her at the same time that under the circumstances such an act could never be considered binding on her part. Mary had by far the best in the controversy, but she did not know that she was only fighting with shadows.

We profess our utter inability to understand the complex game; we do not believe that it ever has been or ever will be clearly understood; but the words of the earl of Sussex, one of Elizabeth's commissioners, contained an undis-

[1] "A casket, containing a correspondence purporting to be carried on by Mary with Bothwell, which, if genuine, establishes her guilt."

puted fact, which is that these parties tossed between them the crown and public affairs of Scotland, caring neither for the mother nor the child, but seeking to serve their own turns without any reference either to Mary's guilt or innocence. Maitland, whose ways were always inscrutable, suggested a marriage between Mary and the duke of Norfolk, her divorce from Bothwell being effected; and he had the address to bring Norfolk, perhaps Mary herself, into this scheme.

But what seems the most extraordinary part of this story is that the regent Murray himself entered into the project, and professed a great earnestness for the marriage with Norfolk, whose favour with Elizabeth, he pretended, would enable him to procure tranquillity to Scotland and place the Protestant religion in security. It is barely possible to understand how Murray could fall in with such a scheme even for the moment; but he may have been spellbound by the superior craft and audacity of Maitland, whose whole soul was an intrigue, and who, since his late arrival in England, may have even proposed to himself the daring scheme of overthrowing Elizabeth and of placing Mary on her throne. It did not require his talent to see that the whole Catholic population of England was oppressed; that many Protestants were averse to Elizabeth's government, and that the duke of Norfolk, who was both rich and brave, had an immense party in the north, counting among his friends the great earls of Westmoreland and Northumberland, who upon many grounds were dissatisfied with the queen and with Cecil.

Maitland of late had not been eager to press the question of Mary's guilt, and even if he had done so it would cost little to a supple man like him to change his tack and hold her up as the model of queens and women. And he certainly assured Norfolk that Mary was innocent of her husband's murder. But Maitland was watched with vigilant eyes; his intrigues with the duke of Norfolk were discovered, and an order came suddenly down from London for the instant removal of the conference from York to Westminster.

THE COMMISSION AT WESTMINSTER

Elizabeth now openly declared that Mary should never be restored to the crown of Scotland if Murray could make good his accusations; and she assumed as a right that she and her privy council should proceed to sentence. At the same time Elizabeth joined Leicester, Cecil, Bacon, and others to the commission. Mary's commissioners were coldly received, and the opposite party were not only encouraged but excited by Elizabeth and Cecil to urge publicly their charges. At the end of November Murray declared that Mary had been "persuader and commander" of the murder of her husband; and here he ought to have stopped; but he went on to add the incredible charge (which cast a doubt on all the rest) that she had also intended to cause the death of the innocent prince her own son, "and so to transfer the crown from the right line to a bloody murderer and godless tyrant."

Mary's steadfast friends, the bishop of Ross and Lord Herries, then demanded of Elizabeth that as she had admitted Murray and his associates into her presence to accuse their queen, she would also be pleased to admit into the same presence Mary herself to prove her own innocence; and they represented at the same time that the accusers of their sovereign ought to be detained in the country. Elizabeth replied that this was a difficult subject, which required long deliberation, and she would never give any other answer to their requests.

At last came the decisive moment, and on the 14th of December the earl of Murray produced a silver box or casket full of the so-called original love-letters, sonnets, etc.; and he contended that these unproved and unsifted documents, together with a previous decree of the Scottish parliament, were quite sufficient to establish the queen's guilt. Elizabeth had had copies of these documents long before, but she was desirous that there should be an open and unreserved production of the originals.

The papers were laid before the privy council and all the great earls, and letters written by Mary to Elizabeth were laid beside them that the handwritings might be compared. But instead of asking the council to pronounce on the authenticity of the documents, Elizabeth merely told them that Mary had demanded to be allowed to answer to the charges in the royal presence, and that she now thought it inconsistent with her modesty and reputation as a virgin queen to admit her.

Mary, though labouring under every difficulty, would not sit down in silence like a convicted criminal, and she rejected with scorn a proposal made to her by Knollys, at Elizabeth's orders, that she should ratify her resignation of the crown and so save her honour—her enemies upon that condition agreeing not to publish their proofs against her. She immediately wrote to her commissioners, bidding them declare to Elizabeth and her council, that "where Murray and his accomplices had said that she knew, counselled, devised, persuaded, or commanded the murder of her husband, they had falsely, traitorously, and wickedly lied, imputing unto her the crime whereof they themselves were authors, inventors, doers, and some of them the proper executioners."

She solemnly denied that she had stopped inquiry and due punishment. "And," she continued, "they charge us with unnatural kindness towards our dear son, alleging we intended to have caused him to follow his father hastily; howbeit the natural love a mother beareth to her only child is sufficient to confound them, and merits no other answer; yet considering their proceedings by-past, who did him wrong in our womb, intending to have slain him and us both, there is none of good judgment but they may easily perceive their hypocrisies, with how they would fortify themselves in our son's name till their tyranny be better established."

She then revoked her order for breaking up the conference, saying, "And to the effect our good sister may understand we are not willing to let their false invented allegations pass over in silence (adhering to our former protestations), we shall desire the inspection and doubles of all they have produced against us; and that we may see the alleged principal writings, if they have any, produced. And with God's grace we shall first make such answer thereto that our innocence shall be known to our good sister and all other princes, so that we but have our good sister's presence, as our adversary has had, and reasonable space and time to get such verification as pertains thereto."

Elizabeth took no notice of this remonstrance, and Murray's silver box was never submitted to examination. The bishop of Ross put into Elizabeth's own hands a plain and striking defence to the charges which had been produced, affirming: (1) That nothing was alleged but presumptions. (2) That it could not be proved that the letters in Murray's box had been written with her own hand; "and she was of too much honour to commit such a fact, and of too much wit to have conceived such matter in writing." (3) That neither her hand, nor seal, nor date was to the letters, nor any direction to any. (4) That her hand might easily be counterfeited. (5) That for the marriage with Bothwell the nobility solicited and advised it, and sub-

scribed thereto, especially some of the adversaries, as by a writing under their hands would be testified.

On the 11th of January, 1569, Elizabeth put a strange end to the conference, which of late had been carried on at Hampton Court. She told the regent Murray, before her court and ministers—in private her conversation was different—that nothing had been proved against the honour and loyalty of him and his adherents, but that they, on the other hand, had shown no sufficient cause why she should conceive any evil opinion against the queen her good sister.

She assured Murray that he might safely go back to Scotland and rely upon her goodwill. Escorted by an English guard, the earl reached the city of Edinburgh on the 2nd of February, 1569, after an absence of nearly five months. But before he got there—before he began his journey from London—Elizabeth sent down strict orders to her unhappy vice-chamberlain Knollys, and to Lord Scrope, to move the queen of Scots with all haste to Tutbury, as a place farther in the realm and more secure. Mary had protested that she would not move farther from the Border except by force; and many unnecessary pains were taken to make it be believed that no force was used.

On the 3rd of February the captive queen reached Tutbury castle, a strong place upon the river Dove, in Staffordshire, the property of the earl of Shrewsbury, under whose charge she was now placed.

Elizabeth was soon made to feel that in resolving to keep Mary in captivity in the heart of England she had done that which cast a threatening cloud over her own liberty and greatness, and deprived her of her peace of mind; in fact for many years she was incessantly haunted with the fears of plots, escapes, and bloody retaliation; no castle seemed strong enough, no keepers sure enough for her hated rival, who in many respects had become more dangerous to her than ever. From time to time these jealousies and apprehensions were stirred up by zealous Protestants and the friends of Cecil.

Meanwhile some of Elizabeth's noblest subjects were secretly devising how they might liberate the prisoner—perhaps how they might revolutionise the whole country, and place Mary upon the throne of England; and foreign princes were openly complaining of the English queen's cruel and unseemly treatment of a crowned head—of one who was as much an independent princess as herself. But no foreign power was at the time either in a condition or in a disposition to hazard a war with the powerful queen of England for the weak and ruined queen of a weak, poor, and anarchic country. To their remonstrances Elizabeth replied, that they were all labouring under a great mistake; that she was the dear sister of Mary, the best friend she ever had; that she had given her an asylum when her subjects drove her from her kingdom and sought her life; that she had been delicately watchful of her reputation, and had suppressed, and was still suppressing, documents which would render her infamous to her contemporaries and to all future ages.[m]

WAS MARY GUILTY?

Perhaps there is no more ardent controversy in history than the problem of this beautiful woman's collusion in the murder of the husband whom she admittedly despised, and with admittedly good cause. We have followed our plan of giving as impartial an account as possible, leaning rather to her side, though it is not, of course, practicable to present all the evidence for and against Mary; this would require volumes. The reader should be warned

against making up his mind too definitely one way or the other. It is easy to do this in Mary's favour in hearing part of the evidence arranged by one of her partisans; it is equally easy to decide against her when her accusers manage the case. But when one goes further and reads deeply into the evidence, the result is bewildering, and it is hardly safe to say more than this: while there are abundant evidences of indiscretion on Mary's part, and while there is strong circumstantial evidence to implicate her in Darnley's murder, yet the conduct of her enemies was so lawless and ruthless, their testimony so conflicting and suspicious and their intriguing so unscrupulous, that the whole accusation against Mary rests upon testimony which the modern bench would probably throw out of court at once.

Andrew Lang,[k] who has most recently sifted the evidence and with characteristic calm, has said that a jury of to-day would feel compelled to acquit the queen even if convinced at heart of her guilt.

He has examined the casket letters and sonnets. He finds strong reasons for believing them partly of Mary's composition, he finds equally strong reasons for believing that they were tampered with and that forgery was used at least to strengthen the weak points. But if the accusers would stoop to forge one word, why not all? On this theory, the modern bench inclines to disregard tainted evidence entirely, except where it is strongly corroborated. In seeking corroboration we find the circumstances of Mary's behaviour arranged by different partisans to prove either her guilt or her innocence.

The casket letters are the focus of controversy. If Mary wrote them as they stand in their extant copies, she was undoubtedly guilty of a great passion for Bothwell during her husband's life, of encouraging the plot to put him out of the way (a divorce in those days would have illegitimatised the prince James), of pretending to marry his murderer reluctantly when she was really eager for the match—and, in short, of being a beautiful and bold but complete hypocrite accessory to a foul crime. Nobody is more positive than Hume of Mary's guilt. He states many of the arguments on both sides.[a]

Hume's Estimate of Mary's Guilt

We shall not enter into a long discussion concerning the authenticity of these letters; we shall only remark in general that the chief objections against them are that they are supposed to have passed through the earl of Morton's hands, the least scrupulous of all Mary's enemies; and that they are to the last degree indecent and even somewhat inelegant, such as it is not likely she would write. But to these presumptions we may oppose the following considerations: (1) Though it be not difficult to counterfeit a subscription, it is very difficult, and almost impossible, to counterfeit several pages so as to resemble exactly the handwriting of any person. These letters were examined and compared with Mary's handwriting by the English privy council and by a great many of the nobility, among whom were several partisans of that princess. They might have been examined by the bishop of Ross, Herries, and others of Mary's commissioners. The regent must have expected that they would be very critically examined by them; and had they not been able to stand that test, he was only preparing a scene of confusion to himself. Bishop Leslie expressly declines the comparing of the hands, which he calls no legal proof, according to Goodall.

(2) The letters are very long, much longer than they needed to have been in order to serve the purposes of Mary's enemies—a circumstance which increased the difficulty and exposed any forgery the more to the risk of a

detection. (3) They are not so gross and palpable as forgeries commonly are, for they still left a pretext for Mary's friends to assert that their meaning was strained to make them appear criminal. (4) There is a long contract of marriage, said to be written by the earl of Huntly and signed by the queen before Bothwell's acquittal. Would Morton without any necessity have thus doubled the difficulties of the forgery and the danger of detection?

(5) The letters are indiscreet; but such was apparently Mary's conduct at that time: they are inelegant; but they have a careless, natural air, like letters hastily written between familiar friends. (6) They contain such a variety of particular circumstances as nobody could have thought of inventing, especially as they must necessarily have afforded her many means of detection. (7) We have not the originals of the letters, which were in French.[1] We have only a Scotch and Latin translation from the original and a French translation professedly done from the Latin. Now it is remarkable that the Scotch translation is full of Gallicisms, and is clearly a translation from a French original: such as make fault, *faire des fautes*; make it seem that I believe, *faire semblant de le croire*; make brek, *faire breche*; this is my first journey, *c'est ma première journée*; have you not desire to laugh, *n'avez vous pas envie de rire*; the place will hald unto the death, *la place tiendra jusqu'à la mort*; he may not come forth of the house this long time, *il ne peut pas sortir du logis de long tems*; to make me advertisement, *faire m'avertir*; put order to it, *mettre ordre cela*; discharge your heart, *décharger votre cœur*; make gud watch, *faites bonne garde*, etc.

(8) There is a conversation which she mentions between herself and the king one evening; but Murray produced before the English commissioners the testimony of one Crawford, a gentleman of the earl of Lennox, who swore that the king, on her departure from him, gave him an account of the same conversation. (9) There seems very little reason why Murray and his associates should run the risk of such a dangerous forgery, which must have rendered them infamous if detected; since their cause, from Mary's known conduct, even without these letters, was sufficiently good and justifiable. (10) Murray exposed these letters to the examination of persons qualified to judge of them: the Scotch council, the Scotch parliament, Queen Elizabeth and her council, who were possessed of a great number of Mary's genuine letters.

(11) He gave Mary herself an opportunity of refuting and exposing him, if she had chosen to lay hold of it. (12) The letters tally so well with all the other parts of her conduct during that transaction that these proofs throw the strongest light on each other. (13) The duke of Norfolk, who had examined these papers, and who favoured so much the queen of Scots that he intended to marry her, and in the end lost his life in her cause, yet believed them authentic and was fully convinced of her guilt. This appears not only from his letters above mentioned to Queen Elizabeth and her ministers, but by his secret acknowledgment to Bannister, his most trusty confidant. (14) I need not repeat the presumption drawn from Mary's refusal to answer.

(15) The very disappearance of these letters is a presumption of their authenticity. That event can be accounted for in no way but from the care of King James's friends, who were desirous to destroy every proof of his mother's crimes. The disappearance of Morton's narrative, and of Crawford's evidence, from the Cotton library, Calig. c. i., must have proceeded from a like cause.

According to Jebb the sonnets are inelegant; insomuch that both Brantôme and Ronsard, who knew Queen Mary's style, were assured when they

[1 The subsequent discovery of certain French originals only tends to confirm the authenticity of the letters.]

[1569 A.D.]

saw them that they could not be of her composition. But no person is equal in his productions, especially one whose style is so little formed as Mary's must be supposed to be. Not to mention that such dangerous and criminal enterprises leave little tranquillity of mind for elegant poetical compositions.

In a word, Queen Mary might easily have conducted the whole conspiracy against her husband without opening her mind to any one person except Bothwell, and without writing a scrap of paper about it; but it was very difficult to have conducted it so that her conduct should not betray her to men of discernment. In the present case her conduct was so gross as to betray her to everybody, and fortune threw into her enemies' hands papers by which they could convict her. The same infatuation and imprudence, which happily is the usual attendant of great crimes, will account for both. It is proper to observe, that there is not one circumstance of the foregoing that is taken from Knox,[r] Buchanan,[s] or even De Thou,[t] or indeed from any suspected authority.

There are, indeed, three events in our history which may be regarded as touchstones of party men. An English Whig, who asserts the reality of the popish plot, an Irish Catholic, who denies the massacre in 1641, and a Scotch Jacobite, who maintains the innocence of Queen Mary, must be considered as men beyond the reach of argument or reason, and must be left to their prejudices.[o]

Various Opinions of Mary's Guilt

Mackintosh[q] says: "There is a species of secondary, but very important, evidence as to Mary's criminality, on which a few additional sentences may be excused. The silence of Castelnau on the subject, who was friendly to her, and who had opportunities of knowing the facts, is very significant; that of Melville also, her personal attendant and confidential servant, whose brother was with her to her last moments; and lastly, that of Spotswood, her grandson's chancellor and head of the Scottish church. That of the archbishop is singularly conclusive, because accompanied by admissions irreconcilable with the supposition of her innocence, and evidently showing that he did not entertain any doubt of her guilt."

Among those who believe Mary to have been innocent have been Chalmers,[u] Sir John Skelton,[v] and Samuel Cowan.[w] Lingard admits that Mary wrote the letters, though he thinks they were not necessarily to Bothwell.

Among those convinced of her guilt are De Thou,[t] Hume,[o] Robertson,[p] Keightley,[c] Laing,[x] Mackintosh,[q] Mignet,[y] Von Raumer,[z] Froude,[l] Swinburne,[n] Aubrey,[bb] and Lang.[k]

Lang, after stating his belief that the letters were tampered with between the time of their discovery and their presentation, still casts his opinion for the authenticity of considerable and compromising portions. The sonnets he thinks even less likely to have been forged than the letters. He thinks that the recent discoveries of documents and evidence tends rather to strengthen the case against Mary.

This is perhaps the most acceptable theory: Mary, disgusted with her husband, and fearing his plots to deprive her of the crown and act as regent for their son, fell under the influence of Bothwell. To a proud and fearless woman like Mary it was a strange luxury to find a man who was not afraid of her, who dared to bully and overawe her and even to frighten her, and keep her tenure of his affections uncertain by still treating his neglected wife as a rival for his favour. Before so masterful a man, her high spirits fell in

abject submission. The letters, if genuine, show that she delighted even to apologise when he was wrong. It was the *Taming of the Shrew* to the life, and a commonplace in the psychology of the sexes.

Having become the slave of this brute and realising that her husband was jealous of him, she remembered that once before Darnley's jealousy of her favourite, Rizzio, had led him to invade her room with a band of assassins and drag the man from her very skirts to his death. Bothwell had been one of the few who had drawn sword in her defence. He had been overpowered by numbers then. What was to prevent another such scene? She had ridden twenty miles when Bothwell was wounded once before. How was she to preserve her beloved from her husband's assassins? Only by being the first to slay.

She entered into the plot, though she loathed her treachery. Her husband fell ill of the small-pox and weakly implored reconciliation. She was touched so deeply that, as she wrote Bothwell, only her love for Bothwell could have hardened her heart. Poison was suggested. She was afraid of it, she said. Perhaps her statement that Darnley suspected everyone but her and preferred to take his meat from her hand gives the explanation of the choice of the clumsy method of blowing up the house in her absence. Her heart revolted at administering poison to one who so helplessly put himself at her mercy. In the words of the Scottish translation: "Ze gar me dissemble so far, that I haif horring thairat; and ye caus me do almaist the office of a traitores. Remember how gif it wer not to obey zow, I had rather be deid or I did it; my hart bleidis at it. Allace! I never dissavit ony body: Bot I remit me altogidder to zour will."

The infatuated and wretched victim of an overwhelming passion consented to the scheme of exploding powder under the house. She courageously dwelt there till all was ready. Then she went away for a few hours. Once the deed was finished her big heart was overcome with horror and remorse. She dissembled as best she could, but her mourning for Darnley was a feeble pretence. The reward for his murderers was a necessary formality: the farce of the trial followed by the allegedly compulsory marriage with Bothwell was another sham concession to appearances. The honeymoon of the guilty pair was not happy. She was remorseful to the point of threatened suicide, especially when she found her husband still the hard-hearted brute. She tried to appease him and cheer him in every way.

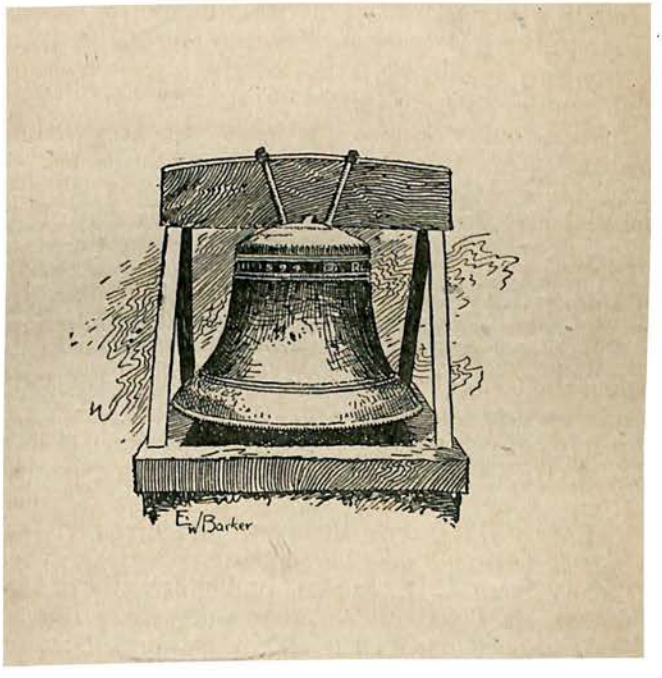
Then the lords revolted. Bothwell fled the country and she was left to her own devices. In this situation, as always, her courage rose with the danger. When her troops were defeated she fled to a foreign court for aid against the rebels. Finding there only suspicion and greed of political power, she conducted herself with all possible diplomacy except where her pride was touched. To have confessed her guilt publicly would have ended her career. She could not reach Elizabeth to make a personal appeal. She therefore counterfeited innocence with such skill that she has never ceased to find believers.

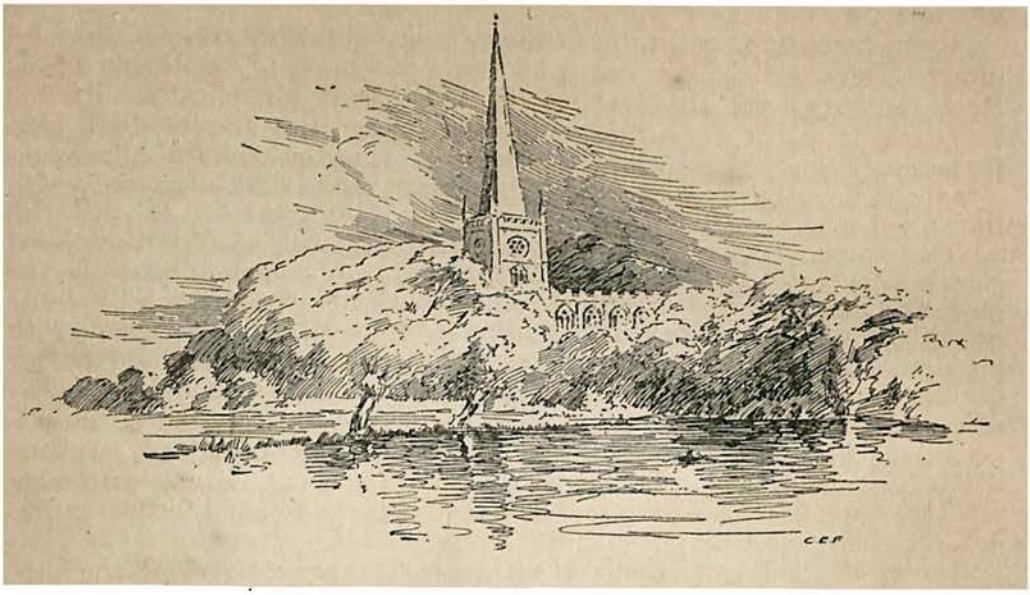
The conduct of her enemies, the evil methods of the times, the baser elements in Elizabeth's character, are no proof of Mary's innocence, though they have been used as arguments. They are, however, of this value, that they somewhat palliate Mary's offence, seeing that she was no worse than her enemies, and was overcome only by their jealousy and the combination of the Scottish regency with the English crown. In the words of Mr. Lang[k]: "Mary at worst, and even admitting her guilt (guilt monstrous and horrible to contemplate), seems to have been a nobler nature than any of the persons

most closely associated with her fortunes. She fell, if fall she did, like the Clytemnestra to whom a contemporary poet compares her, under the almost demoniacal possession of passion."

In a word, one is tempted to reproduce for Mary the curious verdict of the French judges in the famous second trial of Captain Dreyfus; "Guilty, with extenuating circumstances." There will still always remain abundant grounds to justify intelligent and scholarly men in believing that under the law of holding a person innocent until guilt is clearly proved, and in view of the contemptible nature and behaviour of the witnesses against her, Mary, Queen of Scots, must be acquitted of the charge of murdering her husband. Safer still is the attitude of Hermann Cardauns,[cc] who believes that we cannot hope to arrive at a final and irreproachable decision.

Our description of Mary's fortunes has led us to postpone the chronicle of English affairs. It is in order now to retrace our steps to the year 1562 and the beginning of the great alignment of all Europe into the two divisions of Catholic and Protestant, both intolerant and both militant.[a]





CHAPTER X

RELIGIOUS FEUDS

[1562–1578 A.D.]

THE contemporaries of Elizabeth regarded the first ten years of her reign as her halcyon days. The transition from the fiery Catholicism of Mary Tudor to the temperate Protestantism of her sister Elizabeth had been accomplished without bloodshed or convulsion. In the parliament of 1563 measures of a stronger character were adopted against papists. But still there was no outbreak produced either by supineness or persecution. The parliament of 1566 passed no new law that in any matter of importance touched the subject of religion. Differences of opinion as to ceremonial observances had arisen amongst the English Protestants themselves, and those who were called Puritans were fast becoming an organised power. But at the time when Mary Stuart had crossed the Solway, and the great question of policy had been raised as to her detention, the state of Protestantism in Europe, upon the maintenance of which in England the government of Elizabeth was to stand or fall, was one of great insecurity and alarm. The halcyon days were fast passing away.—KNIGHT.[b]

THE STATE OF EUROPE IN 1562

AFTER the commencement of the religious wars in France, which rendered that flourishing kingdom during the course of near forty years a scene of horror and devastation, the great rival powers in Europe were Spain and England; and it was not long before an animosity, first political, then personal, broke out between the sovereigns of these countries.

The tyranny by which Philip II of Spain was actuated, with the fraudulent maxims which governed his councils, excited the most violent agitation among his own people, engaged him in acts of the most enormous cruelty, and threw all Europe into combustion.

[1562 A.D.]

In his unrelenting zeal for orthodoxy he spared neither age, sex, nor condition. He issued rigorous orders for the prosecution of heretics in Spain, Italy, the Indies, and the low countries. By placing himself at the head of the Catholic party he converted the zealots of the ancient faith into partisans of Spanish greatness; and by employing the powerful allurement of religion he seduced, everywhere, the subjects from that allegiance which they owed to their native sovereign.

The course of events, guiding and concurring with choice, had placed Elizabeth in a situation diametrically opposite, and had raised her to be the bulwark and the support of the numerous, though still persecuted, Protestants throughout Europe. More moderate in her temper than Philip, she found, with pleasure, that the principles of her sect required not such extreme severity in her domestic government as was exercised by that monarch; and having no object but self-preservation, she united her interests in all foreign negotiations with those who were everywhere struggling under oppression and guarding themselves against ruin and extermination. The more virtuous sovereign was thus happily thrown into the more favourable cause, and fortune in this instance concurred with policy and nature.

During the lifetime of Henry II of France, and of his successor, the force of these principles was somewhat restrained, though not altogether overcome, by motives of a superior interest; and the dread of uniting England with the French monarchy engaged Philip to maintain a good correspondence with Elizabeth. Yet even during this period he rejected the garter which she sent him; he refused to ratify the ancient league between the house of Burgundy and England; he furnished ships to transport French forces into Scotland; he endeavoured to intercept the earl of Arran, who was hastening to join the malcontents in that country; and the queen's wisest ministers still regarded his friendship as hollow and precarious. But no sooner did the death of Francis II put an end to Philip's apprehensions with regard to Mary's succession than his animosity against Elizabeth began more openly to appear, and the interests of Spain and those of England were found opposite in every negotiation and transaction.

The two great monarchies of the Continent, France and Spain, being possessed of nearly equal force, were naturally antagonists; and England, from its power and situation, was entitled to support its own dignity as well as tranquillity by holding the balance between them. Whatever incident therefore tended too much to depress one of these rival powers, as it left the other without control, might be deemed contrary to the interests of England; yet so much were these great maxims of policy overruled during that age by the disputes of theology that Philip found an advantage in supporting the established government and religion of France, and Elizabeth in protecting faction and innovation.

CIVIL WARS OF FRANCE

The queen-regent of France, when reinstated in authority by the death of her son Francis, had formed a plan of administration more subtle than judicious, and balancing the Catholics with the Huguenots, the duke of Guise with the prince of Condé, she endeavoured to render herself necessary to both and to establish her own dominion on their constrained obedience. An edict had been published granting a toleration to the Protestants; but the interested violence of the duke of Guise, covered with the pretence of religious zeal, broke through this agreement, and the two parties after the fallacious

tranquillity of a moment renewed their mutual insults and injuries. Fourteen armies were levied and put in motion in different parts of France. Each province, each city, each family, was agitated with intestine rage and animosity.

Wherever the Huguenots prevailed the images were broken, the altars pillaged, the churches demolished, the monasteries consumed with fire. Where success attended the Catholics, they burned the Bibles, rebaptised the infants, constrained married persons to pass anew through the nuptial ceremony, and plunder, desolation, and bloodshed attended equally the triumph of both parties. It was during this period, when men began to be somewhat enlightened, and in this nation renowned for polished manners, that the theological rage which had long been boiling in men's veins seems to have attained its last stage of virulence and ferocity.

Philip, jealous of the progress which the Huguenots made in France, and dreading that the contagion would spread into the low country provinces, had formed a secret alliance with the princes of Guise, and had entered into a mutual concert for the protection of the ancient faith and the suppression of heresy. He now sent six thousand men, with some supply of money, to reinforce the Catholic party; and the prince of Condé, finding himself unequal to so great a combination countenanced by the royal authority, was obliged to despatch the vidame of Chartres and Briguemaut to London, in order to crave the assistance and protection of Elizabeth.

Most of the province of Normandy was possessed by the Huguenots, and Condé offered to put Havre de Grâce into the hands of the English on condition that, together with three thousand men for the garrison of that place, the queen should likewise send over three thousand to defend Dieppe and Rouen, and should furnish the prince with a supply of a hundred thousand crowns.

HAVRE DE GRÂCE PUT IN POSSESSION OF THE ENGLISH

Elizabeth, besides the general and essential interest of supporting the Protestants and opposing the rapid progress of her enemy the duke of Guise, had other motives which engaged her to accept of this proposal. When she concluded the peace at Cateau-Cambrésis she had good reason to foresee that France never would voluntarily fulfil the article which regarded the restitution of Calais; and many subsequent incidents had tended to confirm this suspicion. The queen therefore wisely concluded that, could she get possession of Havre, a place which commanded the mouth of the Seine and was of greater importance than Calais, she should easily constrain the French to execute the treaty, and should have the glory of restoring to the crown that ancient possession so much the favourite of the nation.

No measure could be more generally odious in France than the conclusion of this treaty with Elizabeth. Men were naturally led to compare the conduct of Guise, who had finally expelled the English and had debarred these dangerous and destructive enemies from all access into France, with the treasonable politics of Condé, who had again granted them an entrance into the heart of the kingdom. The prince had the more reason to repent of this measure, as he reaped not from it all the advantage which he expected.

Three thousand English immediately took possession of Havre and Dieppe under the command of Sir Edward Poynings; but the latter place was found so little capable of defence that it was immediately abandoned. The siege of Rouen was already formed by the Catholics under the command of the king

of Navarre and Montmorency, and it was with difficulty that Poynings could throw a small reinforcement into the place. Though these English troops behaved with gallantry, and though the king of Navarre was mortally wounded during the siege, the Catholics still continued the attack of the place, and carrying it at last by assault put the whole garrison to the sword. The earl of Warwick, eldest son of the late duke of Northumberland, arrived soon after at Havre with another body of three thousand English, and took on him the command of the place.

The duke of Guise, overtaking the Huguenots at Dreux, obliged them to give battle. The action was distinguished by this singular event, that Condé and Montmorency, the commanders of the opposite armies, fell both of them prisoners into the hands of their enemies. The appearances of victory remained with Guise; but the admiral, whose fate it ever was to be defeated, and still to rise more terrible after his misfortunes, collected the remains of the army and subdued some considerable places in Normandy. Elizabeth, the better to support his cause, sent him a new supply of a hundred thousand crowns, and offered, if he could find merchants to lend him the money, to give her bond for another sum of equal amount.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1563

The expenses incurred by assisting the French Huguenots had emptied the queen's exchequer, and in order to obtain supply she found herself under a necessity of summoning a parliament, January 12th, 1563, an expedient to which she never willingly had recourse. A little before the meeting of this assembly she had fallen into a dangerous illness, the small-pox; and as her life during some time was despaired of, the people became the more sensible of their perilous situation, derived from the uncertainty which, in case of her demise, attended the succession of the crown. The partisans of the queen of Scots and those of the house of Suffolk already divided the nation into factions; and everyone foresaw that though it might be possible at present to determine the controversy by law, yet if the throne were vacant, nothing but the sword would be able to fix a successor.

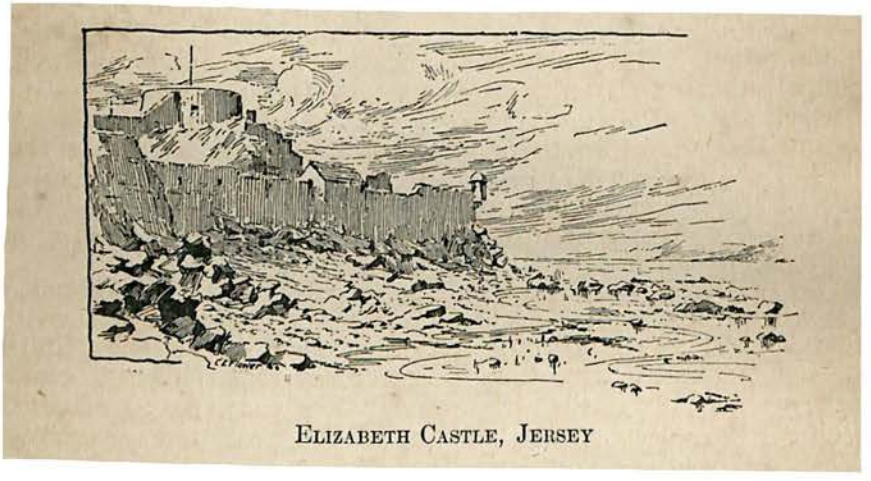
The commons, therefore, on the opening of the session, voted an address to the queen in which, after enumerating the dangers attending a broken and doubtful succession, and mentioning the evils which their fathers had experienced from the contending titles of York and Lancaster, they entreated the queen to put an end to their apprehensions by choosing some husband whom they promised, whoever he were, gratefully to receive and faithfully to serve, honour, and obey; or, if she had entertained any reluctance to the married state, they desired that the lawful successor might be named, at least appointed, by act of parliament. They remarked that during all the reigns which had passed since the conquest the nation had never before been so unhappy as not to know the person who, in case of the sovereign's death, was legally entitled to fill the vacant throne. And they observed that the fixed order which took place in inheriting the French monarchy was one chief source of the usual tranquillity as well as of the happiness of that kingdom.

This subject, though extremely interesting to the nation, was very little agreeable to the queen, and she was sensible that great difficulties would attend every decision. A declaration in favour of the queen of Scots would form a settlement perfectly legal; but she dreaded giving encouragement

to the Catholics. On the other hand, the title of the house of Suffolk was supported by the more zealous Protestants only, and it was very doubtful whether even a parliamentary declaration in its favour would bestow on it such validity as to give satisfaction to the people.

The queen, weighing all these inconveniences, which were great and urgent, was determined to keep both parties in awe by maintaining still an ambiguous conduct; and she rather chose that the people should run the hazard of contingent events than that she herself should visibly endanger her throne by employing expedients which, at best, would not bestow entire security on the nation. She gave therefore an evasive answer to the applications of the commons. She only told them, contrary to her declarations in the beginning of her reign, that she had fixed no absolute resolution against marriage.

The most remarkable law passed this session was that which bore the title of "Assurance of the queen's royal power over all states and subjects within her dominions." By this act, the asserting twice by writing, word, or deed,



ELIZABETH CASTLE, JERSEY

the pope's authority, was subjected to the penalties of treason. All persons in holy orders were bound to take the oath of supremacy; as also all who were advanced to any degree, either in the universities or in common law; all schoolmasters, officers in court, or members of parliament. The penalty of their second refusal was treason. The first offence, in both cases, was punished by banishment and forfeiture. This rigorous statute was not extended to any of the degree of a baron.

There was likewise another point, in which the parliament this session showed more the goodness of their intention than the soundness of their judgment. They passed a law against fond and fantastical prophecies, which had been observed to seduce the people into rebellion and disorder; but at the same time they enacted a statute which was most likely to increase these and such like superstitions: It was levelled against conjurations, enchantments, and witchcraft. Witchcraft and heresy are two crimes which commonly increase by punishment, and never are so effectually suppressed as by being totally neglected. After the parliament had granted the queen a supply of one subsidy and two fifteenths, the session was finished by a prorogation. The convocation likewise voted the queen a subsidy of six shillings in the pound, payable in three years.

THE LOSS OF HAVRE

While the English parties exerted these calm efforts against each other in parliamentary votes and debates, the French factions, inflamed to the highest degree of animosity, continued that cruel war which their intemperate zeal, actuated by the ambition of their leaders, had kindled in the kingdom. The admiral was successful in reducing the towns of Normandy which held for the king, but he frequently complained that the numerous garrison of Havre remained totally inactive and was not employed in any military operation against the common enemy. The leaders of the Huguenots were persuaded to hearken to terms of a separate accommodation, and soon came to an agreement. A toleration under some restrictions was anew granted to the Protestants; a general amnesty was published; Condé was reinstated in his offices and governments.

By the agreement between Elizabeth and the prince of Condé it had been stipulated that neither party should conclude peace without the consent of the other; but this article was at present but little regarded by the leaders of the French Protestants. They only comprehended her so far in the treaty as to obtain a promise that on her relinquishing Havre her charges, and the money which she had advanced them, should be repaid her by the king of France, and that Calais on the expiration of the term should be restored to her. But she disdained to accept of these conditions; and thinking the possession of Havre a much better pledge for effecting her purpose, she sent Warwick orders to prepare himself against an attack from the now united power of the French monarchy.

The earl of Warwick, who commanded a garrison of six thousand men, besides seven hundred pioneers, had no sooner got possession of Havre than he employed every means for putting it in a posture of defence; and after expelling the French from the town he encouraged his soldiers to make the most desperate defence against the enemy. The constable commanded the French army; the queen regent herself, and the king, were present in the camp; even the prince of Condé joined the king's forces and gave countenance to this enterprise. The plague crept in among the English soldiers, and being increased by their fatigue and bad diet (for they were but ill supplied with provisions), it made such ravages that sometimes a hundred men a day died of it, and there remained at last not fifteen hundred in a condition to do duty. The French meeting with such feeble resistance carried on their attacks successfully; and having made two breaches, each of them sixty feet wide, they prepared for a general assault which must have terminated in the slaughter of the whole garrison. Warwick, who had frequently warned the English council of the danger, and who had loudly demanded a supply of men and provisions, found himself obliged to capitulate, July 28th, 1563, and to content himself with the liberty of withdrawing his garrison.

The articles were no sooner signed than Lord Clinton, the admiral, who had been detained by contrary winds, appeared off the harbour with a reinforcement of three thousand men, and found the place surrendered to the enemy. To increase the misfortune, the infected army brought the plague with them into England, where it swept off great multitudes, particularly in the city of London. Above twenty thousand persons there died of it in one year.

Elizabeth, whose usual vigour and foresight had not appeared in this transaction, was now glad to compound matters; and as the queen regent

desired to obtain leisure in order to prepare measures for the extermination of the Huguenots she readily hearkened to any reasonable terms of accommodation with England.[c] A peace signed at Troyes on the 11th of April, 1564, was shortly after proclaimed with sound of trumpet before the queen's majesty in her castle of Windsor, the French ambassadors being present. By this new treaty Elizabeth delivered up the hostages which the French had given for the restitution of Calais; but she received two hundred and twenty thousand crowns for their liberation. The questions of the restitution of Calais and other matters were left in the state they were in before the late hostilities, each party retaining its claims and pretensions, which were to be settled by after negotiation.[d]

In 1564 Elizabeth's friend the prince of Condé was disgusted by being refused the post of lieutenant-general of the realm, left vacant by the death of the king of Navarre; and as the Protestants saw that the treaty of peace made in the preceding year in order to expel the English from Havre was not kept, and that the court was revoking the liberty of conscience, it was easy for the prince to assemble once more a formidable army. But for some time the Huguenots were kept in awe in the north of France by a large force, which the court had collected to guard the frontier from any violation that might arise out of the disturbed state of the Netherlands, whose discontent, which became in the end another war of religion, was at first common to both Protestants and Catholics.

The powerful prince of Orange and the counts of Egmont and Hoorn placed themselves at the head of their countrymen, and a confederacy, in which the Catholics acted with the Protestants, was formed in the spring of 1566 with the avowed object of putting down the Inquisition and with the more secret design of recovering the constitutional rights of the country.[1] The duchess of Parma, who governed the provinces in the name of Philip, yielded to the storm, and declared that the Inquisition should be abolished. At this point the Catholics and Protestants separated.

Philip had determined that no clemency should be shown to men who were doubly damned as heretics and rebels. He recalled the duchess of Parma, and despatched the famous duke of Alva, who was as admirable as a military commander as he was detestable as a bigot, or as a passive instrument to despotism, with an army still more formidable from its discipline than from its numbers, to restore obedience and a uniformity of belief in the low countries.

The success of Alva alarmed the Protestants everywhere; in England and in Scotland it cast a cloud which was never to be removed over the fortunes of Mary, but it was in France that it excited the wildest panic. The Huguenots, who were always a minority, saw that they must be crushed, and maintained that Alva was specially appointed to carry into effect the secret treaty of Bayonne for the forcible restoring of all Protestants to the obedience of the church. With this conviction the Huguenots resolved to anticipate their enemies. The prince of Condé renewed an old correspondence with the prince of Orange, with the English court, and with others interested in opposing the Bayonne treaty; and he, with Coligny and other chiefs of the party, laid a plot for surprising the king—the contemptible and wretched Charles IX—and all his court at Monceaux.

King Charles was saved from the hands of his Protestant subjects by the fidelity and bravery of his Swiss mercenaries. Elizabeth had sent Condé

[1 For full details of the affairs of the Netherlands see Volume XIII.]

money and advice; and it has been asserted that she was privy to this plot, and that her ambassador, Sir Henry Norris,[1] was deeply implicated in its arrangement.

In the following spring (1568) three thousand French Protestants crossed the northern frontier to join the prince of Orange, who had taken the field against the Spaniards. But at the end of the campaign the prince of Orange was obliged to recross the Rhine and disband what remained of his army.

These Protestant troops had been in a great measure raised by English money secretly supplied by Elizabeth, who at the same time was at peace with Philip, and in public took care to proclaim her respect for the Spanish monarch and her dislike of all rebellions; nor did she relax her efforts or despair of success to the insurgents, either in the Netherlands or in France. The government of the latter country had given in the preceding year what might have been considered a provocation to war, but she and Cecil were determined to have no open war. When, at the expiration of the term fixed by the treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis, Sir Henry Norris demanded the restitution of Calais, the French chancellor quoted an article of the treaty by which Elizabeth was to forfeit all claim to that town if she committed hostilities upon France; and further told Norris that as she had taken possession of Havre she had brought herself within the scope of that clause.

In 1567 Elizabeth had entered anew into matrimonial negotiations. Her old suitor the archduke Charles wrote her a very flattering letter; but Elizabeth fell back upon the fears and the strong religious feelings of her Protestant subjects, protesting to the Austrian that they would never tolerate a Catholic prince.

NORFOLK'S PLAN TO WED MARY

But intrigues for an obnoxious marriage—that of the duke of Norfolk with the queen of Scots—were now in full activity. In that dishonourable age it was a common practice (as it has been in some later times) for people to enter into plots for the sole purpose of betraying them to the government and reaping a suitable reward. There were too many engaged in the present scheme to allow of any hope of secrecy. Even before Murray had returned to Scotland, or Queen Mary had been removed to Tutbury Castle, Elizabeth had alternately reproached and tempted the duke of Norfolk, who assured her that if there had been a talk of his marrying the Scottish queen the project had not originated with him and had never met his wishes—"and if her majesty would move him thereto, he would rather be committed to the Tower, for he meant never to marry with such a person where he could not be sure of his pillow."

The allusion to the fate of Darnley gratified the queen, and she accepted Norfolk's excuses. But it is said that only a day or two after his making this protestation the duke conferred in secret, in the park at Hampton Court, with the earl of Murray, and then with the bishop of Ross and Maitland of Lethington, when he agreed that if Mary could be restored to her liberty and her throne he would marry her; they, on the other hand, assuring him that such a nobleman as himself, courteous, wealthy, and a Protestant, could not fail of restoring tranquillity to Scotland and maintaining peace and a perfect understanding between the two countries.

[1 He was son to the Norris who suffered death on account of Anne Boleyn. One of Elizabeth's first cares had been to promote this family.e]

It should appear, however, that Norfolk did not commit himself very seriously until he was propelled by the insidious favourite Leicester, by the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, and by Sir Nicholas Throcmorton, the experienced diplomatist and plotter, who had suddenly coalesced with Leicester in the hope of throwing Cecil into the Tower, and changing that minister's system for one that would more promote his own interests.

At last the duke agreed to be the husband, and then a letter, subscribed by the earls of Leicester, Arundel, and Pembroke, and the lord Lumley, was privately addressed to Mary in her prison, urging her to consent to the marriage, but requiring her at the same time "to relinquish all such claims as had been made by her to the prejudice of the queen's majesty; and that religion might be stablished both in Scotland and England; and that the league of France might be dissolved, and a league made betwixt England and Scotland; and that the government of Scotland might be to the contentation of the queen of England." Norfolk and his friends said afterwards that they had assured themselves, from the letter being written by the earl of Leicester, there would be nothing in it "but for the queen's majesty's security." Norfolk, in his own name, wrote letters to the fair captive as a lover and liberator. These letters were conveyed to the queen by the bishop of Ross.

The consent of the French and Spanish courts to the match was asked through their ambassadors; everything seemed to favour the project and flatter the ambition of Norfolk. Many of the principal nobility of England encouraged him, and none remonstrated save the earl of Sussex, who saw clearly the real nature of the plot and the ruin it would bring upon his friend the duke.

The regent pretended to recommend his sister's liberation to a Scottish parliament which he had assembled; but at the same time he was taking all the measures in his power to keep her a closer prisoner in England than ever. Here Maitland and he quarrelled; for the astute secretary, dissatisfied with Murray's government and full of his grand state intrigue—which embraced England as well as Scotland—was now more anxious for the restoration of Mary than he had been two years before for her deprivation. But Maitland for the moment was overmatched, and fearing for his life, and cursing what he called the double dealing and perfidy of Murray, he fled from Edinburgh, to seek an asylum in the mountains of the north.

Leicester now found it convenient to fall very sick—sick, it was said, unto death! Alarmed—and, as is generally represented, still amorous—Elizabeth flew to the bedside of her unworthy favourite, who, with many sighs and tears, began to disclose every particular of the plot into which he had inveigled Norfolk. Leicester received a fond pardon, Norfolk a severe reprimand. The duke protested that he had never meant ill to her majesty, and readily promised to let the project drop. But Elizabeth could not conceal her anger against him and Leicester began to treat him rudely.

Murray now undertook the odious office of informer and forwarded all the duke of Norfolk's letters to the English queen, humbly protesting that he had not devised the project and that he would never have given his feigned assent to it had it not been to preserve his own life. On the 9th of October the duke was committed to the Tower. On the 11th of the same month the bishop of Ross, who in vain pleaded his privilege as the agent and ambassador of a crowned head—the helpless prisoner Mary—was sharply examined at Windsor, and then committed to prison. At the same time the lord Lumley and some others of less note were placed under arrest.

ELIZABETH AIDS THE NETHERLANDS

The alarm of the English Protestant court was the greater on account of the successes which had recently attended the Catholic arms on the Continent, notwithstanding the encouragement and assistance sent to the French Huguenots by Elizabeth.

At the same time Elizabeth, by a measure of very questionable morality, had given a deadly provocation to the powerful Philip. In the course of the preceding autumn (1568) a Spanish squadron of five sail, carrying stores and money for the payment of Philip's army in the Low Countries, took refuge on the English coast to escape a Protestant fleet which had been fitted out by the prince of Condé. For a while the queen hesitated; she was at peace with Spain—a Spanish ambassador was at her court, and her own ambassador, Mann, was at Madrid—but the temptation was very strong; the money was destined for the support of those who were mercilessly bent on destroying a people who professed the same religion as her own subjects; and besides, Elizabeth much wanted money, for she had spent, and was then spending, a great deal to support the Protestant religion abroad. In the end it was resolved to seize the specie, upon pretence that it in truth belonged not to the king of Spain, but to certain Italian bankers and money-lenders who had exported it upon speculation.

The duke of Alva presently retaliated by seizing the goods and imprisoning the persons of all the English merchants he could find in Flanders. But according to La Mothe-Fénélon,[1] the narrow seas were already swarming with English privateers—the Frenchman calls them pirates—and with armed vessels manned by French and Flemish Protestants. The English cruisers of course offered no molestation to the Protestant privateers of the Low Countries, but assisted them in landing troops on the French coast for the service of the Huguenots.[2] The French court and the court of Spain were almost equally incensed; but they had both so many troubles on their hands that they resolved to avoid for the present a declaration of war. At the end of January, however, the French government, after remonstrating against the supplies sent in English ships to the Huguenots, seized all the English merchandise in Rouen.

There was a loud outcry in England at this seizure, and some of the lords of the council advised an immediate declaration of war against France.[3] A double war with France and Spain was unpromising, however, and the queen declared that it was her full intention to be at peace with France.

In a very few days after Elizabeth's pacific declarations, it was found that her ambassador at Paris, Sir Henry Norris, was again intriguing with the Huguenots and promising them assistance. Upon this the French government made a fresh seizure of English merchandise at Rouen, Calais, and

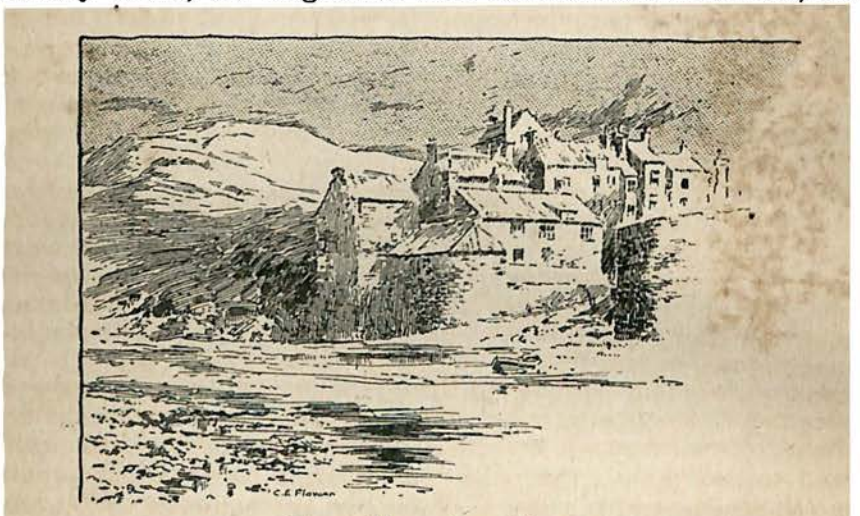
[1] According to the French ambassador, La Mothe-Fénélon, *f* the money seized amounted to four hundred and fifty thousand ducats, and the five ships were Biscayans.—*Correspondance Diplomatique de Bertrand de Salignac de La Mothe-Fénélon.* Publiée pour la première fois sous la direction de Monsieur Charles Purton Cooper.

[2] A great quantity of arms and ammunition had recently been landed at La Rochelle for the French insurgents, from four English men-of-war.

[3] Alva sent over the Sieur d'Assoleville to treat about the money. The queen sent orders to arrest him at Rochester, and to detain him there two days, that he might see and hear in that principal arsenal what a vast number of workmen she had employed on her great ships of war. This old diplomatist might well complain of the little respect shown by Elizabeth to the character of ambassadors.

Dieppe. Elizabeth's privateers retaliated on the French coast; but she again negotiated, and promised to put an end to that kind of warfare upon condition that the French should recall their commissions, for they also had begun to fit out swarms of privateers.

But again within a few weeks Elizabeth gave audience to envoys from the Huguenots and to envoys from the prince of Orange, and the other leaders of the Protestants in the Low Countries, who all wanted from her loans of money, arms, and gunpowder. She held a grand review of her troops, horse and foot; and inflamed at this aspect of war, many gentlemen bought themselves swords and pikes and went over to join the Huguenots. Elizabeth denied that this last was done by her permission, but presently a fleet of ships, armed for war and escorted by the largest vessels in the queen's service, set sail for La Rochelle, which was, and long continued to be, the principal port and stronghold of the French Protestants. But this fleet was detained by contrary winds; the Huguenots were defeated in the interval, and then



ROBIN HOOD BAY, WHITBY

Elizabeth made fresh protestations, and issued a proclamation against privateers and all such as made war without her license upon the French king.

Her conduct had irritated the French court to the extreme, and as the power of the Protestants in France seemed to be broken, it was resolved, by parties as crafty as herself, to give encouragement, if not more, to the Catholics in England, and to excite an interest in all the papistical countries of the Continent in favour of the captive Mary. The duke of Alva entered into this scheme; a Florentine, named Rudolfi, well acquainted with England, acted as agent for the pope; and sanguine hopes were entertained, if not of restoring England to the bosom of the church, of distracting and weakening her by internal dissensions.

THE NORTHERN INSURRECTION (1569 A.D.)

The penal statutes against the professors of the old religion had gradually increased in severity, and as the Catholics triumphed on the Continent, their religion became more and more an object of suspicion and of persecution in England. Elizabeth cared little for the dogmas of either church. She was

[1569-1570 A.D.]

altogether free from intolerance as to speculative opinions in religion, unless they went to weaken the royal prerogative. Her intolerance was all of a political kind, and she persecuted, not because men believed in the real presence, but because she believed that no Catholic could possibly be a loyal subject.[1] In the month of October, immediately after the duke of Norfolk's arrest, the counties of York, Durham, and Northumberland betrayed symptoms of open insurrection.

At the same time Queen Mary had found means to establish a correspondence with the Catholic earl of Northumberland, with the earl of Westmoreland, whose wife was the duke of Norfolk's sister, with Egremont Ratcliffe, brother of the earl of Sussex, and Leonard Dacre. Most of these noblemen were excited by many motives, the chief of which was the restoration of the Catholic faith in England. Their ostensible leader was the earl of Northumberland, a very munificent but a very weak lord. He talked imprudently and did nothing; and when at last, in the middle of November, he put himself in motion, it was only because he was frightened out of bed at the dead of night in his house at Topcliffe in Yorkshire by a panic-fear that a royal force was approaching to seize him. He then rode in haste to the castle of Branspeth, where he found Norfolk's brother-in-law, the earl of Westmoreland, surrounded with friends and retainers all ready to take arms for what they considered a holy cause.

On the morrow, the 16th of November, they openly raised their banner. If an ingenious stratagem had succeeded that banner would have floated over the liberated Mary. The countess of Northumberland had endeavoured to get access to the captive queen in the disguise of a nurse, in the intention of exchanging clothes with her that she might escape. But as this device had miscarried, the insurgents proposed marching to Tutbury castle to liberate the queen by force of arms.[d]

A manifesto was immediately put forth in the usual style, expressive of the utmost loyalty to the queen, but declaring their intentions to rescue her out of the hands of evil counsellors, to obtain the release of the duke and other peers, and to re-establish the religion of their fathers. They marched to Durham (November 16th), where they purified the churches by burning the heretical Bibles and prayer-books. At Ripon they restored the mass; on Cliffordmoor they mustered seven thousand men. Richard Norton, a venerable old gentleman who had joined them with his five sons, raised in their front a banner displaying the Saviour with the blood streaming from his five wounds. Finding that the Catholics in general were loyal to the queen, and that Sussex was collecting an efficient force at York, they fell back to Hexham (December 16th). Here the footmen dispersed; the earls, with the horse, about five hundred in number, fled into Scotland.[e]

The earl of Northumberland was sent by the regent to the castle of Lochleven, the old prison of Queen Mary. When Elizabeth pressed him to deliver up his captive that she might do justice on him, Murray offered to exchange Northumberland for Mary. Thus Northumberland remained in captivity in Lochleven. After a while the other refugees were conveyed to the Spanish Netherlands. But the vengeance of the law, unmitigated by any royal mercy, fell upon the retainers and friends of the fugitives. On the 4th and 5th of January threescore and six individuals were executed in Durham alone; and thence Sir George Bowes, with his executioner, traversed the

[1] There were, however, occasional exceptions. Matthew Hammond, a Unitarian, was burned alive in the castle ditch of Norwich! But this poor man had also spoken what were called "words of blasphemy against the queen's majesty and others of her council."—Strow.[g]

whole country between Newcastle and Netherby, a district sixty miles in length and forty miles in breadth, "and finding many to be fautors in the said rebellion, he did see them executed in every market-town and in every village, as he himself (says Stow) reported unto me." All that country was dotted in every direction with gibbets, Elizabeth imitating pretty closely the conduct of her sanguinary father on the suppression of the Pilgrimage of Grace.

THE RISING OF DACRE (1570 A.D.)

Among the Catholic gentlemen whose loyalty had been suspected by Sadler was Leonard Dacre, the representative of the ancient family of the Dacres of Gilsland. This bold man had resolved to risk his life and fortunes in the cause of the captive queen, whom he regarded with a romantic devotion. He raised a gallant troop to join Northumberland and Westmoreland; but when those two weak earls fled so hastily, he endeavoured to make Elizabeth believe that he had taken up arms not for, but against the insurgents.

But Elizabeth and her council were seldom overreached or deceived, and an order was sent down to the earl of Sussex to arrest Dacre, cautiously and secretly, as a traitor. He fled, but he resolved to try his good sword before he submitted to the hard doom of exile and beggary. Within a month from the flight of Northumberland, Dacre was at the head of three thousand English borderers; but before a body of Scots could join him he was attacked on the banks of the river Gelt, February 22nd, 1570, by a far superior force commanded by Lord Hunsdon.[1] Leonard Dacre, however, was not defeated without a desperate battle. He fled across the Borders, where he was received and honourably entertained by some noble friends of Mary, and he soon after passed over to Flanders.

THE ASSASSINATION OF MURRAY (1570 A.D.)

Before this rising of Leonard Dacre the regent Murray had gone to his account: and it has been reasonably conjectured that the hopes of the English insurgent had been excited by this event in Scotland. On his return from Elizabeth's court and the mock trial of his sister, Murray had encountered many difficulties; but he had triumphed over them all by means of English money and his own wondrous caution and dexterity. On the 22nd of January, 1570, he was shot through the body.[2] On the very night of the murder the Scotts and the Kers dashed across the English frontiers with unusual fury and apparently with the purpose of producing a breach between the two nations, or of giving fresh encouragement to the malcontents of Northum-

[1 Hunsdon was the son of Mary Boleyn.]

[2 "The fate of Murray's name is singular even among conspicuous and active men, in an age torn in pieces by contending factions. Contemporary writers agree in nothing, indeed, but his great abilities and energetic resolution. Among the people he was long remembered as 'the good regent,' partly from their Protestant zeal, but in a great measure from a strong sense of the unwonted security of life and property enjoyed in Scotland during his vigorous administration. His Catholic countrymen abroad bestowed the highest commendations on his moral character, which are not impugned by one authenticated fact. But a powerful party has for nearly three centuries defamed and maligned him, in order to extract from the perversion of history an hypothetical web to serve as a screen for his unhappy sister; in the formation of which they are compelled to assume that she did nothing which she appeared to have done; and that he did all that he appears to have cautiously abstained from doing."
—SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.]

[1570 A.D.]

berland and Westmoreland. It is said that when intelligence of this untimely death of her half-brother was conveyed to the captive queen she wept bitterly, forgetting for the moment all the injuries which he had done her.

On Murray's death, the duke of Chatellerault and the earls of Argyll and Huntly assumed the government as the lieutenants of Queen Mary. But the opposite faction, or the king's men as they were called, from their pretended adherence to the infant James, under the guidance of the earl of Morton, flew to arms, denied the authority of Mary, and invited Elizabeth to send a strong English army to their support.

This was precisely what Elizabeth intended to do for her own interests. In the month of April, under the pretence of chastising those who had made the raid in her dominions on the night of Murray's murder, she sent two armies into Scotland. The lord Scrope entered on the west, the earl of Sussex with Lord Hunsdon on the east. According to no less an authority than Secretary Cecil's diary, Sussex and Hunsdon, entering into Teviotdale, gave three hundred villages to the flames and overthrew fifty castles—mostly, no doubt, mere Border peels. Nor was the raid of the lord Scrope in the west less destructive.

After a week's campaign of this sort the two armies returned from Scotland. Elizabeth having lately taken into favour the earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley and the grandfather of the young king, now sent him down from England to be ruler over Scotland. But Lennox presently found that he could do nothing without an English army at his back, and on the 26th of April Sussex and Hunsdon entered Scotland anew and laid siege to Hume castle and Fast castle, both belonging to the earl of Hume, who was doubly obnoxious for his friendship to Mary and for his having given an asylum to Elizabeth's rebels. Both castles were taken, but none of the English refugees of any note were found in them.

On the 11th of May Sir William Drury, the marshal of Berwick, penetrated into Scotland with another force consisting of twelve hundred foot and four hundred horse. Having received hostages from the king's men, Drury marched to co-operate with the earl of Lennox, who was engaged in laying waste the vale of the Clyde and destroying the castles of the duke of Chatellerault and the houses of all that bore the name of Hamilton. Their vengeance was so terrible that that great family, with nearly the entire clan, was brought to the verge of ruin.[d]

THE EXCOMMUNICATION OF ELIZABETH AND THE PARLIAMENT OF 1571

When Pius IV had ascended the papal throne he had sought by letters and messengers to recall Elizabeth to the communion of the Roman church, and afterwards he invited her, like other princes, to send ambassadors to the council at Trent, May 5th, 1550. The attempt was fruitless; but though her obstinacy might provoke, his prudence taught him to suppress, his resentment. To the more fervid zeal of his successor, Pius V, such caution appeared a dereliction of duty. Elizabeth had by her conduct proclaimed herself the determined adversary of the Catholic cause in every part of Europe; she had supported rebels against the Catholic sovereigns in the neighbouring kingdoms; and had thrown into prison the fugitive queen of Scots, the last hope of the British Catholics.

A bull was prepared in which the pope was made to pronounce her guilty of heresy, to deprive her of her "pretended" right to the crown of England,

and to absolve her English subjects from their allegiance. Still, forcible objections were urged against the proceeding, and Pius himself hesitated to confirm it with his signature. At length the intelligence arrived of the failure of the insurrection; it was followed by an account of the severe punishment inflicted on the northern Catholics, of whom no fewer than eight hundred were said to have perished by the hands of the executioners; and the pontiff, on the 25th of February, 1570, signed the bull and ordered its publication. Several copies were sent to the duke of Alva with a request that he would make them known in the seaports of the Netherlands; and by the duke some of these were forwarded to the Spanish ambassador in England.[1]

Early in the morning of the 15th of May one was seen affixed to the gates of the bishop of London's residence in the capital. The council was surprised and irritated; a rigorous search was made through the inns of law; and another copy of the bull was found in the chamber of a student of Lincoln's Inn, who acknowledged, on the rack, that he had received it from a person of the name of Felton. Felton boldly confessed that he had set up the bull; refused, even under torture, to disclose the names of his accomplices and abettors; and suffered the death of a traitor, August 8th, glorying in the deed, and proclaiming himself a martyr to the papal supremacy. But though he gave the queen on the scaffold no other title than that of the pretender, he asked her pardon if he had injured her; and in token that he bore her no malice sent to her as a present, by the earl of Sussex, a diamond ring, which he drew from his finger, of the value of four hundred pounds.

If the pontiff promised himself any particular benefit from this measure the result must have disappointed his expectations. The time was gone by when the thunders of the Vatican could shake the thrones of princes. By foreign powers the bull was suffered to sleep in silence; among the English Catholics it served only to breed doubts, dissension, and dismay. All agreed that it was in their regard an imprudent and cruel expedient which rendered them liable to the suspicion of disloyalty, and afforded their enemies a pretence to brand them with the name of traitors. To Elizabeth, however, though she affected to ridicule the sentence, it proved a source of considerable uneasiness and alarm. She persuaded herself that it was connected with some plan of foreign invasion and domestic treason.[2] She complained of it by her ambassadors as an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, and she requested the emperor Maximilian to procure its revocation.

To the solicitations of that prince Pius answered by asking whether Elizabeth deemed the sentence valid or invalid. If valid, why did she not seek a reconciliation with the holy see? If invalid, why did she wish it to be revoked? As for the threat of personal revenge which she held out, he despised it. He had done his duty, and was ready to shed his blood in the cause.

On the 2nd of April, 1571, a Parliament met at Westminster, wherein was granted a subsidy of five shillings in the pound by the clergy, besides two-fifteenths and a subsidy of 2s. 8d. in the pound on the laity, "towards re-

[1] It has been supposed that this bull was solicited by Philip; but in a letter to his ambassador in England (June 30th) he says that he never heard of its existence before it had been announced to him by that minister, and attributes it to the zeal rather than the prudence of the pontiff.—*Memorias*, 351.

[2] A conspiracy was detected in Norfolk, about the same time when Felton set up the bull, but there does not appear any connection between the two. Three gentlemen were accused of a design to invite Leicester, Cecil, and Bacon to dinner, to seize them as hostages for the duke of Norfolk, who was still in the Tower, and to expel the foreign Protestants, who had lately been settled in the county. They had a proclamation ready, inveighing against the wantonness of the court and the influence of new men. All three were hanged, drawn, and quartered.

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imbursing her majesty for her great charges, in repressing the late rebellion in the north, and pursuing the rebels and their faitours into Scotland." But there was other business of a more remarkable nature than this liberal voting of supplies. A bill was brought in with the object of crushing the pretensions and the partisans of the Scottish queen, and isolating the English Catholics more than ever from the pope and their co-religionists on the Continent.

It was declared to be high treason to claim a right to the succession of the crown during the queen's life, or to say that the crown belonged to any other person than the queen, or to publish that she was an heretic, a schismatic, a tyrant, an infidel, or usurper, or to deny that the descent of the crown was determinable by the statutes made in parliament. It was further enacted that any person that should, by writing or printing, mention any heir of the queen, except the same were "the natural issue of her body,"[1] should, for the first offence, suffer a year's imprisonment; and for the second, incur the penalty of præmunire. Another bill enacted the pains of high treason against all such as should sue for, obtain, or put in use any bull or other instrument from the bishop of Rome.

By another bill, all persons above a certain age were bound not only to attend the Protestant church regularly, but also to receive the sacrament in the form by law established. Besides the unfortunate insurgents of the north, many individuals of rank, among whom was Lord Morley, had retired to the Continent in order to avoid persecution, or a compliance with forms of worship which they believed to be erroneous and sinful; another bill was therefore brought in, commanding every person who had left, or who might hereafter leave the realm, whether with or without the queen's license, to return in six months after warning by proclamation, under the pain of forfeiting his goods and chattels and the profits of his lands.

By these enactments the Catholics could neither remain at home without offence to their consciences, nor go abroad without sacrificing their fortunes. There was talk of a remonstrance, but the house of commons[2] and the people were most zealously Protestant; and the Catholic lords in the upper house, though forming a considerable party, had not courage to do much. Elizabeth, however, voluntarily gave up her bill for the forced taking of the sacrament—a thing horrible in Catholic eyes.

THE PURITANS

But it was not every class of Protestants that was to rejoice and be glad. There was one class of them, great and constantly increasing, dangerous from their enthusiasm, odious from their republican and democratic notions, that were feared equally with the Catholics and hated much more by the queen. These were the Puritans—men who had imbibed the strict notions of

[1] Camden *i* says that an incredible number of indecent jokes and reports rose out of this clause. Some said that the queen was actually with child, and the report spread the wider soon after when she became liable to swoonings and fainting fits. There is a passage in a letter from the favourite Leicester to Walsingham (then at Paris), written in the month of November of the following year, which, if nothing more, is very oddly expressed. "We have no news here," says Leicester, "only her majesty is in good health; and though you may hear of bruits of the contrary, I assure you it is not as hath been reported. Somewhat her majesty hath been troubled with a spice or show of the mother, but, indeed, not so—the fits that she hath had have not been above a quarter of an hour, but yet this little in her hath bred strange bruits here at home."—DIGGES. *k*

[2] By the statute 5 Eliz. c. 1, § 16, Roman Catholics had been excluded from the house of commons.

Calvin—a sect which Elizabeth, however much she hated it herself, had forced upon Queen Mary in Scotland. This sect had always taught that the church of Christ ought to be separate from and independent of the state—a doctrine that went to overthrow the queen's supremacy.

But there was another heinous offence which Elizabeth could never forgive: they fraternised with the Puritans of Scotland; they regarded John Knox as an inspired apostle—Knox, who had written against "the monstrous regiment of women."

The first striking instance of actual punishment inflicted upon any of them was in June, 1567, when a company of more than a hundred were seized during their religious exercises, and fourteen or fifteen of them were sent to prison. They behaved with much rudeness and self-sufficiency on their examination; but these defects became worse and worse under the goads of persecution.

Yet at this very moment, unknown to Elizabeth, three or four of her bishops were favourable to the non-conforming ministers, in whose scruples touching many ceremonies and practices in the Church they partook; and in her very council the earls of Bedford, Huntingdon, and Warwick, the lord-keeper Bacon, Walsingham, Sadler, and Knollys, inclined from conviction to the Puritans, while Leicester, who saw that their numbers were rapidly increasing—that in the great industrious towns, the strength of the people, or *tiers état*, they were becoming strongest—intrigued with them underhand, in the view of furthering his own ambitious projects.

In the preceding year Thomas Cartwright, the lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, and a man of virtue, learning, and a ready eloquence, had electrified numerous audiences by inculcating the unlawfulness of any form of church government except the Presbyterian, which he maintained to have been that instituted by the first apostles; and the same powerful Puritan soon began to make a wider and more lasting impression by his polemical writings. In the house of commons, which was so very anti-Catholic, there was a large and powerful section who agreed with Cartwright, and who were bold enough to show their discontent at the queen's church.

In this present parliament they introduced seven bills for furthering the work of reformation and for extirpating what they considered as crying abuses. Elizabeth was furious; and in her own way she commanded Strickland, the mover of the bills, to absent himself from the house and await the orders of her privy council. But Strickland's friends, who were beginning to feel their strength, moved that he should be called to the bar of the house and there made to state the reason of his absence. And as this reason was no secret to them, they proceeded to declare that the privileges of parliament had been violated in his person; that if such a measure was submitted to it would form a dangerous precedent; that the queen, of herself, could neither make nor break the laws. This house, said they, which has the faculty of determining the right to the crown itself, is certainly competent to treat of religious ceremonies and church discipline. The ministers were astounded, and after a consultation apart the speaker proposed that the debate should be suspended. The house rose, but on the very next morning Strickland reappeared in his place and was received with cheers! Elizabeth's caution had prevailed over her anger; but she felt as if her royal prerogative had been touched, and her antipathy to the Puritan party increased.

In a political sense this was a great revival, and the base servility of parliament would hardly have been cured but for the religious enthusiasm. The case of Strickland was the first of many victories obtained over the despotic principle—the first great achievement of a class of men who, in their

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evil and in their good, worked out the cause of constitutional liberty to a degree which very few of them, even at a later period, foresaw.

At the end of the session not all Elizabeth's prudence could restrain her wrath. At her command the lord-keeper Bacon informed the commons that their conduct had been strange, unbecoming, and undutiful; that as they had forgotten themselves they should be otherwise remembered; and that the queen's highness did utterly disallow and condemn their folly in meddling with things not appertaining to them nor within the capacity of their understanding. But this only confirmed the Puritans' suspicion that Elizabeth, in conjunction with some of her bishops, really thought of creating herself into a sort of Protestant pope, that was to decide as by a divine inspiration and legation in all matters relating to the next world.

Notwithstanding the omissions made by parliament, the bishops continued to exact a subscription to the whole thirty-nine articles, and to deprive such ministers as refused to subscribe them. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, also persevered in his persecutions, which only wanted an occasional burning to render them a tolerable imitation of the doings in the days of Queen Mary. The Puritan ministers were hunted out of their churches and seized in their conventicles; their books were suppressed by that arbitrary will of the queen which would allow of nothing being published that was offensive to her; they were treated harshly in all civil matters; they were constantly called before the detestable Star Chamber; they were treated with contumely and ridicule, and the members of their congregations were dragged before the high commission for listening to their sermons and forms of prayer; and whenever anyone refused to conform to the doctrines of the establishment, he was committed to prison.

There were not wanting instances of persons being condemned to imprisonment for life, and numerous were the cases in which whole families of the industrious classes were reduced to beggary by these persecutions. This court of high commission has been compared to the Inquisition; and in fact there was a great family likeness between them. It consisted of bishops and delegates appointed by the queen—Parker, the primate, being chief commissioner. They were authorised to inquire into all heretical opinions, to enforce attendance in the established church, and to prevent the frequentation of conventicles; to suppress unorthodox and seditious books, together with all libels against the queen and her government; to take cognisance of all adulteries, fornications, and other offences liable to the ecclesiastical law, and to punish the offenders by spiritual censures, fine, and imprisonment. Parker always maintained that bold measures would terrify the Non-conformists into his orthodoxy; "for," said he in a letter to Cecil, "I know them to be cowards." He never made a greater mistake!

A very slight knowledge of history might have taught him that people excited by religious enthusiasm are always brave. What was to come he might hardly have foreseen, even if he had made a juster estimate of their spirit; for the struggle, now begun, never ceased till the Puritans laid both mitre and crown in the dust at their feet.

THE MARRIAGE PLANS OF ANJOU

A report had got abroad that the queen of Scots was sought in marriage for the duke of Anjou, one of the brothers of the French king, and though Elizabeth held Mary in a close prison, she was alarmed at this news. In

order to prevent any such scheme, she entered into negotiations with Charles IX, or rather with his mother Catherine de' Medici, once more pretending to offer herself as a bride. But there were other causes which rendered the friendship of the French court very desirable. The Huguenots seemed crushed and powerless after their defeat at Moncontour; there appeared no hope of their renewing the civil war in the heart of the kingdom; and if France, at peace within herself, should throw her sword on the side of Spain and zealously take up the Catholic cause the result might be dangerous, particularly at this moment when there was great discontent in England, and when the Protestants at home seemed almost on the point of drawing the sword against one another.

After many months had been consumed it was said that the duke of Anjou declined the match because Elizabeth insisted, as a *sine quâ non*, that he should change his religion.

THE RUDOLFI PLOT AND NORFOLK'S EXECUTION

While these negotiations had been in progress the case of Mary had been still further complicated, the hatred of Elizabeth increased, and the whole Protestant party in England thrown into agonies of alarm, by revelations of plots and conspiracies. In the month of April one Charles Bailly, a servant of the queen of Scots, was seized at Dover as he was returning from the duke of Alva with a packet of letters. The bishop of Ross ingeniously contrived to exchange these letters for others of an insignificant kind, which were laid before the council; but Elizabeth and her ministers sent Bailly to the Tower and to the rack.

Under torture Bailly confessed that he had received the packet from Rudolfi, formerly an Italian banker in London, and that it contained assurances that the duke of Alva entered into the captive queen's cause, and approved of her plan for a foreign invasion of England; that, if authorized by the king of Spain, his master, he should be ready to co-operate with forty and thirty. Bailly said he did not know the parties designated by the ciphers forty and thirty, but that there was a letter in the packet for the bishop of Ross, desiring him to deliver the other letters to the proper parties.

Suspicion immediately fell upon the duke of Norfolk. That nobleman had lain in the Tower from the 9th of October, 1569, till the 4th of August, 1570 (the day on which Felton was arraigned for the affair of the bull of excommunication), when he was removed in custody to one of his own houses in consequence of the plague having broken out in the Tower. Some time before this delivery he made the most humble submission to the queen.

Cecil had long since assured the queen that it would be very difficult to make high treason of anything Norfolk had done as yet. He requested that he might be permitted to attend in his place in parliament; but this was refused, and illegally, for he had been convicted of no treason, no crime by law. If Norfolk had been ever so well inclined to keep his engagement, this was certainly the way to make him break it in sheer desperation. Upon the arrest of Bailly he was more closely looked to; but some months elapsed before the matter was brought to his own door.

On the 7th of September he was committed to his old apartment in the Tower. In the mean while Bannister, and Barker, another secretary of the duke's, had been arrested; and as the bishop of Ross had long been in custody with the bishop of London, the bishop of Ely, and others, it was easy to lay

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hold of him. Hickford, Norfolk's secretary, confessed many things against his master the duke, without much pressing. As the rest of Norfolk's servants were much attached to their master and would confess nothing till they were tortured, or threatened with torture, it has been supposed by many that this Hickford had been for some time in the pay of the court.

The duke had continued to deny everything, as at first; but when the commissioners showed him the confession of Barker and his other servants, the letters of the queen of Scots, of which they had obtained possession through Hickford and Barker, and the deposition of the bishop of Ross, he exclaimed that he was betrayed and undone by his confidence in others, and began to confess to sundry minor charges; for he never allowed that he had contemplated treason against his sovereign.

But the rumours which were sent abroad beyond the dungeon-cells and the walls of the Tower, and industriously spread among the people, were of a terrific nature. The duke of Alva was coming with an army of bloody papists to burn down London, and exterminate the queen, the Protestant religion, and all good Protestants; and the pope was to send the treasures of Rome to forward these deeds, and was to bless them when done. Every wind might bring legions of enemies to the British coast; every town in England, every house, might conceal some desperate traitor and cruel papist, bound by secret oaths to join the invaders, and direct their slaughter and their burning. A wonderful alarm was excited by one Herle, who disclosed what was called a plot for murdering some of her majesty's privy council. Kenelm Barney and Edmund Mather, men as obscure as himself, were put upon their mettle in the Tower.

Little confidence can be placed in the revelations of such men, whose imaginations were stretched by the rack and the dread of death. But on the trial Mather and Barney were convicted on the strength of their joint confessions and on the evidence of Herle. They were drawn from the Tower to Tyburn, and there hanged, bowelled, and quartered, for treason. Herle received a full pardon.

Much time had been spent in preparing for the public trial of the duke of Norfolk; but at length, on the 14th of January, 1572, nearly a month before the executions last alluded to, the queen named the earl of Shrewsbury, the keeper of Queen Mary, to be lord high-steward; and Shrewsbury summoned twenty-six peers, selected by Elizabeth and her ministers, to attend in Westminster Hall on the 16th day of the same month. Among these were included, with other members of Elizabeth's privy council, Burghley,[1] who had been active in arranging the prosecution, and the earl of Leicester, who had originally excited Norfolk to attempt a marriage with the Scottish queen, who had signed the letter to Mary, and who was now athirst for the blood of the unfortunate prisoner, his miserable dupe.

On the day appointed, January 16th, 1572, the peers met in Westminster Hall at an early hour in the morning, and the duke was brought to the bar by the lieutenant of the Tower and Sir Peter Carew. When the trial had lasted twelve hours, the peers unanimously returned a verdict of guilty.[2]

[1] Cecil was created Baron of Burghley [or Burleigh] in 1571. In 1572 he received the order of the Garter, and in the same year succeeded the Marquis of Winchester as lord high-treasurer, which office he held till his death.

[2] The duke of Norfolk himself, greater and richer than any English subject, had gone such lengths in this conspiracy that his life became the just forfeit of his guilt and folly. It is almost impossible to pity this unhappy man, who, lured by the most criminal ambition, after proclaiming the queen of Scots a notorious adulteress and murderer, would have compassed a union with her at the hazard of his sovereign's crown, of the tranquillity and even independence

We are not informed as to the countenance and behaviour of Leicester, who sat through the trial and voted the death of his confiding victim.

But, though thus condemned, Elizabeth hesitated to inflict capital punishment on so popular a nobleman, who was her own kinsman, and who had been for many years her tried friend. She was evidently most anxious to lighten the odium of the execution, or to shift it from herself. The preachers, who had of late received regular political instructions from her council, took up the matter, and unmindful of the evangelical forbearance, clamoured for vengeance on the duke.

TURRET OF THE CHAPEL OF ST. JOSEPH'S
(Oldest part of Glastonbury Abbey)

In the mean while parliament had assembled. On the 16th of May the commons communicated with the lords and then drew up a petition to the throne, representing that there could be no safety till the duke was dead. Every Protestant seemed to echo their call for blood, and at last Elizabeth put her hand to a death warrant, which was not revoked. Out of regard to his high rank, the brutal punishment awarded by the sentence was commuted into beheading on the 2nd of June, 1572. The duke made a dying speech, which was nearly always expected, if not forcibly exacted, on such occasions. He proceeded to confess neither more nor less than he had done on his trial.

"It is incredible," says Camden, a spectator of the sad scene, "how dearly he was loved by the people, whose goodwill he had gained by a princely munificence and extraordinary affability. They called likewise to mind the untimely end of his father,[1] a man of extraordinary learning and famous in war, who was beheaded in the same place five-and-twenty years before."

SCOTCH AFFAIRS

But the Protestants, whose wild alarms had not yet subsided, were eager for a still greater sacrifice, and they turned a ready ear to an anonymous casuist, who proved, in his own way, that it stood not only with justice, but with the honour and safety of Elizabeth, to send the unfortunate queen of Scots to the scaffold; and to another writer, who supported his arguments with numberless texts of Scripture, all made to prove that Mary had been

of his country, and of the reformed religion. There is abundant proof of his intrigues with the duke of Alva, who had engaged to invade the kingdom. His trial was not indeed conducted in a manner that we can approve (such was the nature of state proceedings in that age); nor can it, we think, be denied that it formed a precedent of constructive treason not easily reconcilable with the statute; but much evidence is extant that his prosecutors did not adduce, and no one fell by a sentence more amply merited, or the execution of which was more indispensable.—HALLAM.

[1] The accomplished earl of Surrey, the last noble victim of Elizabeth's father.

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delivered into the hands of Elizabeth by a special providence, and deserved to die the death, because she was guilty of adultery, murder, conspiracy, treason, and blasphemy, and because she was an idolater, and led others to idolatry.

Both houses would have proceeded against the captive by bill of attainder, but Elizabeth interfered and they were obliged to rest satisfied with passing a law to make her unable and unworthy to succeed to the crown of England.[1] The captive queen had been restored to her old prison in Tutbury castle immediately after the defeat of the earl of Northumberland, and after some hurried removes to Chatsworth and other places, she was now at Sheffield castle, in the tender keeping of Sir Ralph Sadler and my lady Shrewsbury, who both wished her in her grave, and seized the opportunity afforded by the trial and condemnation of Norfolk to exult over her sufferings and insult her to her face.

But Mary had soon to weep for more blood. The earl of Northumberland, after lying more than two years a prisoner in Lochleven castle, was basely sold to Elizabeth by the execrable Morton, who during his own exile in England had tasted largely of the northern earl's hospitality and generosity. This transaction was the finishing touch to the character of the murderer of Rizzio. Northumberland was landed at Berwick, the first English port; from Berwick he was conducted to York, and there beheaded without a trial. The earl, in the parlance of those times, continued obstinate in religion, and declared he would die a Catholic of the pope's church.

In Scotland many had forfeited their lives for their passionate attachment to Mary. Encouraged and assisted by Elizabeth, the father of Darnley, the imbecile Lennox, had established himself in the regency. One of the Hamiltons shot him and another regent was now wanting. The lords nominated the earl of Mar—a man far too honourable for those men and those times. Morton had more power than the new regent, and was the devoted friend and servant of Elizabeth, whom he obeyed in all particulars. But in spite of Morton and Elizabeth, the banner of Mary still floated over the walls of Edinburgh castle; and in the mountains of the north the Gordons and other Highlanders kept her cause lingering on.

TREATY WITH FRANCE AND ST. BARTHOLOMEW'S DAY

Under the able management of Walsingham and Sir Thomas Smith, the treaty with France had been concluded in the month of April, 1572, about six weeks before the duke of Norfolk's execution. The French king bound himself to give Elizabeth aid in all cases of invasion whatsoever; but Elizabeth did not show any readiness in proceeding with the matrimonial treaty, which was interrupted and renewed several times and altogether ingeniously prolonged for the space of ten years.[d]

The English cabinet, amid the alarms with which it was continually perplexed, rested with much confidence on the treaty lately concluded with France. To cultivate the friendship between the two crowns, Elizabeth had been advised to listen to a new proposal of marriage, not with her first suitor, the duke of Anjou, but with his younger brother, the duke of Alençon. The

[1] Burghley was disappointed and angry that Elizabeth did not now send Mary to the block. In a letter dated 21st May, 1572, addressed to Walsingham, who was at Paris, he says that there was "soundness" in the commons, and "no lack" in the higher house, but the queen had spoiled all.—DUDLEY DIGGES.[k]

former was the leader of the Catholic party; the latter was thought to incline to the tenets of Protestantism. There were, indeed, two almost insuperable objections: the disparity of age, for the duke was twenty-one years younger than the queen, and the want of attraction in a face which had suffered severely from the small-pox, and was disfigured by an extraordinary enlargement of the nose. Still Elizabeth, with her usual irresolution, entertained the project; and her ministers, supported by the French Protestants, urged its acceptance.

But their hopes were unexpectedly checked by an event which struck with astonishment all the nations of Europe, and which cannot be contemplated without horror at the present day. The reader has already seen that the ambition of the French princes had marshalled in hostile array the professors of the old and new doctrines against each other. In the contests which followed, the influence of religious animosity was added to those passions which ordinarily embitter domestic warfare. The most solemn compacts were often broken; outrages the most barbarous were reciprocally perpetrated without remorse; murder was retaliated with murder, massacre with massacre.

The young king of Navarre was the nominal, the admiral Coligny the real, leader of the Huguenots. He had come to Paris to assist at the marriage of the king of Navarre, and was wounded by an assassin. The public voice attributed the attempt to the duke of Guise, in revenge of the murder of his father at the siege of Orleans; it had proceeded in reality (and was so suspected by Coligny himself) from Catherine, the queen-mother. The wounds were not dangerous; but the Huguenot chieftains crowded to his hotel; their threats of vengeance terrified the queen; and in a secret council the king was persuaded to anticipate the bloody and traitorous designs attributed to the friends of the admiral. The next morning, by the royal order, the hotel was forced; Coligny and his principal counsellors perished; the populace joined in the work of blood; and every Huguenot, or suspected Huguenot, who fell in their way was murdered. The massacre of Paris was imitated in several towns, principally those in which the passions of the inhabitants were inflamed by the recollection of the barbarities exercised amongst them by the Huguenots during the late wars.

This bloody tragedy had been planned and executed in Paris with so much expedition that its authors had not determined on what ground to justify or palliate their conduct. In a long audience, La Mothe-Fénélon assured Elizabeth that Charles had conceived no idea of such an event before the preceding evening, when he learned, with alarm and astonishment, that the confidential advisers of the admiral had formed a plan to revenge the attempt made on his life, by surprising the Louvre, making prisoners of the king and the royal family, and putting to death the duke of Guise and the leaders of the Catholics; that, having but the interval of a few hours to deliberate, he had hastily given permission to the duke of Guise and his friends to execute justice on his and their enemies; and that if, from the excited passions of the populace, some innocent persons had perished with the guilty, it had been done contrary to his intention, and had given him the most heartfelt sorrow.

The insinuating eloquence of Fénélon made an impression on the mind of Elizabeth; she ordered her ambassador to thank Charles for the communication, trusted that he would be able to satisfy the world of the uprightness of his intention, and recommended to his protection the persons and worship of the French Protestants. To the last point Catherine shrewdly replied

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that her son could not follow a better example than that of his good sister the queen of England; that, like her, he would force no man's conscience, but, like her, he would prohibit in his dominions the exercise of every other worship besides that which he practised himself.

The news of this sanguinary transaction, exaggerated as it was by the imagination of the narrators and the arts of politicians, excited throughout England one general feeling of horror. It served to confirm in the minds of the Protestants the reports so industriously spread, of a Catholic conspiracy for their destruction; and it gave additional weight to the arguments of Burghley and the other enemies of the queen of Scots. They admonished Elizabeth to provide for her own security; the French Protestants had been massacred; her deposition or murder would follow. If she tendered her own life, the weal of the realm, or the interest of religion, let her disappoint the malice of her enemies by putting to death her rival, and their ally, Mary Stuart.[1]

NEGOTIATIONS WITH SCOTLAND

The queen did not reject the advice; but that she might escape the infamy of dipping her hands in the blood of her nearest relative and presumptive heir, Killigrew was despatched to Edinburgh, September 7th, ostensibly to compose the difference between the regent Morton on the one part and the earl of Huntly on the other, respecting the terms of an armistice which had been lately concluded between them.

Three days later other instructions informed him that he was employed "on a matter of farr greter moment, wherein all secrecy and circumspection was to be used." That matter was to bring about the death of the queen of Scots, but from the hands of her own subjects. He was, however, warned not to commit his sovereign, as if the proposal came from her.

He was then authorised to negotiate a treaty on the following basis: that Elizabeth should deliver Mary to the king's lords, "to receave that she had deserved ther by ordre of justice"; and that they should deliver their children, or nearest kinsmen, to Elizabeth, as securities, "that no furder perill should ensue by hir escapying, or setting hyr up agen; for otherwise to have hir and to keep hir was over all other things the most dangerous."

Such was the delicate and important trust confided to the fidelity and dexterity of Killigrew. In Morton he found a willing coadjutor; of Mar, the regent, it has been said that he was too honest a man to pander to the jealousies or resentments of the English queen, and resolutely turned a deaf ear to the hints and suggestion of the envoy. Recent discoveries have, however, proved that if at the first he affected to look upon the project as attended with difficulty and peril, he afterwards entered into it most cordially, and sought to drive a profitable bargain with Elizabeth.

By the abbot of Dunfermline he required that she should take the young James under her protection, and conclude a defensive league with Scotland; that an English army of two or three thousand men should conduct the captive queen across the borders, and after her death should join with the Scots in the siege of the castle of Edinburgh; and that the arrears of pay due to the Scottish forces should be discharged by the queen of England. On these terms he was willing to engage that Mary Stuart should not live

[1] The death of Mary was advised on the 5th of September, by Sandys, bishop of London. "Furthwith to cutte off the Scottish quene's heade: *ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.*"

four hours after she should arrive in Scotland. But the regent himself hardly lived four days after he had made these proposals.[1] He died, October 8th, after a short illness at Stirling, and, as his friends gave out, of poison.

At the election of the next regent, Killigrew employed the English interest in favour of Morton, the most determined enemy of Mary, and the tried friend of the English ministers, November 9th, 1572. From the moment he was chosen he made it his chief object to bring about a pacification between the rival parties in Scotland. Killigrew did not forget the great matter for which he had been sent into Scotland; but now to his hints Morton could reply that to execute Mary on account of the murder would be to unsettle all that he had so happily accomplished.

The lords in the castle of Edinburgh refused to subscribe the articles which had been accepted by their friends; the regent applied for aid to Elizabeth; and she, after much angry expostulation and many delays, gave her consent. In spring, Drury, marshal of Berwick, arrived in the port of Leith with an English army and a battering train, to enforce submission. It was in vain that the besieged by a messenger, and Mary by her ambassador, solicited aid in men and money from the French king. Charles replied that circumstances compelled him to refuse the request. Should he grant it, Elizabeth would immediately send a fleet to the relief of La Rochelle.

After a siege of thirty-four days the castle was surrendered, June 9th, not to Morton but to Drury and the queen of England, on condition that the fate of the prisoners should be at her disposal. In a few days Maitland died of poison, whether it was administered to him by order of Morton, as the queen of Scots asserts, or had been taken by himself to elude the malice of his enemies. His gallant associate Kirkcaldy suffered soon afterwards, August 3rd, the punishment of a traitor. The latter was esteemed the best soldier, the former the most able statesman, in Scotland; but both, according to the fashion of the age, had repeatedly veered from one party to the other without regard to honesty or loyalty; and Maitland had been justly attainted by parliament as an accomplice in the murder of Darnley.[i]

The apprehended storm did not burst upon England. The Huguenots quickly recovered from the stupor into which the St. Bartholomew massacre had thrown them, and resumed their arms; Elizabeth connived at money and men being sent to them out of England. In a similar underhand manner she aided the prince of Orange and the Protestants of the Netherlands. Charles IX died May 30th, 1574; the duke of Anjou, who had been elected king of Poland, succeeded him under the name of Henry III; the king of Navarre and prince of Condé made their escape, resumed the Protestant religion and became the heads of the Huguenots; they were joined by the duke of Alençon, now Anjou, and the king gave them most favourable terms (1576); the Catholics in return formed the league headed by the Guises in concert with the king of Spain.

During all this time the queen of Scots, hopeless of aid from her own country (where the regent Morton merely ruled under Elizabeth) or from the Catholic princes, seems to have abstained from her machinations, and the Catholics in general, connived at in their private worship, remained at rest.

[1] These particulars were discovered by Tytler[l] in the official correspondence, partly in the State Paper Office and partly in the British Museum. It appears that the queen's consent to this project was extorted from her by the representations of Burghley and Leicester. She was plainly ashamed of it. She told them and Killigrew that as they were the only persons privy to it, if it ever became known they should answer for having betrayed the secret; and Burghley, the moment he received intelligence of the regent's death, wrote to Leicester:

THE ANJOU MARRIAGE PLAN

The treaty for a marriage with the duke of Anjou still went on. In 1578 this prince sent over one Simier, a man of wit and capacity, as his agent; and Simier made himself so agreeable to Elizabeth that Leicester began to fear that she would overcome her aversion to marriage and he himself thus lose his influence with her. He therefore, to injure Simier in her opinion, gave out that he had bewitched her by magic arts. Simier in revenge informed the queen of a matter which Leicester had studiously concealed from her, namely, that he had been privately married to the widow of Lord Essex.

Elizabeth, who had such a strange aversion to marriage in others as well as in herself, was so enraged that, but for the intercession of Lord Sussex, his personal enemy, she would have sent him to the Tower. Leicester was then accused of having employed one Tudor of the queen's guard to assassinate Simier. It happened, too, that as the queen was rowing one day in her barge on the Thames in company with Simier and some others, a shot was fired by a young man in a boat, which wounded one of her bargemen. A design to murder herself or Simier was at once supposed; but the young man having proved that the piece went off by accident he was pardoned at the gallows. Elizabeth said on this, as on several other occasions, that she would believe nothing of her people which parents would not believe of their own children.

Anjou himself came over soon after and had a private interview with Elizabeth at Greenwich; and it is rather curious that though she was such an admirer of personal beauty, and the duke's face had been sadly disfigured by the small-pox, she was so far pleased with him that she seems to have had serious thoughts of marrying him.[1] After a month or two she directed Burghley, Sussex, Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham to confer with Simier on the subject.

The acquisition of the crown and dominions of Portugal by Philip of Spain in 1580 made the court of France most anxious for a close connection with that of England. A splendid embassy was sent thither (1581) to treat of the marriage. Elizabeth's heart was certainly in favour of the duke; marriage articles were actually agreed on and the union was to take place in six weeks. A clause, however, was added which would enable her to recede if she pleased.

The truth is, there was a violent struggle in the queen's breast between prudence and inclination. Anjou had certainly made an impression on her heart, and her pride was gratified at the prospect of an alliance with the royal house of France. On the other hand, her good sense suggested to her the folly of a woman in her forty-ninth year marrying a young man, and her subjects in general and several of her ministers were averse to a connection with the blood-stained house of Valois; and now indeed, as there was so little prospect of her bearing children, they were little anxious for her marriage at all.

"I now see the queen's majesty has no surety but as she hath been counselled" (the private execution of Mary Stuart). "If her majesty will continue her delays, she and we shall vainly call upon God when calamity shall fall upon us." He then complains again of her delays.

[1 Her conduct gave rise to the most scandalous tales. The French author of the memoir tells us that they spent their time together, and that she proved her affection to him by "*baisers, privautéz, caresses, et mignardises ordinaires entre amans.*"—NEVERS.[m] The countess of Shrewsbury speaks still more plainly: "*Qu'il vous avoit esté trouvée une nuit à la porte de vostre chambre, ou vous l'aviez rencontré auvec vostre seulle chemise et manteau de nuit; et que par après vous l'aviez laissé entrer, et qu'il demeura auvecques vous pres de troys heures.*" See MURDIN.[n]]

An honest but hot-headed Puritan of Lincoln's Inn, named Stubbs, wrote a book entitled *The Discovery of a Gaping Gulf wherein England is like to be Swallowed by Another French Marriage.* The queen caused him and the printer, and one Page who circulated it, to be prosecuted, under an Act passed in her sister's reign, and they were sentenced to lose their right hands. The sentence was executed on Stubbs and Page; and the former, loyal in the face of injustice and cruelty, instantly took off his hat with his remaining hand and waving it over his head, cried, "God save the queen!" Burghley often afterwards employed Stubbs in answering the popish libellers. As he was obliged to write with his left hand he always signed himself Scæva. A person of much higher rank than poor Stubbs also wrote against the marriage; Sir Philip Sidney, the gallant warrior and accomplished scholar, addressed an able and elegant letter to the queen on the subject.

Anjou was at this time in the Netherlands. The people of the provinces in revolt had some years before (1575) offered the sovereignty—of which they declared Philip deprived—to the queen of England; she had prudently declined it at that time, and when it was again offered to her (1580) she persisted in her resolution. It was then proffered to the duke of Anjou; his brother permitted him to accept it and secretly supplied him with money. He entered the Netherlands with about fifteen thousand men, and he forced the Spaniards to raise the siege of Cambrai; Elizabeth had on this occasion proved her regard for him by sending him a present of one hundred thousand crowns. At the close of the campaign he came over to England, where his reception from the queen was most flattering. A few days after the anniversary of her accession (November 22nd), she, in the presence of her court, drew a ring from her finger and placed it on his in token of pledging herself to him.

The affair was now regarded as decided; the envoy from the Netherlands wrote off instantly, and public rejoicings were made at Antwerp and other towns. But Leicester, Hatton, and Walsingham, who were strongly opposed to the match, remonstrated earnestly with the queen, and when she retired her ladies of the bed-chamber fell on their knees and with sighs and tears conjured her to pause, representing the evil consequences that might ensue. She passed a sleepless and uneasy night; next morning she had a long conversation with the duke, in which she exposed her reasons for sacrificing her inclinations to her duty to her people. He withdrew deeply mortified to his apartments, where he flung away the ring, exclaiming against the fickleness of women and islanders. He, however, remained in England till the following year (1582), the queen still giving him hopes. When he departed (February 8th) she made him promise to return in a month, accompanied him as far as Canterbury, and sent Leicester and a gallant train to attend him even to Brussels. He was now made duke of Brabant and earl of Flanders; but attempting some time after to make himself absolute, he was driven out of the country, and died in France (1584) after a tedious illness, mourned by Elizabeth, who appears to have really loved him, though his character seems to have been as vicious as those of the rest of his family. A union with him would certainly have been productive of neither advantage nor happiness to the queen or her people.

THE PERSECUTION OF RECUSANCY

The laws against *recusants,* as the Catholics were now called, were at this time put into more rigorous execution than heretofore, and by a new act (1581) a penalty of twenty pounds a month was imposed on those who

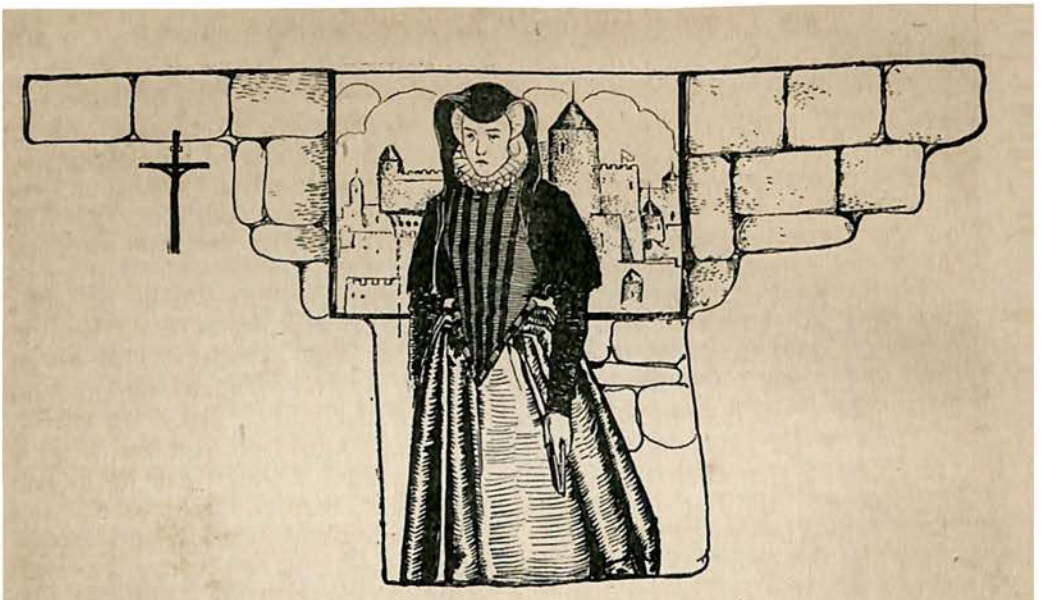
absented themselves from church, unless they heard the English service at home.

There were two classes of Romanist priests who sought the glory of martyrdom in England, the Jesuits and the seminary priests. The former society, the most able support of the pretensions of the papacy, had been founded in the time of Charles V. Fearing that when Queen Mary's priests, as the Catholic clergymen who still lingered in England were called, should die off, the people there would conform to the Protestant religion for want of teachers of their own, William Allen, who had been a fellow of Oxford, conceived the design of forming seminaries on the Continent for the education of missionaries to be sent to England. The pope approved of the project and contributed money. Allen opened the first seminary at Douai in 1568; others were afterwards established at Rome, Valladolid, and elsewhere. Zealous English Catholics secretly sent their children to be educated at them, in order that they might return as missionaries to teach the doctrines of their church, and inculcate what the English government regarded as rebellion, that the queen should be deposed as a heretic.

The first who suffered was a priest named Maine, in Cornwall (1577). He was charged with having obtained a bull from Rome, denied the queen's supremacy, and said mass in a private house. He was executed at Launceston as a traitor. Tregian, in whose house he was taken, suffered the penalty of a præmunire, his estate was seized, and he remained in prison till his death. The next year, Nelson, a priest, and Sherwood, a layman, were executed for denying the supremacy.

In 1580 the Jesuits made their first appearance in England. Parsons and Campion, both formerly members of the university of Oxford, where they had professed Protestantism, but who were now members of the society of Jesuits, came over, and under various disguises, as soldiers, as Protestant ministers and so forth, went through the country confirming the Catholics in their religion. A chief part of their commission was to quiet the minds of the scrupulous by giving them the sense put by Gregory XIII on the bull of Pius V, namely, that it was always binding on Elizabeth and the heretics, but not on the Catholics till they could put it in execution, that is to say, they were to obey the queen until they were able to dethrone her. The notions on this head, however, advanced by Parsons were so offensive to many Catholics that they had thoughts of seizing him and giving him up to the government. Campion, a far better man, put forth papers offering to dispute on the points in controversy before the universities.

A diligent search was set on foot, and after a year's pursuit Campion was taken and committed to the Tower. According to the barbarous practice of the age, he was put to the rack, and he revealed the names of several of those who had received him into their houses. Campion and twelve other priests were indicted on the 25th Edward III. According to the printed trial, nothing could be more unfair than the manner in which the trial was conducted, nothing more feeble than the evidence given. They were, however, found guilty, and Campion and two others were executed forthwith, and seven of the remainder some months after. It is impossible not to feel pity for the fate of these upright, pious men, but we must at the same time recollect that, however they might disguise it from themselves, their ultimate object was the overthrow of the government; there was probably not one of them who did not deem it his duty to dethrone Elizabeth and to place Mary on the throne.[e]



CHAPTER XI

THE LAST DAYS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

[1578–1587 A.D.]

MARY was never tried by a Court of Justice during her lifetime. Her cause has been in process of trial ever since.—ANDREW LANG.[b]

AFFAIRS in Scotland at this time caused some uneasiness to the English cabinet. Morton, though his vigorous rule kept the country quiet, gave great offence by his harshness and avarice. He at length resigned his authority (1578) into the hands of the king, now in his thirteenth year, and the royal child seemed to administer the government; but Morton soon recovered his influence. The following year, however, the Guise party sent Stewart, lord of Aubigny, over to Scotland, and his amiable manners soon won the heart of James, who created him earl and afterwards duke of Lennox; another favourite was Stuart of Ochiltree, afterwards earl of Arran. These two combined against Morton, and at their impulsion he was brought to trial (1581) for the murder of Darnley, the king's father. He was found guilty and executed, in spite of the exertions of Elizabeth, the king of Navarre, and the prince of Orange to save him. His execution proves the boldness and ambition of Arran, not the filial piety of James.[1]

The Jesuits resolved to take advantage of the death of Morton and the influence of the Catholic Lennox. Waytes, an English priest, and then Creighton, a Scottish Jesuit, appeared at Holyrood House. James received them favourably, and as he complained of want of money it was hoped by supplying him with it to gain him over to their projects. Parsons and Creighton

[1] Elizabeth said to the bishop of St. Andrews, "I wonder that James has had the earl of Morton executed, as guilty of the death of the king his father, and that he requires Archibald Douglas to be given up in order to treat him in the same manner. Why does he not desire his mother to be given up in order to punish her for that crime?"—CASTELNAU.[c]

repaired to Paris, where they secretly consulted with the duke of Guise, the papal nuncio, the provincial of the Jesuits, the Spanish ambassador, Mary's agent, the bishop of Glasgow, and Dr. Allen, the founder of the seminaries. It was agreed that Mary and James should be associated on the throne, and the pope and king of Spain be solicited to supply James with money. The plan was communicated to Mary, who approved of it, as also, it is said, did Lennox and Arran, and James himself.

But the Raid of Ruthven, as it was called, disconcerted all these projects. James was seized by the earl of Gowrie in concert with some of the leading Protestants, and forced to dismiss Lennox and Arran, the former of whom retired to France, where he died soon after; the latter was cast into prison. Whether the English council were cognisant of the raid or not is uncertain. They knew of the consultation in Paris and of its objects, and how vital it was to England that the supreme power in Scotland should be in the hands of Protestants. Sir Henry Carey and Sir Robert Bowers were sent to congratulate James on his deliverance from the counsels of Lennox and Arran, to exhort him not to resent the late seeming violence, and to procure the recall of the earl of Angus. James readily assented to the return of Angus, and he dissembled his resentment against his captors.[d]

MARY'S APPEAL TO ELIZABETH (1583 A.D.)

For several weeks the Scottish queen was kept in close confinement that this unexpected event, so fatal to her hopes, might be concealed from her knowledge. When the communication was at last made it alarmed her maternal tenderness; she read in her own history the fate which awaited her son, and from her bed-chamber, to which she was confined by sickness, wrote to Elizabeth a long and most eloquent remonstrance.

Having requested the queen to accompany her in imagination to the throne of the Almighty, their common judge, she enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered from her English sister while she reigned in Scotland, on her flight into England, after her innocence had been proved in the conferences at York and Westminster, and now, last of all, in the captivity of her son. But what injury had she offered to Elizabeth to justify such conduct? Let the charge be made, and, if she did not refute it, she was willing to suffer the punishment. She knew her real and her only crime. It was that she was the nearest relation, the next heir to the queen. But her enemies had little reason to be alarmed. They had brought her to the brink of the grave, and she thought little now of any other kingdom than the kingdom of God. In this situation, therefore, she recommended the interests of her son to the protection of her good sister, and earnestly begged for her own liberation from prison. But if she must remain a captive, she trusted that at least the queen would grant her a Catholic clergyman to prepare her soul for death, and two additional female servants to attend on her during her sickness.

In this letter Mary mentions several facts of great historical importance. She states: (1) That during her imprisonment at Lochleven she received more than one letter from the English queen, inviting her to flee to England for protection and promising to meet her with an English army at the borders. One of these letters was accompanied with a diamond ring, to be kept by her as a token or pledge of Elizabeth's sincerity. Mary contrived to escape, and from the field of Langside, aware of the uncertainty of an appeal to arms, she

sent back to the queen by a special messenger this very ring to remind her of her promise. These facts fully explain why she afterwards, in opposition to the advice of her best friends, determined to pass the Solway Firth and land in England. She states: (2) That if she consented to marry the duke of Norfolk it was at the suggestion of the counsellors the most trusted by Elizabeth, and that their signatures to the suggestion are still in existence, to be exhibited when called for. (3) That by the inquiry, which the presumption of her enemies had provoked during the conferences at Westminster, the falsehood and forgery of the documents circulated against her had been completely exposed. (4) That the late revolution in Scotland, by which her son was made a prisoner in the hands of Gowrie, had been brought about by the intrigues of Elizabeth's agents and by the distribution of Elizabeth's gold. If we recollect that Mary's object was to propitiate the English queen, we must conclude that she would not have presumed to make such statements unless she had known that Elizabeth was conscious of their truth; and if that was the case, we may discover in such consciousness the real reason why, during so many years, Mary could never obtain a personal interview with the English queen.

Whether this energetic appeal made any impression on the heart of Elizabeth we know not;[1] it procured no additional indulgence to the royal captive.[e]

CONSPIRACIES AGAINST ELIZABETH

By a bold effort James succeeded (1583) in freeing himself from the restraint in which he was held. Most of the opposite party quitted the kingdom, and Arran recovered his influence; but his tyranny soon (1584) caused his downfall, and the English party regained their ascendancy in the Scottish council to the great satisfaction of Elizabeth. On Arran's return to power, the conclave at Paris had proposed that James should invade the northern counties, while Guise should land with an army in the south of England to liberate Mary and dethrone Elizabeth.

It would appear to be the knowledge of this plan that made the queen take no notice of a renewed proposal of Mary for transferring all her authority to her son if she were set at liberty. For Creighton, being taken by a Dutch cruiser on his return to Scotland at this time, tore his papers and threw them into the sea, but the wind blowing them back, they were put together, and revealed the plan for invading England. He was given up to the English government, and, being menaced with the rack, made a full disclosure of the plot.

The government had so many proofs of the foreign and domestic conspiracy in favour of the queen of Scots that they found it needful to have recourse to every possible expedient for discovering those concerned in it. From a moral point of view the employment of spies may be reprehensible, but in times of danger no government has yet been found to abstain from this mode of discovering and thwarting the designs of their enemies; and never did ministers better know how to manage it than Cecil and Walsingham.

Spies were now employed, informers were listened to, the more questionable expedient of sending counterfeit letters in the name of the queen of Scots

[1] "If the queen of Scotland," said she to Castelnau in January, 1583, "had had anyone else to deal with she would have lost her head long ago. She has a correspondence with rebels in England, agents in Paris, Rome, and Madrid, and carries on plots against me all over Christendom, the object of which (as messengers who have been taken confess) is to deprive me of my kingdom and my life."

[1584 A.D.]

or of the exiles to the houses of suspected Catholics was, it is said, resorted to. The information thus gained led to the arrest of two gentlemen named Throcmorton; the lord Paget and Charles Arundel immediately fled to France; the earl of Northumberland (brother of the late earl) and the earl of Arundel (son of the late duke of Norfolk) were called before the council and examined.

A letter to Mary on the subject of a rising having been intercepted, Francis Throcmorton was put to the rack; he owned to having concerted the plan of an invasion and a rising of the Catholics with Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador; on his trial he denied it; after his condemnation he again confessed it; on the scaffold he denied it once more.[1] Mendoza, however, was ordered to depart the kingdom. He retired to Paris, where he gratified his malignity by publishing lies about the queen and her ministers, and by aiding every plan for raising a rebellion in England.

It is gratifying to observe at this time the affection which the people displayed for their queen. The French ambassador writes thus: "Queen Elizabeth has told me that several conspiracies directed by the Jesuits have been, by the goodness of God, discovered. Latterly, when she has appeared in public, whole crowds of people fell on their knees as she passed, prayed in various ways, invoked upon her a thousand blessings, and hoped that all her wicked enemies might be discovered and punished. She often stopped and returned thanks for all this love. When I was alone with her (she rode on a good horse) amidst all this crowd she said to me, 'You see that all do not wish me ill.' "

THE VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION[2] (1584 A.D.)

A further proof of this affection was given. When parliament met (November 23rd) an act was passed "for the security of the queen's person and continuance of the realm in peace." It enacts that if any invasion or rebellion should be made by or for any person pretending a title to the crown after her majesty's decease, or if anything be compassed or imagined tending to the hurt of her person with the privity of any such person, a certain number of peers and others commissioned by the queen should examine and give

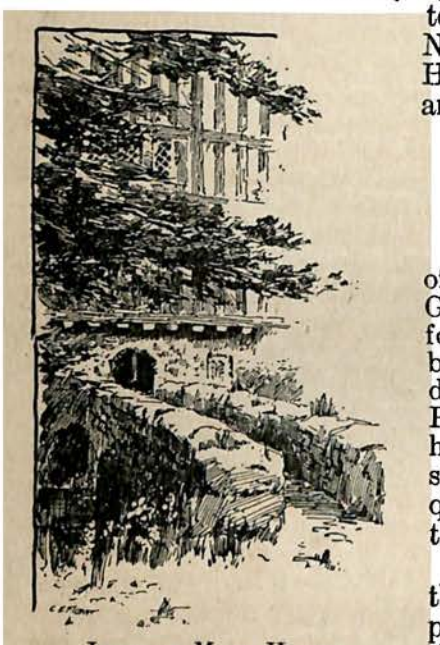
[1] On the scaffold he again revoked his confession, calling God to witness that as it had been extorted from him in the first instance by the fear of torture, so it had been drawn from him in the second by the hope of pardon. The government thought proper to publish a tract in justification of his punishment. The proofs which it furnishes might then be deemed sufficient; in the present day they would be rejected with contempt from any court of justice. While the ministers thus punished a doubtful conspiracy at home, they were actively employed in fomenting a real conspiracy abroad. Alarmed at the connection of James with the duke of Guise, at his professions of attachment to his mother, and at his marked disregard of the admonitions of Elizabeth, they earnestly sought to restore and to recruit the English faction in Scotland.[e]

[2] The specific object of the Association was that if any attempt against the queen's person "shall be taken in hand or procured," whereby any should pretend title to come to the crown by the untimely death of the queen so procured, the associators not only bind themselves never to allow of any such pretended successor, by whom or for whom any such act shall be attempted, but engage to prosecute such person or persons to death. It is not correct to state that in the statute for the surety of the queen's person "the terms of this association were solemnly approved by parliament."

Hallam[f] has pointed out that "this statute differs from the associators' engagement, in omitting the outrageous threat of pursuing to death any person, whether privy or not to the design, on whose behalf an attempt against the queen's life should be made." Such was the law when the Babington conspiracy was discovered; and Mary was put upon her trial under this law and not under the old statute of treasons, to determine whether that conspiracy against the life of Elizabeth was "with the privity of any person that shall or may pretend title to the crown of this realm."—KNIGHT.[g]

judgment thereon, and all persons against whom such judgments should be published should be disabled forever from claiming the crown. The object of this act was to obtain from the reluctant queen, in case of any rebellious movements, an absolute exclusion of Mary from the succession.

A most severe law was passed against the Catholics. The Jesuits and priests were ordered to quit the kingdom within forty days; those who remained beyond that time or returned should be guilty of treason; those who harboured or relieved them, of felony; students at the seminaries were to be guilty of treason if they did not return within six months; those supplying them with money to be liable to a præmunire, etc. This bill was opposed by one William Parry, a civilian, who described it as "a measure savouring of blood, danger, and despair to English subjects"; for this he was committed, but he was released next day by the queen's order. Soon after he was sent to the Tower, being accused by Edmund Neville of a design to assassinate the queen. He confessed his guilt, and he was condemned and executed as a traitor.



IGHTHAM MOTE HOUSE
(Built in the time of Henry VIII)

LEICESTER IN THE NETHERLANDS

On the 10th of July, 1584, the great prince of Orange was shot by a man named Balthazar Gerard, who confessed that he had been kept for some time in the Jesuits' college at Treves by one of the brotherhood, who approved of his design and instructed him how to proceed. Philip II had set a large reward on the prince's head, and his great general the prince of Parma sullied his fame by personally examining the qualifications of the assassins who presented themselves.

The Dutch were dismayed at the loss of their hero and at the rapid progress of the prince of Parma, and they sent again offering the sovereignty to Elizabeth. The matter was anxiously debated in the English council; the danger to the Protestant interest was imminent; Philip was in the zenith of his power; the league was nearly triumphant in France; and if the Dutch were subdued England would certainly be attacked.

Elizabeth boldly resolved to face the danger at once, and, as the king of Sweden said when he heard of it, take the diadem from her head and hazard it on the chance of war. She declined the proffered sovereignty, but agreed to aid the states with a force of five thousand foot and one thousand horse, to be maintained at her expense during the war; the money thus expended to be repaid by the states when peace should have been concluded (1585).

The chief command was given to the earl of Leicester,[1] who, though by no means deficient in courage or talents, was totally without military experience, and he was to be opposed to the first general of the age. He landed at Flushing (December 10th, 1585), accompanied by the gallant young earl of

[1 For details of Leicester's fiasco and Sidney's death in the Netherlands, see their history, Volume XIII.]

Essex, his stepson, and a company of nobles, knights, and gentlemen to the number of five hundred. The states, in the expectation of gratifying Elizabeth by honouring her favourite, bestowed on him the title of governor and captain-general of the United Provinces, gave him a guard, and treated him nearly like a sovereign.

But these proceedings were by no means pleasing to the queen; she wrote in very angry terms to both him and the states, and was not appeased without difficulty. "We little thought," wrote she to the earl, "that one whom we have raised out of the dust and surrounded with singular honour above all others, would with so great contempt have broken our commandment in a matter of so great weight."

Leicester's first campaign (1586) was not brilliant. The most remarkable event of it was the death of his nephew, Sir Philip Sidney, the ornament of his age and country, equally distinguished in arms, in literature, and in manners, the nearest approach perhaps to the ideal of the perfect knight that has ever appeared.

Leicester did not remain long after in Holland. On his return to the Hague he was assailed with complaints of his conduct by the states. He gave them fair words and then sailed for England (December 3rd), where the case of the queen of Scots now called for his presence.

A league offensive and defensive was formed this year (1586) between Elizabeth and the king of Scots for the mutual defence of their dominions and their religion against the Catholic powers. The queen was to grant James a pension of five thousand pounds a year, equivalent to his claim on the English property of his paternal grandmother, lately deceased.

THE BABINGTON CONSPIRACY

In the summer of this year a conspiracy against the queen of the most dangerous character was detected by the sagacity of Walsingham. Some priests at Rheims, actuated by a fanatical hatred of Elizabeth, and regarding the deposing bull of Pius V as inspired by the Holy Ghost, had worked themselves into a belief that her assassination would be an act meritorious in the sight of God. Three of these men, Gifford, his brother Gilbert, and one Hodgeson, instigated a man named John Savage, who had served in the Spanish army, to the deed, instructed him how to perform it, and sent him over with strong recommendations to the English Catholics.

About this time also one Ballard, a seminary priest, came from England to Paris, and stating there to the enemies of Elizabeth the readiness of the English Catholics to rise if an invasion were made, for which the present was the time, as the best troops were away with Leicester in Holland, a plan for that purpose was devised, and Ballard was sent back to prepare the Catholics. It does not appear that the assassination of the queen was determined on, though Charles Paget asserted that there was no use in invading England as long as she lived.

Ballard came over in the disguise of a soldier, calling himself Captain Fortescue. He disclosed the project to Anthony Babington, a young man of good fortune in Derbyshire, who had been recommended to Mary by Morgan and the bishop of Glasgow, and had been for some time the agent in conveying letters between her and them. Babington at once approved of the plot, but, like Paget, maintained that there was no chance while the queen lived. Ballard then told him of Savage; but he objected to committing a

matter of such importance to the hand of one man, and proposed to join with him five others for whose courage and fidelity he could answer. Ballard agreed, and Babington then opened his views to some Catholic gentlemen, his intimate friends, who readily consented to join in them. Correspondence was begun between Babington and Mary, who expressed her perfect approbation of the plan in all its parts. She was now at Chartley, in Staffordshire, under the charge of Sir Amyas Paulet, a rigid Puritan, but a man of strict honour.[d]

Babington's letter reached Mary at a moment when, if we may believe Nau, her mind was in a state of irritation and despondency. Not only had new restraints been imposed on her liberty and the few comforts to which she was accustomed been abridged, but a treaty had been recently concluded between Elizabeth and her son in which, according to report, her right to the succession was set aside. In addition she feared—unjustly, indeed, as the sequel proved—the stern fanaticism of her keeper, and had persuaded herself that the real object of those who had introduced the bill "for the safety of the queen's person" was to murder her with impunity in her prison.

Under the influence of these feelings she resolved to accept the offer of liberation made to her by Babington, but at the same time to admonish him, as he valued her safety or his own, to take no step before he had secured two things: the services of a powerful party within the realm, and the co-operation of a Spanish force from the Netherlands, which he could not expect to obtain before the beginning of autumn. With this view she composed a series of instructions for his guidance; her minute was fashioned by Nau into a letter in French; and that letter was translated by Curle into English. Both the French letter by Nau and the English version by Curle she read and approved, and therefore for the contents of both she must be considered accountable.[e]

All the doings of the conspirators were well known to Walsingham; a priest named Maud, who had accompanied Ballard to France, was in his pay, as also was Polly, one of Babington's confederates. Finally, when Gilbert Gifford was sent over to England to urge on Savage, he privately tendered his services to Walsingham. As Gifford was to be the medium for communicating with the queen of Scots, Walsingham wished Paulet to connive at his bribing one of his servants; but to this the scrupulous Puritan would not consent; he, however, suffered a brewer's boy who served the house with beer to be the agent, and the letters were conveyed through a hole in a wall, which was stopped with a loose stone. Ballard and Babington, being suspicious of Gifford, gave him at first only blank letters; but finding that these went safe they dropped all suspicions. The whole correspondence thus passed through the hands of Walsingham; all the letters were deciphered and copied, and the entire plot and the names of the actors were discovered. Walsingham communicated what he had learned to no one but the queen.

Babington wished to send Ballard abroad to urge the foreign invasion, and had procured a license for him under a feigned name. He also intended to go himself for the same purpose, and applied to Walsingham, affecting great zeal for the queen's cause. The minister kept him in hand, and even induced him to come to reside in the mean time at his house. Walsingham wished to carry on this secret mode of proceeding still longer; but the queen said that by not preventing the danger in time she "should seem rather to tempt God than to trust in God." Ballard therefore was arrested. Babington was then desirous that no time should be lost in killing the queen, and he gave his ring and some money to Savage—whose appearance was very shabby—that he might buy himself good clothes for the purpose.

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Finding soon after that the plot was known or suspected, the conspirators stole out of London and lurked for some days in St. John's Wood and other places about the city. But they were taken in a short time and put in prison, where they voluntarily made most ample confessions. They were tried, and sentenced to be executed as traitors. On the 20th of September, Ballard, Babington, Savage, and four others were hung in St. Giles's fields. After the ancient manner, they were cut down while still alive and their bowels taken out before their faces; but the queen, when she heard of this cruelty, gave strict orders that the remainder should not be embowelled or quartered till dead.

When the conspirators were arrested, Sir Thomas Gorges was sent from court with the tidings to the queen of Scots. She was on her horse ready to go hunting when he arrived. She wished to return to her chamber, but she was not permitted. She was soon after brought back to Chartley, and was then conducted from one gentleman's house to another, till she at length reached Fotheringay castle in Northamptonshire (September 26th). During her first absence from Chartley, her two secretaries, Nau, a Frenchman, and Curle, a Scot, were arrested and sent up to London; her cabinets were at the same time broken open and her extensive correspondence both in England and on the Continent was discovered and seized.

Abundant evidence having been now procured against the queen of Scots, the question with the council was how she should be treated. Some were for keeping her in strict confinement, as it was reckoned that she could not live long, her health being in a declining state. But Burghley and Walsingham knew that while she lived she would never cease to plot the ruin of the queen and the Protestant religion, and self-preservation urged them also; for if she were to succeed to the throne, their lives, they knew, would be the forfeit of their loyalty to their queen.

Leicester, who was in Holland, suggested the employment of poison, and sent a divine to Walsingham to justify this course; but that upright statesman rejected it, protesting against all violence except by sentence of law. It was finally resolved to bring her to trial on the late act, and a commission of forty noblemen, privy councillors, and judges of both religions was appointed to examine and give judgment on her.

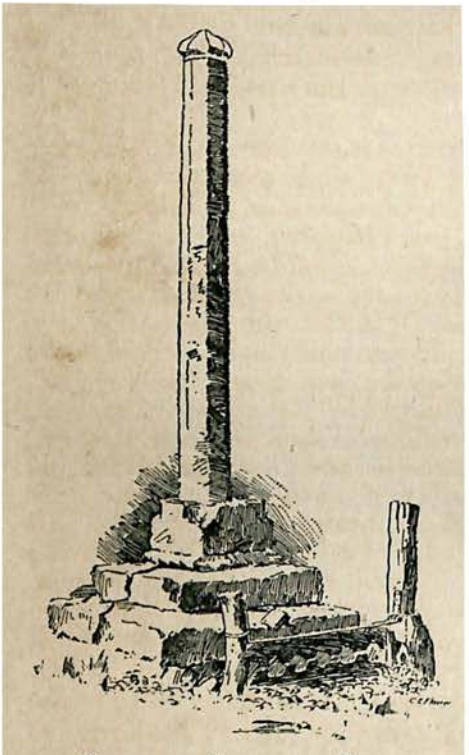
Mary was now in the forty-sixth year of her age. She had long suffered from rheumatism, and had lost the beauty for which she was celebrated. She is described by an eye-witness as "being of stature tall, of body corpulent, round-shouldered, her face fat and broad, double-chinned, with hazel eyes and borrowed hair." Her own hair is said to have been "as gray as one of threescore and ten years."[d]

THE TRIAL OF QUEEN MARY (OCTOBER, 1586 A. D.)

On the 11th of October six-and-thirty of the commissioners arrived at the castle. The following day the Scottish queen remained in her chamber under the pretence of indisposition, but admitted Mildmay and Paulet with a notary to deliver to her a letter from Elizabeth, announcing the object of these proceedings. She read it with an air of composure, and turning to them, said: "I am sorry to be charged by my sister the queen with that of which I am innocent; but let it be remembered that I am also a queen, and not amenable to any foreign jurisdiction."

The next day, having nerved her mind for the meeting, she received deputations from the commissioners, and conversed with them in the hall of the

castle. There were four interviews; but no reasoning of the lawyers, no threat of proceeding against her for contumacy, could shake her resolution. She maintained that the statute of the 27th of the queen could not bind her; she was no party to it; it was contrived by her enemies, and passed for her ruin. Whence did the commissioners derive their authority? From their queen? but that queen was only her equal, not her superior. Let them find persons who were her peers, and let such sit in judgment upon her. She was aware that these objections could not save her, for the queen's letter proved that she was condemned already; but she would never be the person to degrade the Scottish crown, nor stand as a criminal at the bar of an English court of justice.



CROSS AND STOCKS AT RIPPLE, WORCESTERSHIRE

An expression, however, had fallen from Hatton in the course of conversation which exceedingly distressed the unfortunate captive—that if she refused to plead the world would attribute her obstinacy to consciousness of guilt. In the silence and solitude of the night the high tone of her mind insensibly relaxed; in the morning she received a harsh and imperious note from the queen, who, after the charge of seeking her death and the destruction of the realm, proceeded thus:

"Wherefore our pleasure is that you make answer to the nobles and peers of my kingdom as you would answer to myself, if I were present. Therefore I order, charge, and command you to answer to them; for I have heard of your arrogance. But act candidly, and you may meet with more favour. Elizabeth." It was probably this last line that turned the balance. It held out a faint gleam of hope; and Mary informed the commissioners that she was content to waive her objection, but only on condition that her protest against the authority of the court should be entered on the record of their proceedings. To this, after some demur, they assented.

It was, perhaps, unwise in the Scottish queen to make this concession. She was placed in a situation in which, though she might assert, it was impossible that she could prove her innocence. A single and friendless female, the inmate of a prison for the last nineteen years, ignorant of law, unpractised in judicial forms, without papers, or witnesses, or counsel, and with no other knowledge of the late transactions than the reports collected by her female servants, nor of the proofs to be adduced by her adversaries but what her own conjectures might supply, she could be no match for that array of lawyers, judges, and statesmen who sat marshalled against her. If among the commissioners she espied two or three secret friends, they were men whose fidelity was suspected, and whose lives and fortunes probably depended on their vote of that day; the rest comprised the most distinguished of those who for years had sought her death in the council, or had clamorously called for it in parlia-

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ment. Yet under all these disadvantages she defended herself with spirit and address.[1] For two days she kept at bay the hunters of her life; on the third the proceedings were suspended by an adjournment to Westminster.

The charge against the Scottish queen, like that against Babington, had been divided into two parts: that she had conspired with foreigners and traitors to procure (1) The invasion of the realm; (2) The death of the queen. In proof of the first part was adduced a multitude of letters, either intercepted or found in her cabinet, between her and Mendoza, Morgan, Paget, and others. These, if they were genuine—and of that there can be little doubt—showed that she had not only approved the plan of invasion devised at Paris, but had offered to aid its execution by inducing her friends in Scotland to rise in arms, to seize the person of James, and to prevent the march of succours to England.

This project to seize the person of James and carry him out of the kingdom did her much harm. Yet it would have been fair to recollect that it was suggested to her by the conduct of her enemies, who had repeatedly made themselves masters of the royal person, and of Elizabeth, who had as often required that the king should be sent into England. Another letter was read, in which she expressed an intention of bequeathing to the Spanish king her right to the succession to the English throne. In return she merely observed that she had been forced to such measures. Her enemies had deprived her of all hope in England; she was therefore compelled to purchase friends abroad.

Mary, though she refused to admit, did not deny the charge in general. She treated it as frivolous. She was not bound, she said, by their statutes; she was the equal, not the subject of Elizabeth; and between equals and sovereigns there was no other law but the law of nature. That law fully authorised her to seek her deliverance from an unjust captivity. She had proposed terms, offered securities, and then had claimed the right of employing every resource in her power for the recovery of her liberty. Yet her prayers, her offers, her warnings had been despised. Where was the man that could blame her if, in such circumstances, she had accepted the tenders of aid which were made to her by her friends?

With respect to the second charge that she had conspired the death of the queen, she denied it with tears, and solemnly called on God to bear witness to her innocence. The crown lawyers produced in proof, first, the copy of the letter from Babington, in which occurred this passage: "For the despatch of the usurper, from the obedience of whom by the excommunication of her we are made free, there be six noble gentlemen, all my private friends, who, for the zeal they bear to the Catholic cause and your majesty's service, will undertake the tragical execution"; and then a copy of seven points for deliberation, said to be extracted from her answer to Babington; of which points the sixth was, "by what meanes doe the six gentilmen deliberate to procede?"

It bears an awkward and therefore suspicious appearance, that whilst the language in the other points is affirmative, in this point, placed in the midst of them, it should assume an interrogative form. The reader wonders how the question came there.

There were other passages in the same copy equally allusive to the design of the six gentlemen; but the prosecutors insisted particularly on this. It

[1 Alone, "without one counsellor on her side among so many," Mary conducted the whole of her defence with courage incomparable and unsurpassable ability. Pathos and indignation, subtlety and simplicity, personal appeal and political reasoning, were the alternate weapons with which she fought against all odds of evidence or interference, and disputed step by step every inch of debatable ground.—SWINBURNE.h]

established, they maintained, her participation with Babington in the crime of imagining and compassing the death of the queen.

It should, however, be remembered that the papers exhibited to the court were only copies. No attempt was made to show what had become of the originals, or when, where, or by whom the copies had been taken. On these points the crown lawyers observed a mysterious silence. They deemed it sufficient to show that there had once been originals with which the copies corresponded, and for that purpose they adduced: (1) A confession of Babington that he had written a letter to Mary and had received an answer, containing similar passages, and that he believed these copies faithful transcripts of the originals; (2) the confessions, perhaps garbled and misrepresented confessions, of Nau and Curle, from which it seemed to follow that the manner of proceeding by the six gentlemen was one of the subjects recommended for deliberation by Mary; (3) the admission in several of her letters to her foreign correspondents that she had received from the conspirators notice of their intentions, and had given to them instructions on the several heads. These confessions and admissions amounted, it was maintained, to satisfactory proof of the authenticity of the copies.

At first the Scottish queen, in ignorance of the proofs to be brought forward, refused to acknowledge any correspondence between herself and Babington; but after the production and reading of the letters she admitted without hesitation her note of the 5th of July, N. S., but resolutely denied that she had ever written any such answer as that of the date of July 17th.

She contended that if her adversaries had really sought to discover the truth, instead of putting Babington to death they would have produced him to bear testimony against her; it was easy for one man to imitate the ciphers and handwriting of another; it had been lately done in France, and she greatly feared that it had also been done in England by Walsingham, to bring her to the scaffold; for Walsingham, if she were rightly informed, had before this been practising against her life and that of her son.

At these words the secretary rose and protested before God that in his private capacity he had done nothing unbecoming an honest man, nor as a public officer anything unworthy of his place. Though his answer was rather an evasion than a denial of the charge, Mary prayed him not to be offended; she had spoken freely what she had heard, and hoped that he would give no more credit to those who slandered her than she did to those who accused him.

She renewed her declaration that she knew nothing of the obnoxious passages, and asked for her papers—with them she might perhaps explain the mystery—and for her secretaries—were they confronted with her the truth might soon be elicited—at present they ought to be considered unworthy of credit. Both requests, however, for reasons best known to the prosecutors, were refused; and Mary demanded to be heard in full parliament, or before the queen in council, who, she persuaded herself, would not refuse that favour to a sister queen. Then rising, she retired to her own apartment. The commissioners after a short consultation adjourned the court, to meet again in the Star Chamber at Westminster on the 25th of October.

MARY IS CONDEMNED

On that day, notwithstanding the remonstrance of the French ambassador, the court was opened in the presence of a numerous assemblage of members belonging to both houses of parliament. Care was now taken to bring for-

ward the two secretaries, not that they might be confronted with Mary—who was absent, immured in the castle of Fotheringay—but that they might affirm the truth of the depositions which they had previously made. This they certainly did; but, if we may believe Nau, it was not all. He moreover maintained, as he had on all occasions maintained, that the principal heads of accusation, those on which alone could be based any pretext for condemnation, were false.

Walsingham rose with warmth, reproached him with speaking contrary to his conscience, and endeavoured to silence him with the depositions of the conspirators already executed, and of some of Mary's servants. But Nau repeated his former assertion, summoned the commissioners to answer before God and all Christian kings and princes, if on such false charges they should condemn a queen, no less a sovereign than their own; and loudly demanded that this his protestation should be entered on the record. But his efforts were fruitless.

With the exception of the lord Zouch on the separate charge of assassination the commissioners unanimously gave judgment that after the last session of parliament, and before the date of their commission, Mary, daughter of James V, commonly called queen of Scotland, and pretending title to the crown of England, had, with the aid and abettance of her secretaries Nau and Curle, compassed and imagined divers matters tending to the hurt, death, and destruction of the queen, contrary to the form of the statute specified in the commission. This, by the act, was equivalent to a sentence of death against all the three, to be carried into execution at the pleasure of the queen.

A provision was, however, added, that the judgment against the mother should not derogate from the right or dignity of her son James, king of Scotland, but that he should continue in the same place, rank, and right, as if it had never been pronounced. The judgment was then entered in the form of a record, and afterwards subscribed by the several commissioners, even by those who had not attended at Fotheringay.

The life of the Scottish queen now lay at the mercy of Elizabeth. From foreign powers, she could expect no effectual relief. The Spanish monarch had to maintain his ground in Flanders against the combined army of the insurgents and the English; the king of France, harassed by religious wars, might entreat, but could not intimidate; and with respect to her son, the Scottish king, it was plain that his claim to the succession would render him unwilling, and the English pensioners in his council would render him unable, to draw the sword in her defence. But indecision was one of the leading traits in the character of her adversary.

ELIZABETH'S HESITATION AND DISSIMULATION

Elizabeth, while her object was at a distance, pressed towards it with impatience; but always hesitated to grasp it when it came within her reach. The death-warrant of her rival lay ready for her signature; but sometimes her imagination conjured up phantoms of danger from the desperation of Mary's partisans, and the resentment of James and the Catholic powers; sometimes she shuddered at the infamy which would cover her name if she shed the blood of a kinswoman and a sovereign. As was usual, she sought refuge in procrastination.

Anticipating the conviction of her prisoner, Elizabeth had summoned a parliament to meet on the 15th of October; the length of the trial at Fotheringay compelled her to prorogue it to the 29th of the same month. The

proceedings on the trial were laid before each house; the commissioners, in long speeches, maintained the guilt of the royal prisoner; and the lords and commons united in a petition that speedy execution might be done upon the convict.[1] The unwelcome task of announcing these proceedings to the Scottish queen was imposed on Lord Buckhurst in company with Beale, the clerk of the council.

It had probably been expected that this announcement would tame the spirit of the Scottish queen, but she had already nerved her mind for the shock, and thanked them for the honesty of their avowal that her death was the only security for their church. She had long known that she was to be sacrificed for that purpose. They might say that she had been privy to a conspiracy against the life of their queen. She utterly denied it. She had never contrived, nor imagined, nor commanded any such thing. She had, indeed, accepted an offer made to rescue her from prison; and where was the person in her situation who would not, after an unjust captivity of twenty years, have done the same? No; her real crime was her adhesion to the religion of her fathers, a crime of which she was proud, and for which she would be happy to lay down her life. With respect to any secret communication, she had but two requests to make to the English queen: (1) That her money and jewels might be restored to her, for the purpose of bequeathing them as legacies to her servants; and (2) that she might be indulged with the attendance of a Catholic priest; for, as she had always lived, so it was her resolution to die, a member of the Catholic church.

On the second day after this (November 21st) she received a visit from Paulet, who told her that since she had made no use of the time that was granted to her to confess and ask pardon, the queen had ordered her chair of state and canopy to be removed. She was a woman dead in law, and not entitled to the insignia of royalty. They were taken down by a party of his men. He then seated himself before her, face to face, put on his hat, and ordered her billiard table to be carried away, saying that she ought to prepare herself for death, and could have no time to spend in idle amusements. She replied, that she had never played on it yet; for they had given her employment enough in other ways.

Mary was now occupied for some days in writing several important letters —to Pope Sixtus V, to the duke of Guise, the archbishop of Glasgow, and Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador in Paris. Her servants, to supply the place of her canopy of state, had affixed to the wall a large cross bearing an image of Christ in the agony of death. This, in other circumstances, would have aroused the iconoclast zeal of Paulet; but the next time that he came into her presence he was an altered and an humbled man. He had been severely rebuked by Elizabeth for his former rudeness to Mary. He came to apologise, saying that he had mistaken an order from the council for an order from the queen, and to inform Mary that her requests by Lord Buckhurst had been so far granted that her money would be restored to her, and Préau, her almoner, would have the same freedom of waiting upon her as any of her other servants. She gladly availed herself of this concession, and confided to the care of Préau the letters which she had written. They all reached their destination.

The judgment of the commissioners had at length been proclaimed (December 6th) by sound of trumpet in London. The bells tolled for twenty-four

[1] Sir James Croft, who seems to have excelled all others in religious cant, moved that some earnest and devout prayer to God, to incline her majesty's heart to grant the petition, might be composed and printed, in order to be used daily in the house of commons, and by its members in their chambers and lodgings.

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hours, bonfires blazed in the streets, and the citizens appeared intoxicated with joy. This intelligence awakened new alarms in the breast of the unfortunate queen. She knew that by the late statute her life lay at the mercy of every member of the association; she recollected the fate of the earl of Northumberland in the Tower; and she persuaded herself that it would be her lot to fall by the hand of an assassin.

" After many solicitations she obtained permission to make her last requests to Elizabeth. They were four: That her dead body might be conveyed to France and deposited near that of her mother; that she might send a jewel, her farewell, and her blessing to her son; that her servants might be allowed to retain the small bequests which it was her intention to make them; and that she might not be put to death in private, otherwise her enemies would say of her, as they had said of others, that despair had induced her to shorten her days.

Throughout the whole letter she carefully avoided every expression which might be interpreted as a petition for mercy. She thanked God that he had given her the courage to suffer injustice without murmuring; expressed her regret that her papers had not been honestly and entirely submitted to the inspection of Elizabeth, who would then have seen whether the safety of their sovereign was the real object of her adversaries; and, as she was about to leave this world and was preparing herself for a better, hoped it would not be deemed presumption if she reminded her good sister that the day would come when she must render an account of her conduct to an unerring Judge, no less than those who had gone before her. This noble letter, worthy of a queen and a martyr, was the last which Mary wrote to her English cousin. It drew tears from Elizabeth, but nothing more. No answer was returned.

These extraordinary proceedings had attracted the notice and excited the wonder of the neighbouring nations. All sovereigns felt a common interest in the fate of Mary; the kings of France and Scotland, as more nearly allied in blood, were more eager to rescue her from death. Though Henry III might hate the house of Guise, he could not see, with indifference, the head of a princess who had worn the crown of France fall beneath the axe of the executioner. But the weight of his interposition was lightened by the knowledge of his necessities, and the harshness of a direct refusal was eluded by fraud and cunning.

At the request of Châteauneuf he had sent Bellièvre with instructions to remonstrate in the most forcible and pointed language. The ambassador found unusual obstacles thrown in his way. L'Aubespine, the resident ambassador, resumed the negotiation; but was silenced by a low and unworthy artifice. An uncertain rumour had been spread of a new plot to assassinate the queen, which had been traced to the French embassy. The ministers assured L'Aubespine that they believed him incapable of the crime; but they imprisoned his secretary, examined witnesses, and produced documents in proof of the plot. The Frenchman remonstrated in haughty and offensive language; all official communication between the two courts was suspended; and five despatches from the ambassador were at different times intercepted, and opened in presence of the council.

The object of this quarrel, on the part of the English ministers, was to prevent any further application in favour of the queen of Scots. Henry, to show that he felt the insult, laid an embargo on the English shipping and refused audience to the English ambassador. Still his anxiety to save the life of Mary subdued his pride. He condescended to despatch another envoy with new credentials. But these efforts were useless: Elizabeth had no leisure

to admit him till Mary had perished; then apologies were made; the innocence of L'Aubespine was acknowledged; and both the king and the ambassador were loaded with praise and compliments.

James of Scotland felt little for a mother whom he had never known, and whom he had been taught to look upon as an enemy, seeking to deprive him of his authority. He would probably have abandoned her to her fate without a sigh, had he not been roused from his apathy by the admonition of the French court that her execution would exclude him from the succession to the English throne; and by the remonstrances of the Scottish nobles, who could not brook the notion that a Scottish queen should perish on a scaffold.

James had already written to Elizabeth and the chief of her councillors, and had commissioned Archibald Douglas, the Scottish resident, to expostulate; he next sent Sir Robert Keith, a young man without weight or experience and a pensionary of the English court, to request that proceedings against his mother might be stayed till he should be made acquainted with her offence; and when he received for answer that such delay might prove dangerous to the life of Elizabeth, he was prevailed upon to despatch two new envoys, the master of Gray and Sir Robert Melville, to employ entreaties and threats.

They suggested that Mary's life should be spared, on condition that she resigned all her rights to her son; this would secure Elizabeth from the fear of a competitor, and the established church from the enmity of a Catholic successor. It was replied, that after her condemnation Mary had no rights to resign. They protested, in their master's name, that he would be compelled, in honour, to avenge her death. The menace was received with the most marked contempt.[1]

After the publication of the sentence, Elizabeth spent two months in a state of apparent irresolution; but that irresolution arose not from any feeling of pity, but from her regard to her own reputation; and she was often heard to lament that among the thousands who professed to be attached to her as their sovereign, not one would spare her the necessity of dipping her hands in the blood of a sister queen.[2]

A letter was accordingly forwarded to Fotheringay on the same day, in the name of both secretaries. It informed the two keepers that the queen charged them with lack of care for her service, otherwise they would long ago have shortened the life of their captive. Of her guilt they could not doubt after her trial; and the oath of association which they had taken would have cleared their consciences before God, their reputations before men.

Paulet was a stern and unfeeling bigot. He hated Mary because she was a Catholic; he sought her death because he believed her the enemy of his religion. Yet he was an honest man. He replied immediately, that he would never make so foul a shipwreck of his conscience, or leave so great a blot on his posterity, as to shed blood without law or warrant. A postscript added that Drury "subscribed in heart to Paulet's opinion."

[1] "She would not understand their proposal. So the earl of Leicester answered that our meaning was that the king should be put in his mother's place," says Gray in his despatch. "Is it so," the queen answered, "then I put myself in a worse case than before; by God's passion, that were to cut my own throat, and for a duchy or an earldome to yourself, you, or such as you, would cause some of your desperate knaves to kill me. No, by God! he shall never be in that place." Stuart, another envoy, assured her that James had sent them merely to save appearances, and that whatever he might pretend, he would be easily pacified with a present of dogs and deer. See EGERTON.[i]

[2] Elizabeth became pensive and solitary, and she was frequently heard to sigh and to mutter to herself these words, *Aut fer aut feri* ("Bear or strike"), and *Ne feriare feri* ("Strike, lest you be struck.")—KEIGHTLEY.[d]

QUEEN ELIZABETH SIGNING THE DEATH WARRANT OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

(After the painting by Alexander von Liezen-Mayer, in the Cologne Museum)

[1587 A.D.]

Davison, one of the queen's secretaries, little suspected at the time that he was destined to become the victim of Elizabeth's irresolution and dissimulation. The morning after the signature of the commission he received an order from her to wait, if it was not too late, till she had spoken to him; and when he informed her that the great seal was already appended to it, was asked by her, with an air of surprise, why he had made "such haste"; to which he replied that on matters of consequence it was not for him "to dally with her majesty's commands."

Her words and manner awakened in him some misgivings. He consulted Hatton, the lord treasurer, who, having ascertained that she had not positively recalled the commission, assembled the council. It was there resolved unanimously that the queen had done all that the law required on her part; that to trouble her further was needless, dangerous, and offensive to her feelings; and that it was now their duty to proceed, and take the rest of the burden on themselves.

On the following morning Elizabeth acquainted Davison that in a dream during the night she had punished him severely as the cause of the Scottish queen's death. Though she said it with a smile, he was alarmed, suspecting that she began to waver, and therefore openly put the question to her, whether she intended to proceed to the execution of the commission or not. "Yea, by G—!" was her reply, with more than usual vehemence, but she did not like the form, for it threw all the responsibility on herself.

In the course of the next day the queen inquired of Davison what answer had been returned by Paulet and Drury. When he had informed her she burst into expressions of anger and disappointment. Mary's keeper was no longer "her dear and faithful Paulet," but "a precise and dainty fellow," who scrupled not to break his oath that he might throw the blame upon her.

THE DEATH WARRANT READ TO MARY

At Fotheringay the frequent arrival of strangers had of late excited misgivings and apprehensions among the servants of Mary. On the 7th of February, 1587, the earl of Shrewsbury was announced; and his office of earl marshal instantly disclosed the fatal object of his visit. The queen rose from her bed, dressed, and seated herself by a small table, having previously arranged her servants, male and female, on each side. Mary listened, without any change of countenance; then crossing herself, she bade them welcome; the day, she said, which she had long desired, had at last arrived; she had languished in prison near twenty years, useless to others and a burden to herself; nor could she conceive a termination to such a life more happy or more honourable than to shed her blood for her religion. She next enumerated the wrongs which she had suffered, the offers which she had made, and the artifices and frauds employed by her enemies; and in conclusion, placing her hand on a Testament which lay on the table, "As for the death of the queen your sovereign," said she, "I call God to witness that I never imagined it, never sought it, nor ever consented to it."

"That book," exclaimed the earl of Kent, "is a popish Testament, and of course the oath is of no value." "It is a Catholic Testament," rejoined the queen; "on that account I prize it the more; and therefore, according to your own reasoning, you ought to judge my oath the more satisfactory." The earl, in return, exhorted her to abandon all papistical superstition, to save her soul by embracing the true faith, and to accept the spiritual services of the

dean of Peterborough, a learned divine, appointed by the queen. In place of the dean of Peterborough, whom she would not hear, she requested that she might have the aid of Préau, her almoner, who was still in the house. This was the last and only indulgence which she had to demand.

It was answered that her request could not be granted. It was contrary to the law of God and the law of the land, and would endanger the safety both of the souls and bodies of the commissioners. A long and desultory conversation followed. Mary asked if her son had forgotten his mother in her distress.

Mary had heard the denunciation of her death with a serenity of countenance and dignity of manner which awed and affected the beholders. The moment the earls were departed her attendants burst into tears and lamentations; but she imposed silence, saying: "This is not a time to weep, but to rejoice. In a few hours you will see the end of my misfortunes. My enemies may now say what they please; but the earl of Kent has betrayed the secret that my religion is the real cause of my death. Be then resigned, and leave me to my devotions."

After long and fervent prayer the queen was called to supper. She ate sparingly, and before she rose from table drank to all her servants, who pledged her in return on their knees, and prayed her to pardon the faults which they had committed in her service. She forgave them cheerfully, asking at the same time forgiveness of them if she had ever spoken or acted towards them unkindly, and concluded with a few words of advice for their future conduct in life. Even in this short address she again mentioned her conviction that Nau was the author of her death.

This important night, the last of Mary's life, she divided into three parts. The arrangement of her domestic affairs, the writing of her will and of three letters—to her confessor, her cousin of Guise, and the king of France—occupied the first and longer portion. The second she gave to exercises of devotion. In the retirement of her closet with her two maids, Jane Kennedy and Elspeth Curle, she prayed and read alternately, and sought for support and consolation in reading of the passion of Christ, and a sermon on the death of the penitent thief. About four she retired to rest, but it was observed that she did not sleep. Her lips were in constant motion, and her mind seemed absorbed in prayer.

THE EXECUTION OF MARY (FEBRUARY 8TH, 1587)

At the first break of day, February 8th, her household assembled around her. She read to them her will, distributed among them her clothes and money, and bade them adieu, kissing the women and giving her hand to kiss to the men. Weeping, they followed her into her oratory, where she took her place in front of the altar; they knelt down and prayed behind her.

In the midst of the great hall of the castle had been raised a scaffold, covered with black serge and surrounded with a low railing. At about seven the doors were thrown open; the gentlemen of the county, who had been summoned by the sheriff, but without any notice of the object for which their attendance was required, immediately entered, and Paulet's guard augmented the number to between one hundred and fifty and two hundred spectators. Before eight a message was sent to the queen, who replied that she would be ready in half an hour. At that time Andrews, the sheriff, entered the oratory, and Mary arose, taking the crucifix from the altar in her right, and carrying her prayer-book in her left hand. Her servants were forbidden to follow;

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they insisted; but the queen bade them to be content, and turning, gave them her blessing. They received it on their knees, some kissing her hands, others her mantle. The door closed, and the burst of lamentation from those within resounded through the hall.

Mary was now joined by the earls and her keepers, and descending the staircase, found at the foot Melville, the steward of her household, who for several weeks had been excluded from her presence. This old and faithful servant threw himself on his knees, and wringing his hands, exclaimed, "Ah, madam, unhappy me! was ever a man on earth the bearer of such sorrow as I shall be when I report that my good and gracious queen and mistress was beheaded in England?" Here his grief impeded his utterance; and Mary replied: "Good Melville, cease to lament; thou hast rather cause to joy than mourn, for thou shalt see the end of Mary Stuart's troubles. Know that this world is but vanity, subject to more sorrow than an ocean of tears can bewail. But I pray thee, report that I die a true woman to my religion, to Scotland, and to France. May God forgive them that have long thirsted for my blood, as the hart doth for the brooks of water. O God, thou art the author of truth, and truth itself. Thou knowest the inward chambers of my thoughts, and that I always wished the union of England and Scotland. Commend me to my son, and tell him that I have done nothing prejudicial to the dignity or independence of his crown, or favourable to the pretended superiority of our enemies."

OLD HOUSE IN WORCESTER

Then bursting into tears, she said, "Good Melville, farewell," and kissing him, "once again, good Melville, farewell, and pray for thy mistress and queen." It was remarked as something extraordinary, that this was the first time in her life that she had ever been known to address a person with the pronoun "thou."

Drying up her tears she turned from Melville, and made her last request that her servants might be present at her death. But the earl of Kent objected that they would be troublesome by their grief and lamentations, might practise some superstitious trumpery, perhaps might dip their handkerchiefs in her grace's blood. "My lords," said Mary, "I will give my word for them. They shall deserve no blame. Certainly your mistress, being a maiden queen, will vouchsafe, in regard of womanhood, that I have some of my own women about me at my death." Receiving no answer, she continued, "You might, I think, grant me a far greater courtesy were I a woman of lesser calling than the queen of Scots." Still they were silent; when she asked with vehemence, "Am I not the cousin to your queen, a descendant of the blood

royal of Henry VII, a married queen of France, and the anointed queen of Scotland?" At these words the fanaticism of the earl of Kent began to yield, and it was resolved to admit four of her men and two of her women servants. She selected her steward, physician, apothecary, and surgeon, with her maids Kennedy and Curle.

The procession now set forward. It was headed by the sheriff and his officers; next followed Paulet and Drury and the earls of Shrewsbury and Kent; and lastly came the Scottish queen, with Melville bearing her train. She wore the richest of her dresses, that which was appropriate to the rank of a queen-dowager. Her step was firm and her countenance cheerful. She bore without shrinking the gaze of the spectators and the sight of the scaffold, the block, and the executioner, and advanced into the hall with that grace and majesty which she had so often displayed in her happier days and in the palace of her fathers. To aid her, as she mounted the scaffold, Paulet offered his arm. "I thank you, sir," said Mary; "it is the last trouble I shall give you, and the most acceptable service you have ever rendered me."

The queen seated herself on a stool which was prepared for her. The warrant was read, and Mary in an audible voice addressed the assembly. She would have them recollect also that she was a sovereign princess, not subject to the parliament of England, but brought there to suffer by injustice and violence. She, however, thanked her God that he had given her this opportunity of publicly professing her religion, and of declaring, as she had often before declared, that she had never imagined, nor compassed, nor consented to the death of the English queen, nor ever sought the least harm to her person. After her death many things which were then buried in darkness would come to light. But she pardoned from her heart all her enemies, nor should her tongue utter that which might turn to their prejudice.

Here she was interrupted by Fletcher, dean of Peterborough, who, having caught her eye, began to preach, and under the cover, perhaps through motives of zeal, contrived to insult the feelings of the unfortunate sufferer.[1] Mary repeatedly desired him not to trouble himself and her. He persisted; she turned aside. He made the circuit of the scaffold, and again addressed her in front.

An end was put to this extraordinary scene by the earl of Shrewsbury, who ordered him to pray. His prayer was the echo of his sermon; but Mary heard him not. She was employed at the time in her devotions, repeating with a loud voice, and in the Latin language, passages from the book of

[1 The terms which he employed were, under colour of pious instructions, cruel insults on her unfortunate situation; and, besides their own absurdity, may be regarded as the most mortifying indignities to which she had ever yet been exposed. He told her that the queen of England had on this occasion shown a tender care of her, and, notwithstanding the punishment justly to be inflicted on her for her manifold trespasses, was determined to use every expedient for saving her soul from that destruction with which it was so nearly threatened: That she was now standing upon the brink of eternity, and had no other means of escaping endless perdition than by repenting her former wickedness, by justifying the sentence pronounced against her, by acknowledging the queen's favours, and by exerting a true and lively faith in Christ Jesus: That the Scriptures were the only rule of doctrine, the merits of Christ the only means of salvation; and if she trusted in the inventions or devices of men, she must expect in an instant to fall into utter darkness, into a place where shall be weeping, howling, and gnashing of teeth: That the hand of death was upon her, the axe was laid to the root of the tree, the throne of the great Judge of heaven was erected, the book of her life was spread wide, and the particular sentence and judgment was ready to be pronounced upon her: And that it was now, during this important moment, in her choice either to rise to the resurrection of life, and hear that joyful salutation, "Come, ye blessed of my Father," or to share the resurrection of condemnation, replete with sorrow and anguish, and to suffer that dreadful denunciation, "Go, ye cursed, into everlasting fire."—HUME.]

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Psalms; and after the dean was reduced to silence, a prayer in French, in which she begged of God to pardon her sins, declared that she forgave her enemies, and protested that she was innocent of ever consenting in wish or deed to the death of her English sister.

She then prayed in English for Christ's afflicted church, for her son James, and for Queen Elizabeth, and in conclusion, holding up the crucifix, exclaimed, "As thy arms, O God, were stretched out upon the cross, so receive me into the arms of thy mercy, and forgive me my sins." "Madam," said the earl of Kent, "you had better leave such popish trumperies, and bear him in your heart." She replied, "I cannot hold in my hand the representation of his sufferings, but I must at the same time bear him in my heart."

When her maids, bathed in tears, began to disrobe their mistress, the executioners, fearing the loss of their usual perquisites, hastily interfered. The queen remonstrated, but instantly submitted to their rudeness, observing to the earls with a smile that she was not accustomed to employ such grooms, or to undress in the presence of so numerous a company.

Her servants, at the sight of their sovereign in this lamentable state, could not suppress their feelings; but Mary, putting her finger to her lips, commanded silence, gave them her blessing, and solicited their prayers. She then seated herself again. Kennedy, taking from her a handkerchief edged with gold, pinned it over her eyes; the executioners, holding her by the arms, led her to the block; and the queen, kneeling down, said repeatedly, with a firm voice, "Into thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit."

But the sobs and groans of the spectators disconcerted the headsman. He trembled, missed his aim, and inflicted a deep wound in the lower part of the skull. The queen remained motionless, and at the third stroke her head was severed from her body. When the executioner held it up, the muscles of the face were so strongly convulsed that the features could not be recognised. He cried as usual, "God save Queen Elizabeth!"

"So perish all her enemies!" subjoined the dean of Peterborough.

"So perish all the enemies of the gospel!" exclaimed, in a still louder tone, the fanatical earl of Kent.

Not a voice was heard to cry Amen. Party feeling was absorbed in admiration and pity.[1]

ELIZABETH'S PRETENCE OF GRIEF

Before the execution of Mary, Elizabeth had balanced between the fear of infamy and the gratification of revenge. The blow had now been struck; her revenge was gratified; and it became her object to escape the infamy under the shelter of pretended ignorance. The reader will recollect that Davison, instead of despatching the warrant immediately after it had been signed, retained it till the following morning. Of this he had apprised the queen,

[1] The body was embalmed the same day, in the presence of Paulet and the sheriff, by a physician from Stamford and the surgeon of the village. It was afterwards enclosed in lead, and kept in the same room for six months, till the 1st of August, when Elizabeth ordered it to be interred with royal pomp in the abbey church of Peterborough, opposite to the tomb of Catherine, queen of Henry VIII.

The servants of Mary had during all this time been confined close prisoners at Fotheringay. They were now dismissed, and the natives of France repaired to London on their way to their own country, but were detained there during a fortnight, that Nau, who was sent before them, might have leisure, as was supposed, to tell the tale suggested by the secretary in the French court. After Mary's body had rested twenty-five years at Peterborough, it was transferred to Westminster by order of James, October 11th, 1612.

but she was careful not to iterate the order; she even suffered six days to elapse without any second mention of the warrant to Davison. Early on the next morning the lord Talbot arrived with the official intelligence. Burghley communicated it to his colleagues of the privy council—joyful tidings to men who during so many years had thirsted in vain for the death of the queen of Scots; but he proposed that instead of imparting the fact to Elizabeth then, time should be allowed to open it to her cautiously and by degrees.

To this singular proposal, so singular that it provokes a suspicion of collusion between the hoary statesman and his mistress, the lords consented. The queen took her usual airing, and after her return entertained herself in the company of Don Antonio, the pretender to the crown of Portugal. By noon the report was spread through the city; the bells announced from authority the important event; and the darkness of the night was illumined by innumerable bonfires. That evening one of the queen's ladies mentioned before her, as it were casually, the death of Mary Stuart.

Elizabeth maintained an air of perfect indifference; but in the morning, sending for Hatton, expressed the most violent indignation, and indulged in threats of the most fearful vengeance against the men who had abused her confidence and usurped her authority by putting the queen of Scots to death without her knowledge or consent.

Hatton acquainted his colleagues of the council with the queen's threats; they sent for Davison and advised him to keep out of her sight till her wrath should have subsided. Had they not already conspired to make him their scapegoat? He repaired to his own house under pretence of indisposition; but on Tuesday, February 14th, the lord Buckhurst conducted him a prisoner to the Tower, and on Wednesday, Elizabeth sending for Roger, groom of the chamber to the French king, desired him to assure his sovereign of her regret for the death of the Scottish queen, of her ignorance of the despatch of the warrant, and of her resolution to punish the presumption of her ministers. To account for so late a communication, he was told that the council had concealed the death of Mary from the queen, who first learned that event from accidental conversation with a lady of the court.

Elizabeth now attempted to prove the sincerity of her regret by the execution of her threats. She suspended the obnoxious ministers from their offices, and ordered them to answer in the Star Chamber for their contempt of her authority. But her anger was gradually appeased. In all humility they acknowledged their offence, pleaded the loyalty of their intentions, and submitted to her pleasure. One after another, all, with the exception of Davison, were restored to office and favour. He had earned this distinction by his constant reluctance to unite with his colleagues in their persecution of Mary. To add to his demerits, in answer to the questions put to him in prison, he did not imitate the humility of his colleagues, but, in defending himself, charged the queen indirectly with falsehood, and alluded in obscure terms to her message to Paulet. In court, however, he acted with more reserve than prudence. To the invectives of the crown lawyers he replied, that to acknowledge the offence would be to tarnish his own reputation, to contend with his sovereign would be to transgress the duty of a subject.

He was condemned in a fine of 10,000 marks, and to be imprisoned during the royal pleasure. The treasury seized all his property, so that at his release from confinement, in 1589, he found himself reduced to a state of extreme indigence. The queen, though she lived seventeen years longer, would never restore him to favour.

ELIZABETH APPEASES JAMES

It may appear surprising, but a full month elapsed before the king of Scotland received any certain intelligence of the execution of his mother. At the news he burst into tears; he talked of nothing but vengeance; the people shared the resentment of the king, and the estates offered to risk their lives and fortunes in the national quarrel.

The queen in her letter assured the young monarch that the death of Mary was not owing to her; that the ministers, who ordered it without her knowledge, should be severely punished; that she would be to him in the place of his mother, whose condemnation should prove no prejudice to his rights and expectations. Elizabeth's partisans in the Scottish court supported her cause. They admonished James to recollect that he was now the next heir to the English crown; let him not forfeit that splendid inheritance by offending a princess who alone could remove him from it.

His indignation gradually evaporated; the cry of vengeance was subdued by the suggestions of prudence, and his mouth was sealed with a present of four thousand pounds. Still the affront had sunk deep into the hearts of the Scots, and at the conclusion of the parliament the members besought the king on their knees to revenge the death of his mother. He replied that he felt as they did, that he was equally desirous of satisfaction, but that he must previously consult the princes his allies.

Elizabeth had little to fear from him single-handed; but she reinforced her army on the marches, scattered gold with a liberal hand among the Scottish nobility, and to alarm the monarch, sending for Arabella Stuart to court, exhibited her publicly as her intended successor. The resentment of James again evaporated, and it was thought that in reality he looked on the death of his mother as a personal benefit. It had relieved him from his fear of a rival for the Scottish throne.

The death of Mary was thus left unrevenged by those on whom that duty chiefly devolved—her son, the king of Scotland, and her brother-in-law, the king of France.[e]

ESTIMATES OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS

Mignet

In order to rule as a queen over her powerful nobility, without provoking them to insurrection—to practise the Catholic form of worship without exciting the aggressive distrust of the Protestants—and to preserve her full sovereign authority in her relations with England, without exposing herself to the intrigues and attacks of the restless Elizabeth—in order to do this, what were the qualifications that Mary Stuart brought with her into Scotland? She condemned the religion and was ignorant of the customs of the land she was called to rule. It was with regret and disgust that she left a brilliant and refined court, to return to the wild mountains and unpolished inhabitants of Scotland. More fitted for friendship than policy—impetuous, and not at all circumspect—she reappeared there with an elegance out of place, a perilous beauty, a quick but restless intellect, a generous but excitable temperament, a taste for the fine arts, a love of adventure, and all the passions of a woman combined with the extreme freedom of a widow.

Although endued with great courage, it served only to hasten her misfortunes; and her mental endowments she employed in committing with a better grace those faults to which she was impelled by her position and her character. She had the imprudence to represent herself as the legitimate heir to the crown of England, and thus made herself Elizabeth's rival; she served as the support and hope of the vanquished Catholics in her own kingdom, and thus drew on herself the implacable hostility of the reformers who were resolved to maintain at all risks the religious revolution they had effected.

Nor was this all. She aggravated, by the errors of her private conduct, the dangers arising from the exercise of her authority, the pretensions of her birth, and the ambition of her creed. Her sudden fancy for Darnley—the excessive familiarities she allowed in Rizzio, and the confidence she reposed in him—and the ungovernable passion she felt for Bothwell—were all alike fatal to her. By elevating to the rank of her husband and king a young nobleman whose personal attractions were his only merit—by her sudden aversion and disgust for him—by making a Catholic foreigner secretary and favourite—and by consenting to be the wife of her husband's murderer—she annihilated her own authority.

After the loss of her crown, she imprudently hazarded the loss of her liberty. She sought an asylum in the dominions of her enemy before she was at all sure it would be granted to her; and after casting herself on the mercy of Elizabeth, conspired against her with small chance of success. While she thought she would be able, by concerting measures with the Catholic party, to effect her escape from the prison in which she had been iniquitously confined, she only laboured for her own destruction. The Catholics were too feeble in the island, and too disunited on the Continent, to revolt or interfere usefully on her behalf. The insurrections which she attempted in England, and the conspiracies which she framed until 1586, completed her ruin, by causing the death or exile of her most enterprising partisans. The maritime crusade discussed at Rome, Madrid, and Brussels, in 1570, and determined upon in 1586, for the purpose of deposing Elizabeth and restoring Mary Stuart, far from placing the Catholic queen on the throne of Great Britain, only conducted her to the scaffold.[k]

A. C. Swinburne on Mary

Mary Stuart was in many respects the creature of her age, of her creed, and of her station; but the noblest and most noteworthy qualities of her nature were independent of rank, opinion, or time. Even the detractors who defend her conduct on the plea that she was a dastard and a dupe are compelled in the same breath to retract this implied reproach, and to admit, with illogical acclamation and incongruous applause, that the world never saw more splendid courage at the service of more brilliant intelligence, that a braver if not "a rarer spirit never did steer humanity." A kinder or more faithful friend, a deadlier or more dangerous enemy, it would be impossible to dread or to desire. Passion alone could shake the double fortress of her impregnable heart and ever-active brain.

Of repentance it would seem that she knew as little as of fear, having been trained from her infancy in a religion where the Decalogue was supplanted by the creed. Adept as she was in the most exquisite delicacy of dissimulation, the most salient note of her original disposition was daring rather than subtlety. Beside or behind the voluptuous or intellectual attractions

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of beauty and culture, she had about her the fresher charm of a fearless and frank simplicity, a genuine and enduring pleasure in small and harmless things no less than in such as were neither. In 1562 she amused herself for some days by living "with her little troop" in the house of a burgess of St. Andrews "like a burgess's wife," assuring the English ambassador that he should not find the queen there—"nor I know not myself where she is become."

No lapse of reconciling time, no extent of comparative indulgence, could break her in to resignation, submission, or toleration of even partial restraint. Three months after the massacre of St. Bartholomew had caused some additional restrictions to be placed upon her freedom of action, Shrewsbury writes to Burghley that "rather than continue this imprisonment, she sticks not to say she will give her body, her son, and country for liberty"; nor did she ever show any excess of regard for any of the three. For her own freedom, of will and of way, of passion and of action, she cared much; for her creed she cared something; for her country she cared less than nothing. She would have flung Scotland with England into the hell-fire of Spanish Catholicism rather than forego the faintest chance of personal revenge. Her profession of a desire to be instructed in the doctrines of Anglican Protestantism was so transparently a pious fraud as rather to afford confirmation than to arouse suspicion of her fidelity to the teaching of her church.

Elizabeth, so shamefully her inferior in personal loyalty, fidelity, and gratitude, was as clearly her superior on the one all-important point of patriotism. The saving salt of Elizabeth's character, with all its well-nigh incredible mixture of heroism and egotism, meanness and magnificence, was simply this, that, overmuch as she loved herself, she did yet love England better. Her best though not her only fine qualities were national and political, the high public virtues of a good public servant; in the private and personal qualities which attract and attach a friend to his friend and a follower to his leader, no man or woman was ever more constant and more eminent than Mary Queen of Scots.[h]

Froude on the Execution of Mary

Elizabeth, with a general desire to do right, could condescend to poor and mean manœuvres. Mary Stuart carried herself in the midst of her crimes with a majesty which would have become the noblest of sovereigns. She intended to produce a dramatic sensation, and she succeeded. The self-possession was faultless, the courage splendid. Never did any human creature meet death more bravely; yet, in the midst of the admiration and pity which cannot be refused her, it is not to be forgotten that she was leaving the world with a lie upon her lips. She was a bad woman, disguised in the livery of a martyr. She has had her revenge, if not on Elizabeth living, yet on her memory in the annals of her country.

"Who now doubts," writes an eloquent modern writer, "that it would have been wiser in Elizabeth to spare her life?" Rather, the political wisdom of a critical and difficult act has never in the world's history been more signally justified. It cut away the only interest on which the Scotch and English Catholics could possibly have combined.[l]

Henry Hallam

While we can hardly pronounce Mary's execution to have been so wholly iniquitous and unwarrantable as it has been represented, it may be admitted that a more generous nature than that of Elizabeth would not have exacted

the law's full penalty. The queen of Scots' detention in England was in violation of all natural, public, and municipal law; and if reasons of state policy or precedents from the custom of princes are allowed to extenuate this injustice, it is to be asked whether such reasons and such precedents might not palliate the crime of assassination imputed to her. Some might perhaps allege, as was so frequently urged at the time, that if her life could be taken with justice, it could not be spared in prudence; and that Elizabeth's higher desire to preserve her people from the risks of civil commotion must silence every feeling that could plead for mercy.

Of this necessity different judgments may perhaps be formed. It is evident that Mary's death extinguished the best hope of the papacy in England; but the relative force of the two religions was greatly changed since Norfolk's conspiracy; and it appears to me that an act of parliament explicitly cutting her off from the crown, and at the same time entailing it on her son, would have afforded a very reasonable prospect of securing the succession against all serious disturbance. But this neither suited the inclination of Elizabeth nor of some among those who surrounded her.

As the Catholics endured without any open murmuring the execution of her on whom their fond hopes had so long rested, so for the remainder of the queen's reign they by no means appear, when considered as a body, to have furnished any specious pretexts for severity. In that memorable year, when the dark cloud gathered around our coasts, when Europe stood by in fearful suspense to behold what should be the result of that great cast in the game of human politics, what the craft of Rome, the power of Philip, the genius of Farnese, could achieve against the island-queen with her Drakes and Cecils —in that agony of the Protestant faith and English name, they stood the trial of their spirits without swerving from their allegiance.

It was then that the Catholics in every county repaired to the standard of the lord-lieutenant, imploring that they might not be suspected of bartering the national independence for their religion itself. It was then that the venerable Lord Montague brought a troop of horse to the queen at Tilbury, commanded by himself, his son, and grandson. It would have been a sign of gratitude if the laws depriving them of the free exercise of their religion had been, if not repealed, yet suffered to sleep, after these proofs of loyalty. But the execution of priests and of other Catholics became, on the contrary, more frequent, and the fines for recusancy were exacted as rigorously as before.*f*

Knight's Estimate of the Trial

There are many doubtful points in the recorded transactions of this period, and historians have too often cut the knot instead of attempting to unloose it. Starting upon the hypothesis that if Mary were not wholly innocent the judgment against her was illegal, she is usually represented as the victim of remorseless statesmen, of a fanatical parliament, of a ferocious people, and of a cruel and dissembling rival queen. In the natural sympathy of mankind for a woman who had so long been acquainted with misery, the fact seems to have been overlooked that she was thrust from her legitimate throne by her own subjects, under charges of the most atrocious nature, and with the conviction that she would never cease to plot with foreign powers for the overthrow of the reformed religion. It is equally clear that her detention in England was upon the ground that she was a public enemy; that she had never given up her claim to the actual possession of the crown; that her efforts to induce the Catholic powers to support her claims were unceasing;

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and that for years she was the centre around which all the intrigues for destroying the heretical governments of England and Scotland revolved.

When Mary was pronounced guilty of privity to the Babington conspiracy, the most extensive preparations for the overthrow of Elizabeth were rapidly maturing. Invasion from without, treason from within, were to work together to place upon the throne one who would call in foreign aid to destroy the religion which had been generally adopted by a whole generation of English, and which no differences of opinion were otherwise likely essentially to disturb. Assuming Mary to have been privy to the various plots that had ripened during the last two years of her detention,[1] the question arises whether the deposed queen of Scots was amenable to any English tribunal. Camden[n] says, that amongst contemporaries, "divers speeches were raised about the matter according to the divers dispositions of men."

These abstract differences were no doubt settled, for the most part, by the doctrine, with which Camden concludes his statement of the opinions of those who defended the sentence against Mary—"that the safety of the people is the highest law." Whatever violent historical partisans may maintain, we concur in the opinion of Hallam,[f] that those who held Mary to be only a titular queen were in the right.

The contending feelings excited by the fate of Mary have been as correctly analysed by the great contemporary poet as by any historian. There can be no doubt that Spenser's *False Duessa* was the type of Mary, the "untitled queen." Following out the poet's brief enumeration of the crimes of Duessa, Authority opposed her; the Law of Nations rose against her; Religion imputed God's behest to condemn her; the People's cry and Commons' suit importuned for care of the Public Cause; Justice charged her with breach of law:

> "But then, for her, on the contrary part,
> Rose many advocates for her to plead;
> First there came Pity, with full tender heart,
> And with her joined Regard of Womanhead;
> And then came Danger, threatening hidden dread
> And high alliance unto foreign power;
> Then came Nobility of Birth, that bred
> Great ruth through her misfortune's tragic stour,
> And lastly Grief did plead and many tears forth pour."

The Pity, the Regard of Womanhead, the ruth for fallen Nobility of Birth, the Grief that speaks in tears, will always prevail over political considerations when we peruse the sad story of Mary Stuart. But it is not to read the past aright if we wholly shut our eyes to Justice and the Public Cause. It would be worse than mere tenderness to impute to Elizabeth and her advisers, to the parliament and to the people, a blind hostility to a suffering and harmless captive. Mary was for years the terror of England. Her destruction was the Great Cause to which the highest and the humblest in the land looked as a relief. If her death were a crime, it was a national crime.[g]

[[1] Von Ranke[m] feels that it is undeniable that Mary knew of the plots to dethrone Elizabeth, but thinks it quite consistent that she had no intention of putting Elizabeth to death. Once assassination is omitted from the case, it is a contest between two remarkably gifted and somewhat scrupulous women for the supreme power.]

CHAPTER XII

THE SPANISH ARMADA

[1587–1588 A.D.]

AFTER Mary's death the attack on England would have to be conducted in open day. It would be no advantage to Philip and the pope that Elizabeth should be murdered if her place was to be taken, not by Mary, but by Mary's Protestant son, James of Scotland.—S. R. GARDINER.[b]

LONDON had had its rejoicings that the great blow had been struck which was to deliver England from the dread of a papist successor to Elizabeth. The bells of the city's hundred steeples had proclaimed the stern exultation of the citizens that the voice of the parliament had at last been listened to. There was secret anger amongst a few, and generous pity in many a woman's heart. But the common sentiment was that the danger of domestic treason had been removed, and that the other danger of foreign invasion was less to be dreaded.

In another week the patriotic feelings of the people were wisely stirred in their utmost depths. The queen had undertaken the charge of a costly public funeral of Sir Philip Sidney. He who under the walls of Zütphen had perished untimely—who was no more to show his knightly bearing in the tilt-yard, or to wander amidst the flower-enamelled meadows of his own Penshurst—was lying insensible to earthly hopes or fears, at the house of the minorites, without Aldgate.

On the 16th of February there was a magnificent pageant in honour of the self-denying hero. Young men selected from the train-bands marched "three and three, in black cassokins, with their short pikes, halberds, and ensign trailing on the ground." Brave comrades of Sidney in his battle-fields were there; and there was the ambitious Leicester, who had not yet resigned his

scheme of being sovereign of the Netherlands. The people gazed upon Drake, the great mariner who had circumnavigated the world, and had carried terror of the English flag through all the Spanish settlements. In the pomp of that funeral of Sidney there was something more than empty pageantry.

There were many things in the political condition of the English under Elizabeth that are opposed to our notions of freedom—that were essentially characteristic of an arbitrary government. But the people were thriving; they were living under an equal administration of justice; and they were trusted. They had arms in their hands, and they were taught how to use them. There was no standing army, but every man of full age was a soldier. The feudal military organisation was gone. There was an organisation of the people amongst themselves, equally effective and far more inspiriting.

In the spring of 1587 it was certain that Spain was making great preparations for the invasion of England. This design was the result of no sudden resolve.[1] Elizabeth was not to be hurled from the throne of the heretic island, because Philip was provoked out of his forbearance by "an insult to the majesty of sovereigns, which, as the most powerful of Christian monarchs, he deemed it his duty to revenge." The people of England by their parliament, Elizabeth by her ministers, "had taken, on a scaffold, the life of the queen of Scots"; but the projected invasion had been stimulated by that queen as the great scheme for bringing back England and Scotland to the faith for which Philip and his adherents were calling into terrible vindictiveness all the horrors of the Inquisition and all the subtlety of the Jesuits. The day that was to decide which should prevail of the two principles that divided the Christian world was fast approaching.[c]

MARITIME EXPLOITS

During the reign of Elizabeth, that spirit of commercial enterprise which had been awakened under Mary seemed to pervade and animate every description of men. For the extension of trade and the discovery of unknown lands associations were formed, companies were incorporated, expeditions were planned; and the prospect of immense profit induced many to sacrifice their whole fortunes, prevailed even on the ministers, the nobility, and the queen herself, to risk considerable sums in these hazardous undertakings.

The agents of the Russia Company laboured to penetrate through Muscovy and Persia into Cathay; the Turkey merchants purchased and imported the productions of the Levant; English mariners explored sometimes the coasts of Africa, sometimes those of America; and repeated attempts were made, in opposite directions, to force a passage to the East Indies through the icebergs which crown the northern limits of the old and the new continents. The adventurers brought wealth and honour to their country. But among them there were many who, at a distance from home and freed from the restraint of law, indulged in the most brutal excesses; whose rapacity despised the rights of nations and the claims of humanity; and whom, while we admire their skill and hardihood and perseverance, our more sober judgment must pronounce no better than public robbers and assassins.

The renowned Sir John Hawkins first acquired celebrity by opening the trade in slaves. He had made three voyages to the coast of Africa, 1562; bartered

[1 Philip, as a descendant of John of Gaunt, claimed the throne of England for himself or his daughter Isabella. The war was also an effort to put an end to English piracy and assistance to the revolting Netherlands.]

articles of trifling value for numerous lots of negroes; crossed the Atlantic to Hispaniola and the Spanish settlements in America; and in exchange for his captives returned with large quantities of hides, sugar, ginger, and pearls. This trade was, however, illicit; and during his third voyage in the bay of San Juan de Ulúa, in 1567, Hawkins was surprised by the arrival of the Spanish viceroy with a fleet of twelve sail from Europe.

The hostile squadrons viewed each other with jealousy and distrust; a doubtful truce was terminated by a general engagement; and in the end, though the Spaniards suffered severely, Hawkins lost his fleet, his treasure, and the majority of his followers. Out of six ships under his command two only escaped, and of these one foundered at sea; the other, called the *Judith*, a bark of fifty tons, commanded by Francis Drake, brought back the remnant of the adventurers to Europe. The reader will perhaps be surprised when he understands that the two largest vessels out of the six engaged in this inhuman traffic belonged to the queen.

SIR PHILIP SIDNEY
(1554–1586)

In an age of religious fanaticism it is not unusual to find habits of piety united with the indulgence of the most lawless passions. Drake attributed his late disaster to the perfidy of the viceroy. He thirsted for revenge; a naval chaplain was consulted, and the enlightened casuist determined that the loss which he had suffered from a Spanish commander might be justly repaired by the plunder of Spanish subjects in any part of the globe. The conscience of the adventurer was satisfied; he made three predatory voyages to the West Indies in 1572; and if the first two were unsuccessful, the last amply indemnified him for his previous disappointments.

In the Gulf of Mexico he captured more than one hundred small vessels, July 28th; he took and plundered *Nombre de Dios;* made an expedition by land in the company of the Symerons, or fugitive negroes, and of a band of French adventurers; and intercepted a convoy of mules laden with gold and silver. This treasure satisfied his rapacity; to secure it he hastened back to England, pretending that he had obtained it by way of barter from the natives.

During his last expedition, from the summit of a mountain on the Isthmus of Darien Drake had for the first time descried the great Pacific Ocean, February 11th, 1573; and in a transport of enthusiasm, falling on his knees, he called God to witness that if life were granted him he would one day unfurl the English flag on that sea, hitherto unknown to his countrymen.[1] In England he was not unmindful of his vow. Walsingham, Hatton, and some of the other councillors applauded and aided his efforts, and Elizabeth herself staked a sum of one thousand crowns on the issue of the expedition.

[1 Von Ranke *d* says, "This was an important moment in the history of the world."]

He sailed, November 15th, 1577, with five ships and one hundred and sixty men, and crossed the Atlantic to the coast of Brazil; passed the Straits of Magellan, and reached the small port of Santiago on the Spanish main. No resistance had been prepared where no enemy had hitherto been known. From Santiago to Lima, the towns on the coast and the vessels in the harbours were taken and plundered. His last and richest capture was made at sea, March 1st, 1579—the *Cacafuego*, a Spanish trader of considerable value.

But the alarm was now raised; a squadron had been stationed at the straits to intercept his return, and Drake took the bold resolution of stretching across the Pacific Ocean to the Moluccas. Thence, after many dangers and adventures, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, he returned to Plymouth in safety, November 3rd, 1580, after an absence of almost three years. His arrival was celebrated as a triumph. He came indeed stained with bloodshed and rapine, but in the estimation of the people these blots were effaced by the glory of the enterprise; and England hailed with joy the return of her adventurous son, the first of mortals who had in one voyage circumnavigated the globe.[1]

Though Drake had sailed with five ships, he returned with only one—the *Golden Hind*, but it was laden with treasure to the amount of £800,000. Of this sum, one-tenth was distributed among the officers and crew; a portion was given up to the Spanish ambassador, who claimed the whole in the name of his sovereign; and the rest, of which no account was ever received, was believed to have been shared among the queen, the commander, and the royal favourites. Four months, however, elapsed before she would give to Drake any public testimony of her approbation. His ship had been placed in the dock at Deptford that it might be preserved as a memorial of his daring adventure. Elizabeth condescended to partake of a banquet which he gave in the cabin, and before her departure conferred on him the honour of knighthood.

When Philip complained of these depredations they were feebly vindicated on the ground of his having secretly aided the queen's enemies and sought to excite rebellion in her dominions. But if the plea of retaliation is to be admitted at all, we must seek out the original aggressor, and impartiality will compel us to lay the blame on the unjustifiable conduct of the English adventurers. At length, however, Elizabeth, as the ally of Holland, engaged in open war with Philip; the lawless pirate was immediately converted into an officer acting under the royal commission, and the skill and intrepidity of Drake were successfully employed in legitimate hostilities for the service of his sovereign. With a fleet of twenty-one sail he directed his course to the West Indies, burned the town of Santiago, September 14th, 1585, plundered those of Santo Domingo and Cartagena, and razed two Spanish forts on the coast of Florida.[2]

At the same time, Thomas Cavendish, a gentleman of Suffolk, who had dissipated one-half of his property, sold the remainder, built or purchased three small vessels, and sailed in quest of adventures to the Spanish main. Like Drake, he made the circuit of the globe, but, like him, he added little to the stock of general knowledge. The object of both was to enrich themselves at

[1] The glory of having practically demonstrated the orbicular form of the earth belonged to Magellan; but that navigator was prevented from completing his circumnavigation of the globe by his death in the Philippine Islands.

[2] In this expedition he lost seven hundred men by sickness, and brought back to England the survivors of a colony which Sir Walter Raleigh had sent out to Virginia. These colonists, on their return, introduced the custom of smoking tobacco.

the expense of the Spaniards. This they effected; the improvement of science was beyond their abilities or beneath their notice.[1]

These maritime expeditions might irritate the Spanish monarch; they contributed nothing towards the great object of the war. The subjugation or independence of the Netherlands was to be decided on the spot; and there Philip had little to dread as long as the conduct of the hostile army was intrusted to the presumption and incapacity of Leicester.

The states assembled; and, as if the queen's lieutenant was no longer in existence, appointed Maurice, son to the late prince William of Orange, stadtholder and captain-general in Holland, Zealand, and Friesland. Elizabeth felt the affront offered to her favourite as offered to herself, and the lord Buckhurst was despatched to signify her displeasure. By his exertions harmony was restored.

The English queen, however, had a more important object in view. She had rashly, though reluctantly, plunged into the contest with Philip; she now sought to extricate herself from it with honour, but Leicester and his friends urged the continuation of the war. They foretold that while the queen was deluded with a pretended negotiation, the Spanish squadrons would slip from their ports, unite in one numerous armament, and pour a foreign army on the English shores; and they wrought so powerfully on the fears and feelings of Elizabeth, that Drake was despatched from Plymouth to watch the harbours of Spain, and to oppose, if it were attempted, the junction of the Spanish fleet.

But that officer had no intention to confine himself to the letter of his instructions. He hastened to Cadiz, April 19th, bore fearlessly into the harbour, dispersed by his superior fire the Spanish galleys, and sunk, or burned, or captured, or destroyed, no fewer than eighty sail, partly ships of war, partly merchantmen, either recently arrived from the east or equipped to proceed to the West Indies. From Cadiz the conquerors returned by the coast of Portugal; in the waters of the Tagus they insulted the marquis of Santa Cruz, the admiral of Spain; and at sea their labours were rewarded by the capture of the *St. Philip,* a carrack of the largest dimensions and laden with much valuable merchandise.[2]

The victorious admiral was received with gratitude by all but his sovereign. Elizabeth trembled lest so great a loss should awaken in the breast of Philip the desire of revenge rather than of peace; and in answer to a letter from Farnese, who had offered to appoint negotiators, and left the place of meeting to the choice of the queen, she assured him that Drake had been sent out for the sole purpose of opposing any attempt at invasion; that orders had been forwarded to him to abstain from every act of hostility; and that as he had disobeyed her commands he should suffer for his presumption on his return. Farnese affected to be satisfied, but prepared to play a similar game.

On a sudden, Sluys, a fort of the first consequence, garrisoned partly by Englishmen and partly by Hollanders, was besieged, May 29th, and the number and discipline of the enemy, the abilities and good fortune of their leader, taught the states to tremble for its safety. They made the most pressing

[1] Cavendish afterwards undertook a similar voyage in 1591, and perished at sea.

[2] Drake said that he had "singed the Spanish king's beard." This triumph at Cadiz and this capture of the rich merchant ship were of permanent importance. "The English ever after that time more cheerfully set upon those huge, castle-like ships which before they were afraid of; and also they so fully understood, by the merchants' books, the wealth of the Indian merchandises and the manner of trading in the eastern world, that they afterwards set up a gainful voyage and traffic thither, ordaining a company of East Indian merchants."—CAMDEN.*e*]

[1587 A.D.]

instances to the queen; her favourite assailed her with arguments and entreaties; and she gave her consent to the departure of Leicester.

The earl arrived, assembled his forces, and made three unsuccessful attempts to raise the siege. Sluys capitulated, July 30th, 1587, and the earl became in a few days the execration of the people. From the conflicting assertions of Leicester and his opponents, it is difficult to form a correct notion of his proceedings. They charged him with aspiring to the sovereignty of the provinces; they asserted that with this view he had sought to place English governors in every fortress; had attempted to seize the persons of Barneveld, his chief adversary, and of Prince Maurice, his most formidable rival; and had arranged a plot to seize for himself the city of Leyden, which was preserved to the states only by the timidity and flight of the conspirators. Leicester, on the contrary, complained bitterly of the ingratitude of the Hollanders; accused the most ardent among the patriots of corruption and treason, and pretended that a secret design existed of betraying the Netherlands into the hands of Philip.

However these things may be, his influence with Elizabeth, though supported by that of his son-in-law, the young earl of Essex, was apparently gone. She believed that he had neglected her instructions, and sought chiefly his own aggrandisement; and when Farnese complained that the queen had no real desire of peace, she laid the blame first on the negligence, and then on the ambition, of Leicester. He was recalled, and on his arrival, November 21st, aware of his danger, threw himself at her feet and conjured her to have pity on her former favourite. "She had sent him to the Netherlands with honour; would she receive him back in disgrace? She had raised him from the dust; would she now bury him alive?"

Elizabeth relented, but the result of the interview was not revealed till the following morning. The earl had received a summons to answer before the council. He obeyed; but instead of kneeling at the foot of the table, took his accustomed seat; and when the secretary began to read the charges which had been prepared, he arose, inveighed against the baseness and perfidy of his calumniators, and appealed from the prejudices of his equals to the equity of his sovereign. The members gazed on each other; the secretary passed to the ordinary business of the day; and the lord Buckhurst, the accuser, was ordered to consider himself a prisoner in his own house. Such a punishment was evidently unjust. But he submitted without a murmur; and so rigorously did he observe the royal order that, although his confinement lasted till the death of Leicester, he never admitted, during nine months, either his wife or children into his company.

SIR CHRISTOPHER HATTON THE FAVOURITE

About the same time the death of Bromley, lord chancellor, enabled the queen to satisfy the ambition of another of her favourites. Since the Reformation that high office had been confined to lawyers; she now resolved to break through the custom, and to bestow it on the earl of Rutland. But Rutland died within a few days; and to the surprise and amusement of the public, Sir Christopher Hatton was appointed chancellor, April 29th.

There is much in the personal history of this fortunate courtier to instruct and interest the reader. Above five-and-twenty years had elapsed since it chanced that the students in the inns of court gave a magnificent ball in honour of the queen. Among the maskers her eye distinguished one who in

stature, activity, and gracefulness of manner excelled all his compeers. The lucky dancer was Hatton, a young gentleman of slender fortune, from Northamptonshire. She invited him to court, gave him an appointment in her band of pensioners, and made him a gentleman of the privy chamber. Years passed before he was raised to any higher office, but these situations gave him frequent access to the queen, and it soon became manifest that he enjoyed a considerable portion of the royal favour.

Niggard as the queen usually was to the most deserving of her servants, she seldom suffered a long interval to pass without making to Hatton some valuable grant in lands or rents; and it was observed that at her annual New Year's gifts she constantly assigned to him a much more valuable present than to any other individual. These marks of favour excited jealousy and suspicion; occasionally she could not forbear from lavishing caresses upon him in the presence of others; frequently she spent several hours at a time with him in private; the tongue of scandal was not idle, and it became the general belief that he occupied that place in her affection which had formerly been assigned to the earl of Leicester.

Several of his letters to her are still extant, written in a most extraordinary style, and breathing the passionate language of a favoured and presumptuous lover. In 1577 the queen conferred on him the honour of knighthood, appointed him vice-chamberlain, and gave to him a seat in the privy council. To his honour it must be recorded that we find him at times employing his authority to shield the poor and friendless from oppression, and to mitigate the severity of the law in favour of recusants under prosecution for their religion before the ecclesiastical commission.

Among the gallants at court was one who from the first appears to have been an object of jealousy to Hatton—the young and accomplished Walter Raleigh, the very counterpart of Hatton himself when about twenty years before he entered on his fortunate career. In 1582 Raleigh had received from the queen some distinguished mark of royal favour. Hatton was offended, and in proof of his displeasure he withdrew sullenly from court and shut himself up in the country.

Thus the gentle tarsel was flown; where was the falconer's voice to lure him back again? Elizabeth undertook that office, and performed it successfully, but by a process too mysterious and enigmatical to be readily understood. Messages were exchanged between her and the fugitive, and jewels transmitted for tokens, with the quaintest conceits and nonsensical comments on the "Belwether" and "the Water," the sobriquets of the two rivals.

Originally the queen gave to Hatton the name of her "Mutton," which was afterwards changed into her "Belwether," probably because he was captain of the guard. Raleigh was called "Water," perhaps from his passion for maritime adventure and voyages of discovery. The queen read Hatton's letter with blushing cheeks, and told Heneage, who had delivered it, that she knew not whether to be angry or pleased; that if princes were like gods, they would suffer no element to breed confusion; that *pecora campi* were so dear to her she would never permit "Water" or floods to overwhelm them; and to the end that her "Belwether" might not fear drowning, she would send to him for a token the bird (a dove) from which Noah learned that the "waters" had abated from the face of the earth. In conclusion, Heneage informed Hatton that, after all, "Water" had been much more welcome than was fit for the season, but he hoped that it would make neither himself nor his friend wet-shod. Hatton's tokens to the queen were a "bucket" to bale out the water, and a bodkin.

Hatton very wisely suffered himself to be persuaded, and resumed his former offices at court; but in 1585 he was seized with a second fit of jealousy, and the same game was played over again with a similar result. Still "Water" continued to encroach on the domain of the "Belwether." In 1580 Raleigh was made captain of the guard, the post which Hatton had so long possessed, lord warden of the Stannaries, and the queen's lieutenant in Cornwall; but in the next year she put an end to the contest between the two rivals. The elevation of Hatton to the chancellorship placed him at an immeasurable height above Raleigh. It might be to gratify *his* ambition, perhaps to free *herself* from the constant attendance of an old and querulous servant.

We are now arrived at the most interesting and memorable epoch in the reign of Elizabeth. The reader must have noticed the injuries which the queen had almost annually offered to the king of Spain. She had intercepted his treasure, had given aid to his rebels, had hired foreign mercenaries to fight against his armies, and had suffered her mariners to plunder and massacre his defenceless subjects on the high seas and in his American dominions. Policy taught him to dissemble; he covered his feelings with an affectation of disdain; and the monarch so haughty to every other power, appeared to bear the provocations given by Elizabeth with the most stoical indifference.

But the constant repetition of insult, the sophisms with which his complaints had formerly been answered, and the recollection that the queen, under the reign of her sister, had owed her liberty, perhaps her life, to his protection, sharpened the edge of his resentment; and if he hesitated to strike, it was only that he might take more sure and ample vengeance. In 1583, after a forbearance of fifteen years, he flattered himself that the day of retribution was come. The duke of Anjou had been driven out of the Netherlands; France trembled on the verge of a civil war; and the defeat of his rival Don Antonio, with the reduction of Terceira, had secured on his head the crown of Portugal.

Freed from other foes, he turned his attention to the English queen; but he was by nature slow and cautious: to arrange his plans, to make his preparations, demanded leisure and consideration; and five more years were suffered to elapse before the Armada, designed to subjugate the English nation, was ready to sail from the ports of Spain. Of all men, the Spanish king should have been the last to acknowledge in the pontiff the right of disposing of the crowns of princes. In former times he had not hesitated to declare war against Paul IV, and, by his general the duke of Alva, had dictated the terms of peace in the Vatican. Revenge and ambition taught him a different lesson. In confidence he communicated his object to Sixtus V, the reigning pope, and solicited his co-operation in an attempt which had for one of its objects the restoration of the papal authority in England. For this purpose he demanded an aid in money. Sixtus exhorted Philip to hasten the expedition, offering him a subsidy of a million of crowns, to be paid as soon as the invading army had landed on the coast of England.*f*

THE INVINCIBLE ARMADA

Perhaps in the history of mankind there has never been a vast project of conquest conceived and matured in so protracted and yet so desultory a manner as was this famous Spanish invasion. There was something almost puerile in the whims rather than schemes of Philip for carrying out his purpose. It was probable that some resistance would be offered, at least by

the navy of England, to the subjugation of that country, and the king had enjoyed an opportunity the preceding summer of seeing the way in which English sailors did their work. He had also appeared to understand the necessity of covering the passage of Farnese from the Flemish ports into the Thames, by means of the great Spanish fleet from Lisbon. Nevertheless he never seemed to be aware that Farnese could not invade England quite by himself, and was perpetually expecting to hear that he had done so.

"Holland and Zealand," wrote Alexander to Philip, "have been arming with their accustomed promptness; England has made great preparations. I have done my best to make the impossible possible. Four ships of war could sink every one of my boats. Nevertheless I beg to be informed of your majesty's final order. If I am seriously expected to make the passage without Santa Cruz, I am ready to do it, although I should go all alone in a cock-boat."

But Santa Cruz at least was not destined to assist in the conquest of England; for, worn out with fatigue and vexation, goaded by the reproaches and insults of Philip, Santa Cruz was dead. He was replaced in the chief command of the fleet by the duke of Medina Sidonia, a grandee of vast wealth, but with little capacity and less experience. Alexander informed his master that the troops in the Netherlands had been daily dwindling from sickness and other causes, till at last, instead of the 30,000 effective infantry, with which it had been originally intended to make the enterprise, he had not more than 17,000 in the month of April. The 6,000 Spaniards whom he was to receive from the fleet of Medina Sidonia would therefore be the very mainspring of his army. After leaving no more soldiers in the Netherlands than were absolutely necessary for the defence of the obedient provinces against the rebels, he could only take with him to England 23,000 men, even after the reinforcements from Medina. "When we talked of taking England by surprise," said Alexander, "we never thought of less than 30,000. Now that she is alert and ready for us, and that it is certain we must fight by sea and by land, 50,000 would be few."

At last, on the 28th, 29th, and 30th of May, 1588, the fleet, which had been waiting at Lisbon more than a month for favourable weather, set sail from that port, after having been duly blessed by the cardinal archduke Albert, viceroy of Portugal. There were rather more than one hundred and thirty ships in all, divided into ten squadrons. The total tonnage of the fleet was 59,120; the number of guns was 3,165. Of Spanish troops there were 19,295 on board; there were 8,252 sailors and 2,088 galley-slaves. Besides these there was a force of noble volunteers, belonging to the most illustrious houses of Spain, with their attendants, amounting to nearly 2,000 in all. There was also Don Martin Alaccon, administrator and vicar-general of the Holy Inquisition, at the head of some 290 monks of the mendicant orders, priests and familiars. The grand total of those embarked was about 30,000. The daily expense of the fleet was estimated by Don Diego de Pimentel at 12,000 ducats a day, and the daily cost of the combined naval and military force under Farnese and Medina Sidonia was stated at 30,000 ducats.

The size of the ships ranged from 1,200 to 300 tons. The galleons, of which there were about sixty, were huge round-stemmed clumsy vessels, with bulwarks three or four feet thick and built up at stem and stern like castles. The galleasses—of which there were four—were a third larger than the ordinary galley, and were rowed each by three hundred galley-slaves. They consisted of an enormous towering fortress at the stern, a castellated structure almost equally massive in front, with seats for the rowers amid-

THE ARMADA

(From the engraving by John Pine, 1739, of the Tapestry, since destroyed by fire, in the House of Lords)

[1588 A.D.]

ships. At stem and stern and between the slaves' benches were heavy cannon. These galeasses were floating edifices, very wonderful to contemplate. They were gorgeously decorated. There were splendid state-apartments, cabins, chapels, and pulpits in each, and they were amply provided with awnings, cushions, streamers, standards, gilded saints, and bands of music. To take part in an ostentatious pageant, nothing could be better devised. To fulfil the great objects of a war-vessel—to sail and to fight—they were the worst machines ever launched upon the ocean. The four galleys were similar to the galeasses in every respect except that of size, in which they were by one-third inferior.

All the ships of the fleet—galeasses, galleys, galleons, and hulks—were so encumbered with top-hamper, so overweighted in proportion to their draught of water, that they could bear but little canvas, even with smooth seas and light and favourable winds. In violent tempests, therefore, they seemed likely to suffer. To the eyes of the sixteenth century these vessels seemed enormous. A ship of 1,300 tons was then a monster rarely seen, and a fleet numbering from 130 to 150 sail, with an aggregate tonnage of 60,000, seemed sufficient to conquer the world, and to justify the arrogant title, by which it had baptised itself, of the Invincible.

Such was the machinery which Philip had at last set afloat, for the purpose of dethroning Elizabeth and establishing the Inquisition in England. One hundred and forty ships, 11,000 Spanish veterans, as many more recruits, partly Spanish, partly Portuguese, 2,000 grandees, as many galley-slaves, and three hundred barefooted friars and inquisitors.

The plan was simple. Medina Sidonia was to proceed straight from Lisbon to the Calais roads; there he was to wait for the duke of Parma, who was to come forth from Newport, Sluys, and Dunkirk, bringing with him his 17,000 veterans, and to assume the chief command of the whole expedition. They were then to cross the Channel to Dover, land the army of Parma, reinforced with 6,000 Spaniards from the fleet, and with these 23,000 men Alexander was to march at once upon London. Medina Sidonia was to seize and fortify the Isle of Wight, guard the entrance of the harbours against any interference from the Dutch and English fleets, and—so soon as the conquest of England had been effected—he was to proceed to Ireland. It had been the wish of Sir William Stanley that Ireland should be subjugated first, as a basis of operations against England; but this had been overruled. The intrigues of Mendoza and Farnese, too, with the Catholic nobles of Scotland, had proved, after all, unsuccessful. King James had yielded to superior offers of money and advancement held out to him by Elizabeth, and was now, in Alexander's words, a confirmed heretic.

There was no course left, therefore, but to conquer England at once. A strange omission had, however, been made in the plan from first to last. The commander of the whole expedition was the duke of Parma; on his head was the whole responsibility. Not a gun was to be fired—if it could be avoided—until he had come forth with his veterans to make his junction with the Invincible Armada off Calais. Yet there was no arrangement whatever to enable him to come forth—not the slightest provision to effect that junction. It would almost seem that the letter-writer of the Escorial had been quite ignorant of the existence of the Dutch fleets off Dunkirk, Newport, and Flushing, although he had certainly received information enough of this formidable obstacle to his plan.

It was clear that Alexander's collection of small flat-bottomed river-boats and hoys could not even make the passage, except in smooth weather. They

could not contend with a storm, much less with the enemy's ships, which would destroy them utterly in case of a meeting, without his being able to avail himself of his soldiers—who would be so closely packed as to be hardly movable—or of any human help. The preposterous notion that he should come out with his flotilla to make a junction with Medina off Calais, was over and over again denounced by Alexander with vehemence and bitterness, and most boding expressions were used by him as to the probable result were such a delusion persisted in. There was bread, beef, and powder enough; there were monks and priests enough; standards, galley-slaves, and inquisitors enough; but there were no light vessels in the Armada, and no heavy vessels in Parma's fleet. Medina could not go to Farnese, nor could Farnese come to Medina. The junction was likely to be difficult, and yet it had never once entered the heads of Philip or his counsellors to provide for that difficulty. The king never seemed to imagine that Farnese, with 40,000 or 50,000 soldiers in the Netherlands, a fleet of 300 transports, and power to dispose of very large funds for one great purpose, could be kept in prison by a fleet of Dutch skippers and Corsairs.

With as much sluggishness as might have been expected from their clumsy architecture, the ships of the Armada consumed nearly three weeks in sailing from Lisbon to the neighbourhood of Cape Finisterre. Here they were overtaken by a tempest, and were scattered hither and thither, almost at the mercy of the winds and waves; for those unwieldy hulks were ill-adapted to a tempest in the Bay of Biscay.

This was the first adventure of the Invincible Armada. Of the squadron of galleys, one was already sunk in the sea, and two of the others had been conquered by their own mutinous galley-slaves. The fourth rode out the gale with difficulty and joined the rest of the fleet, which ultimately reassembled at Corunna. At the Groyne—as the English of that day were accustomed to call Corunna—they remained a month, repairing damages and recruiting; and on the 22nd of July (N. S.) the Armada set sail.

On Friday, the 29th of July, off the Lizard, they had the first glimpse of the land of promise presented them by Sixtus V, of which they had at last come to take possession. On the same day and night the blaze and smoke of ten thousand beacon-fires from Land's End to Margate, and from the Isle of Wight to Cumberland, gave warning to every Englishman that the enemy was at last upon them. Almost at that very instant intelligence had been brought from the court to the lord admiral at Plymouth that the Armada, dispersed and shattered by the gales of June, was not likely to make its appearance that year; and orders had consequently been given to disarm the four largest ships and send them into dock. Even Walsingham had participated in this strange delusion. Before Howard had time to act upon this ill-timed suggestion—even had he been disposed to do so—he received authentic intelligence that the great fleet was off the Lizard. Neither he nor Francis Drake were the men to lose time in such an emergency, and before that Friday night was spent, sixty of the best English ships had been warped out of Plymouth harbour.

By nine o'clock, the 31st of July, about two miles from Looe, on the Cornish coast, the fleets had their first meeting. There were 136 sail of the Spaniards (of which ninety were large ships) and sixty-seven of the English. It was a solemn moment. The long-expected Armada presented a pompous, almost a theatrical appearance. The ships seemed arranged for a pageant in honour of a victory already won. Disposed in form of a crescent, the horns of which were seven miles asunder, those gilded, towered, floating

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castles, with their gaudy standards and their martial music, moved slowly along the Channel with an air of indolent pomp. Their captain-general, the golden duke, stood in his private shot-proof fortress, on the deck of his great galleon the *Saint Martin*, surrounded by generals of infantry and colonels of cavalry, who knew as little as he did himself of naval matters.

The English vessels, on the other hand—with a few exceptions, light, swift, and easily handled—could sail round and round those unwieldy galleons, hulks, and galleys, rowed by fettered slave-gangs. The superior seamanship of free Englishmen, commanded by such experienced captains as Drake, Frobisher, and Hawkins—from infancy at home on blue water—was manifest in the very first encounter. They obtained the weather-gage at once, and cannonaded the enemy at intervals with considerable effect, easily escaping at will out of range of the sluggish Armada, which was incapable of bearing sail in pursuit, although provided with an armament which could sink all its enemies at close quarters.

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE
(1540–1596)

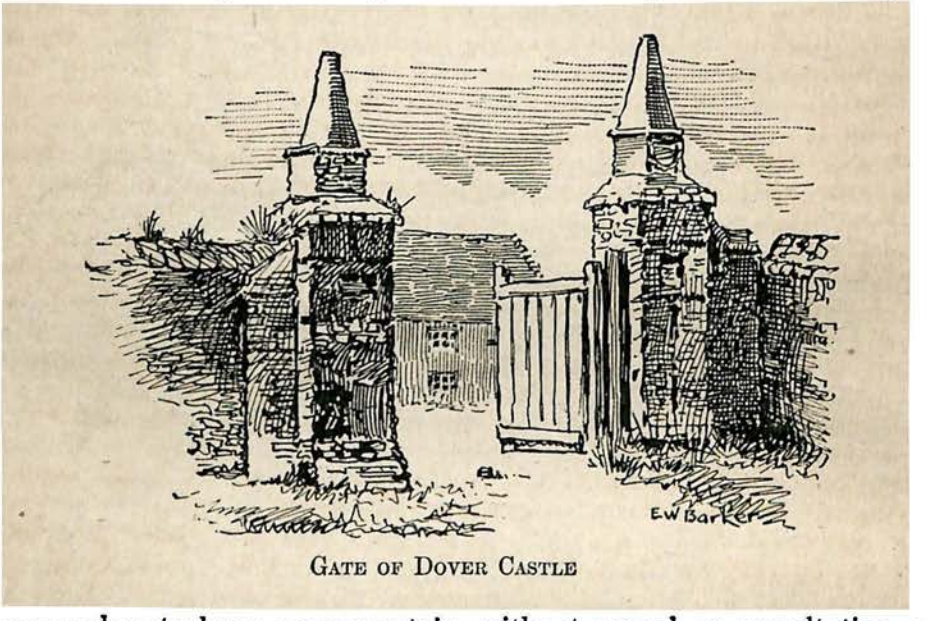
Medina Sidonia hoisted the royal standard at the fore, and the whole fleet did its utmost, which was little, to offer general battle. It was in vain. The English following at the heels of the enemy refused all such invitations, and attacked only the rear-guard of the Armada, where Recalde commanded. That admiral, steadily maintaining his post, faced his nimble antagonists, who continued to tease, to maltreat, and to elude him, while the rest of the fleet proceeded slowly up the Channel, closely followed by the enemy. And thus the running fight continued along the coast, in full view of Plymouth, whence boats with reinforcements and volunteers were perpetually arriving to the English ships, until the battle had drifted quite out of reach of the town.

Here certainly was no very great triumphant beginning for the Invincible Armada. On the very first day of their being in the presence of the English fleet—then but sixty-seven in number, and vastly their inferior in size and weight of metal—they had lost the flag-ships of the Guipuzcoan and of the Andalusian squadrons, with a general-admiral, four hundred and fifty officers and men, and some hundred thousand ducats of treasure. They had been out-manœuvred, out-sailed, and thoroughly maltreated by their antagonists, and they had been unable to inflict a single blow in return.

On Monday, the 1st of August, Medina Sidonia placed the rear-guard—consisting of the galeasses, the galleons *St. Matthew*, *St. Luke*, *St. James*, and the *Florence* and other ships, forty-three in all—under command of Don Antonio de Leyva. He was instructed to entertain the enemy—so constantly

hanging on the rear—to accept every chance of battle, and to come to close quarters whenever it should be possible. The Spaniards felt confident of sinking every ship in the English navy, if they could but once come to grappling; but it was growing more obvious every hour that the giving or withholding battle was entirely in the hands of their foes.

Meantime, while the rear was thus protected by Leyva's division, the vanguard and main body of the Armada, led by the captain-general, would steadily pursue its way, according to the royal instructions, until it arrived at its appointed meeting-place with the duke of Parma. Moreover, the duke of Medina, dissatisfied with the want of discipline and of good seamanship hitherto displayed in his fleet, now took occasion to send a sergeant-major, with written sailing directions, on board each ship in the Armada, with



GATE OF DOVER CASTLE

express orders to hang every captain, without appeal or consultation, who should leave the position assigned him; and the hangmen were sent with the sergeant-majors. Disposed in this manner, the Spaniards sailed leisurely along the English coast with light westerly breezes, watched closely by the queen's fleet, which hovered at a moderate distance to windward, without offering, that day, any obstruction to their course.

By five o'clock on Tuesday morning, the 2nd of August, the Armada lay between Portland Bill and St. Albans' Head, when the wind shifted to the northeast, and gave the Spaniards the weather-gage. The English did their best to get to windward, but the duke, standing close into the land with the whole Armada, maintained his advantage. The English then went about, making a tack seaward, and were soon afterwards assaulted by the Spaniards. A long and spirited action ensued. Howard in his little *Ark-Royal*—"the odd ship of the world for all conditions"—was engaged at different times with *Bertendona*, of the Italian squadron, with Alonzo de Leyva in the *Ratta*, and with other large vessels. He was hard pressed for a time, but was gallantly supported by the *Nonpareil*, Captain Tanner; and after a long and confused combat, in which the *St. Mark*, the *St. Luke*, the *St. Matthew*, the *St. Philip*, the *St. John*, the *St. James*, the *St. John Baptist*, the *St. Martin*, and many other great galleons with saintly and apostolic names, fought

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pell-mell with the *Lion*, the *Bear*, the *Bull*, the *Tiger*, the *Dreadnaught*, the *Revenge*, the *Victory*, the *Triumph*, and other of the mere profanely baptised English ships, the Spaniards were again baffled in all their attempts to close with, and to board, their ever-attacking, ever-flying adversaries.

Boat-loads of men and munitions were perpetually arriving to the English, and many high-born volunteers, like Cumberland, Oxford, Northumberland, Raleigh, Brooke, Dudley, Willoughby, Noel, William Hatton, Thomas Cecil, and others, could no longer restrain their impatience as the roar of battle sounded along the coasts of Dorset, but flocked merrily on board the ships of Drake, Hawkins, Howard, and Frobisher, or came in small vessels which they had chartered for themselves in order to have their share in the delights of the long-expected struggle.

The action, irregular, desultory, but lively, continued nearly all day, and until the English had fired away most of their powder and shot. The Spaniards, too, notwithstanding their years of preparation, were already short of light metal, and Medina Sidonia had been daily sending to Parma for a supply of four-, six-, and ten-pound balls. So much lead and gunpowder had never before been wasted in a single day, for there was no great damage inflicted on either side. The artillery practice was certainly not much to the credit of either nation.

The queen's fleet, now divided into four squadrons, under Howard, Drake, Hawkins, and Frobisher, amounted to near one hundred sail, exclusive of Lord Henry Seymour's division, which was cruising in the Straits of Dover. But few of all this number were ships of war, however, and the merchant vessels, although zealous and active enough, were not thought very effective.

All night the Spaniards, holding their course towards Calais after the long but indecisive conflict had terminated, were closely pursued by their wary antagonists. On Wednesday, the 3rd of August, there was some slight cannonading, with but slender results; and on Thursday, the 4th, both fleets were off Dunnose, on the Isle of Wight. The great hulk *Santaña* and a galleon of Portugal, having been somewhat damaged the previous day, were lagging behind the rest of the Armada, and were vigorously attacked by the *Triumph* and a few other vessels. Don Antonio de Leyva, with some of the galeasses and large galleons, came to the rescue, and Frobisher, although in much peril, maintained an unequal conflict, within close range, with great spirit. Seeing his danger, the lord-admiral in the *Ark-Royal*, accompanied by the *Golden Lion*, the *White Bear*, the *Elizabeth*, the *Victory*, and the *Leicester*, bore boldly down into the very midst of the Spanish fleet, and laid himself within three or four hundred yards of Medina's flag-ship, the *St. Martin*, while his comrades were at equally close quarters with Vice-Admiral Recalde and the galleons of Oquendo, Mexia, and Almanza.

It was the hottest conflict which had yet taken place. Here at last was thorough English work. The two great fleets, which were there to subjugate and to defend the realm of Elizabeth, were nearly yard-arm and yard-arm together—all England on the lee. Broadside after broadside of great guns, volley after volley of arquebusry from maintop and rigging, were warmly exchanged, and much damage was inflicted on the Spaniards, whose gigantic ships were so easy a mark to aim at, while from their turreted heights they themselves fired for the most part harmlessly over the heads of their adversaries. The leaders of the Armada, however, were encouraged, for they expected at last to come to even closer quarters, and there were some among the English who were mad enough to wish to board.

But so soon as Frobisher, who was the hero of the day, had extricated himself from his difficulty, the lord-admiral, having no intention of risking the existence of his fleet, and with it perhaps the English crown, upon the hazard of a single battle, and having been himself somewhat damaged in the fight, gave the signal for retreat, and caused the *Ark-Royal* to be towed out of action. Thus the Spaniards were frustrated of their hopes, and the English, having inflicted much punishment at comparatively small loss to themselves, again stood off to windward, and the Armada continued its indolent course along the cliffs of Freshwater and Blackgang. And in the Calais roads the great fleet, sailing slowly all next day in company with the English, without a shot being fired on either side, at last dropped anchor on Saturday afternoon, August 6th.

So soon as Lord Henry Seymour, arriving from the opposite shore with sixteen ships, had made his junction with the English, the whole combined fleet dropped anchor likewise very near Calais, and within one mile and a half of the Spaniards. That invincible force had at last almost reached its destination. It was now to receive the co-operation of the great Farnese, at the head of an army of veterans, disciplined on a hundred battle-fields, confident from countless victories, and arrayed, as they had been, with ostentatious splendour, to follow the most brilliant general in Christendom on his triumphal march into the capital of England.

Never, since England was England, had such a sight been seen as now revealed itself in those narrow straits between Dover and Calais. Along that long, low, sandy shore, and quite within the range of the Calais fortifications, one hundred and thirty Spanish ships—the greater number of them the largest and most heavily armed in the world—lay face to face, and scarcely out of cannon-shot, with one hundred and fifty English sloops and frigates, the strongest and swiftest that the island could furnish, and commanded by men whose exploits had rung through the world. Farther along the coast, invisible, but known to be performing a most perilous and vital service, was a squadron of Dutch vessels of all sizes, lining both the inner and outer edges of the sandbanks off the Flemish coasts, and swarming in all the estuaries and inlets of that intricate and dangerous cruising-ground between Dunkirk and Walcheren.

Those fleets of Holland and Zealand, numbering some one hundred and fifty galleons, sloops, and fly-boats, under Warmond, Nassau, Van der Does, De Moor, and Rosendael, lay patiently blockading every possible egress from Newport, or Gravelines, or Sluys, or Flushing, or Dunkirk, and longing to grapple with the duke of Parma, so soon as his fleet of gunboats and hoys, packed with his Spanish and Italian veterans, should venture to set forth upon the sea for their long-prepared exploit.

It was a pompous spectacle, that midsummer night, upon those narrow seas. The moon, which was at the full, was rising calmly upon a scene of anxious expectation. Would she not be looking by the morrow's night upon a subjugated England, a re-enslaved Holland—upon the downfall of civil and religious liberty? Those ships of Spain, which lay there with their banners waving in the moonlight, discharging salvoes of anticipated triumph and filling the air with strains of insolent music, would they not, by daybreak, be moving straight to their purpose, bearing the conquerors of the world to the scene of their cherished hopes?

Hitherto the English had been teasing and perplexing an enemy on the retreat, as it were, by the nature of his instructions. Although anxious to give battle, the Spaniard was forbidden to descend upon the coast until after

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his junction with Parma. So the English had played a comparatively easy game, hanging upon their enemy's skirts, maltreating him as they doubled about him, cannonading him from a distance, and slipping out of his reach at their pleasure. But he was now to be met face to face, and the fate of the two free commonwealths of the world was upon the issue of the struggle which could no longer be deferred.

Winter, standing side by side with the lord-admiral on the deck of the little *Ark-Royal*, gazed for the first time on those enormous galleons and galleys with which his companion was already sufficiently familiar. "Considering their hugeness," said he, "'twill not be possible to remove them but by a device." Then remembering, in a lucky moment, something that he had heard four years before of the fire-ships sent by the Antwerpers against Parma's bridge—the inventor of which, the Italian Giambelli, was at that very moment constructing fortifications on the Thames to assist the English against his old enemy Farnese—Winter suggested that some stratagem of the same kind should be attempted against the Invincible Armada.

There was no time nor opportunity to prepare such submarine volcanoes as had been employed on that memorable occasion, but burning ships at least might be sent among the fleet. Some damage would doubtless be thus inflicted by the fire, and perhaps a panic, suggested by the memories of Antwerp and by the knowledge that the famous Mantuan wizard was then a resident of England, would be still more effective. In Winter's opinion,[1] the Armada might at least be compelled to slip its cables and be thrown into some confusion if the project were fairly carried out. Howard approved of the device.

The impatience of the soldiers and sailors on board the fleet was equal to that of their commanders. There was London almost before their eyes—a huge mass of treasure, richer and more accessible than those mines beyond the Atlantic which had so often rewarded Spanish chivalry with fabulous wealth. And there were men in those galleons who remembered the sack of Antwerp eleven years before; men who could tell, from personal experience, how helpless was a great commercial city when once in the clutch of disciplined brigands; men who in that dread "fury of Antwerp" had enriched themselves in an hour with the accumulations of a merchant's lifetime, and who had slain fathers and mothers, sons and daughters, brides and bridegrooms, before each other's eyes, until the number of inhabitants butchered in the blazing streets rose to many thousands; and the plunder from palaces and warehouses was counted by millions, before the sun had set on the "great fury." Those Spaniards, and Italians, and Walloons were now thirsting for more gold, for more blood; and as the capital of England was even more wealthy and far more defenceless than the commercial metropolis of the Netherlands had been, so it was resolved that the London "fury" should be more thorough and more productive than the "fury" of Antwerp, at the memory of which the world still shuddered.

Where was Farnese? Most impatiently the golden duke paced the deck of the *St. Martin*. The mystery was profound, for it had never entered the head of any man in the Armada that Alexander could not come out when

[1] Winter's Letter, MS. It has been stated by many writers—Camden,[e] Meteren,[g] and others—that this project of the fire-ships was directly commanded by the queen. Others, as Bor,[h] attribute the device to the lord-admiral or to Drake (Strada[i]), while Coloma[j] prefers to regard the whole matter as quite a trifling accident, *charto pequeno accidente*; but there is no doubt that the merit of the original suggestion belongs exclusively to Winter. To give the glory of the achievement to her majesty, who knew nothing of it whatever, was a most gratuitous exhibition of loyalty.

he chose. And now to impatience succeeded suspicion and indignation, and there were curses upon sluggishness and upon treachery. For in the horrible atmosphere of duplicity in which all Spaniards and Italians of that epoch lived, every man suspected his brother, and already Medina Sidonia suspected Farnese of playing him false. There were whispers of collusion between the duke and the English commissioners at Bourbourg. There were hints that Alexander was playing his own game, that he meant to divide the sovereignty of the Netherlands with the heretic Elizabeth, to desert his great trust, and to effect, if possible, the destruction of his master's Armada and the downfall of his master's sovereignty in the north.

As the twilight deepened the moon became totally obscured, dark cloud-masses spread over the heavens, the sea grew black, distant thunder rolled, and the sob of an approaching tempest became distinctly audible. Such indications of a westerly gale were not encouraging to those cumbrous vessels, with the treacherous quicksands of Flanders under their lee. At an hour past midnight it was so dark that it was difficult for the most practised eye to pierce far into the gloom. But a faint drip of oars now struck the ears of the Spaniards as they watched from the decks. A few moments afterwards the sea became suddenly luminous, and six flaming vessels appeared at a slight distance, bearing steadily down upon them before the wind and tide.

There were men in the Armada who had been at the siege of Antwerp, only three years before. They remembered with horror the devil-ships of Giambelli, those floating volcanoes, which had seemed to rend earth and ocean, whose explosion had laid so many thousands of soldiers dead at a blow, and which had shattered the bridge and floating forts of Farnese as though they had been toys of glass. They knew, too, that the famous engineer was at that moment in England. In a moment one of those horrible panics which spread with such contagious rapidity among large bodies of men seized upon the Spaniards. There was a yell throughout the fleet, "The fire-ships of Antwerp! The fire-ships of Antwerp!" and in an instant every cable was cut, and frantic attempts were made by each galleon and galeasse to escape what seemed imminent destruction. The confusion was beyond description. Four or five of the largest ships became entangled with each other. Two others were set on fire by the flaming vessels and were consumed.

So long as night and darkness lasted the confusion and uproar continued. When the Monday morning dawned, several of the Spanish vessels lay disabled, while the rest of the fleet was seen at a distance of two leagues from Calais, driving towards the Flemish coast. The lord-admiral, who had been lying off and on, now bore away with all his force in pursuit of the Spaniards. The Invincible Armada, already sorely crippled, was standing N. N. E. directly before a fresh topsail-breeze from the S. S. W. The English came up with them soon after nine o'clock A.M., off Gravelines, and found them sailing in a half-moon, the admiral and vice-admiral in the centre, and the flanks protected by the three remaining galeasses and by the great galleons of Portugal. Seeing the enemy approaching, Medina Sidonia ordered his whole fleet to luff to the wind and prepare for action. The wind shifting a few points, was now at W. N. W., so that the English had both the weather-gage and the tide in their favour.

A general combat began at about ten, and it was soon obvious to the Spaniards that their adversaries were intending warm work. Sir Francis Drake in the *Revenge*, followed by Frobisher in the *Triumph*, Hawkins in the *Victory*, and some smaller vessels, made the first attack upon the Spanish

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flag-ships. The battle lasted six hours long, hot and furious. The English still partially maintained the tactics which had proved so successful, and resolutely refused the fierce attempts of the Spaniards to lay themselves alongside. Keeping within musket range, the well-disciplined English mariners poured broadside after broadside against the towering ships of the Armada, which afforded so easy a mark; while the Spaniards, on their part, found it impossible, while wasting incredible quantities of powder and shot, to inflict any severe damage on their enemies.

Throughout the action not an English ship was destroyed, and not a hundred men were killed. On the other hand, all the best ships of the Spaniards were riddled through and through, and with masts and yards shattered, sails and rigging torn to shreds, and a northwest wind still drifting them towards the fatal sand-banks of Holland, they laboured heavily in a chopping sea, firing wildly, and receiving tremendous punishment at the hands of Howard, Drake, Seymour, Winter, and their followers. There was scarcely a ship in the Armada that did not suffer severely, for nearly all were engaged in that memorable action off the sands of Gravelines. Before five o'clock in the afternoon at least sixteen of their best ships had been sacrificed, and from four to five thousand soldiers killed.

Nearly all the largest vessels of the Armada, therefore, having been disabled or damaged, and all their small shot exhausted, Medina Sidonia reluctantly gave orders to retreat. Crippled, maltreated, and diminished in number as were his ships, he would still have faced the enemy, but the winds and currents were fast driving him on a lee-shore, and the pilots, one and all, assured him that it would be inevitable destruction to remain. The Armada bore away N. N. E. into the open sea, leaving those who could not follow to their fate.

Nor would the Spaniards have escaped even worse punishment had not the penurious policy of the queen's government rendered her ships useless at last, even in this supreme moment. They never ceased cannonading the discomfited enemy until the ammunition was exhausted. "When the cartridges were all spent," said Winter, "and the munitions in some vessels gone altogether, we ceased fighting, but followed the enemy, who still kept away." And the enemy, although still numerous, and seeming strong enough, if properly handled, to destroy the whole English fleet, fled before them. There remained more than fifty Spanish vessels above six hundred tons in size, besides sixty hulks and other vessels of less account; while in the whole English navy were but thirteen ships of or above that burthen. "Their force is wonderful great and strong," said Howard, "but we pluck their feathers by little and little."

For Medina Sidonia had now satisfied himself that he should never succeed in boarding those hard-fighting and swift-sailing craft, while, meantime, the horrible panic of Sunday night and the succession of fights throughout the following day had completely disorganized his followers. Crippled, riddled, shorn, but still numerous, and by no means entirely vanquished, the Armada was flying with a gentle breeze before an enemy who, to save his existence, could not have fired a broadside. "Though our powder and shot was well-nigh spent," said the lord-admiral, "we put on a brag countenance and gave them chase, as though we had wanted nothing."

There was less enthusiasm among the sailors of the fleet. Pursuing the Spaniards without powder or fire, and without beef and bread to eat, was not thought amusing by the English crews. Howard had not three days' supply of food in his lockers, and Seymour and his squadron had not food for one day.

Accordingly, when Seymour and Winter took their departure, "they had much ado," so Winter said, "with the staying of many ships that would have returned with them, besides their own company." Had the Spaniards, instead of being panic-struck, but turned on their pursuers, what might have been the result of a conflict with starving and unarmed men?[1]

Howard, Drake, and Frobisher, with the rest of the fleet, followed the Armada through the North Sea from Tuesday night (August 9th) till Friday (August 12th), and still the strong southwester swept the Spaniards before them, uncertain whether to seek refuge, food, water, and room to repair damages, in the realms of the treacherous king of Scots, or on the iron-bound coasts of Norway. Medina Sidonia had, however, quite abandoned his intention of returning to England, and was only anxious for a safe return to Spain. So much did he dread that northern passage, unpiloted, around the grim Hebrides, that he would probably have surrendered had the English overtaken him and once more offered battle. Having followed the Spaniards till Friday, the 12th of August, as far as the latitude of 56° 17′, the lord-admiral called a council.

During the week which succeeded the eventful night off Calais, neither the Armada nor the English ships had been much impeded in their manœuvres by storms or heavy seas; but on the following Sunday, the 14th of August, there was a change. The wind shifted again to the southwest, and during the whole of that day and the Monday blew a tremendous gale. "'Twas a more violent storm," said Howard, "than was ever seen before at this time of the year." The retreating English fleet was scattered, many ships were in peril, among the ill-favoured sands off Norfolk," but within four or five days all arrived safely in the Margate roads.

Far different was the fate of the Spaniards. Over their Invincible Armada, last seen by the departing English midway between the coasts of Scotland and Denmark, the blackness of night seemed suddenly to descend. A mystery hung for a long time over their fate. Damaged, leaking, without pilots, without a competent commander, the great fleet entered that furious storm, and was whirled along the iron crags of Norway and between the savage rocks of Faröe and the Hebrides. In those regions of the tempest the insulted north wreaked its full vengeance on the insolent Spaniards. The coasts of Norway, Scotland, Ireland, were strewn with the wrecks of that pompous fleet which claimed the dominion of the seas, with the bones of those invincible legions which were to have sacked London and made England a Spanish vice-royalty.

Through the remainder of the month of August there was a succession of storms. On the 2nd of September a fierce southwester drove Admiral Oquendo in his galleon, together with one of the great galeasses, two large Venetian ships, the *Ratta* and the *Balauzara*, and thirty-six other vessels, upon the Irish coast, where nearly every soul on board perished, while the few who escaped to the shore, notwithstanding their religious affinity with the inhabitants, were either butchered in cold blood, or sent coupled in halters from village to village, in order to be shipped to England. A few ships were driven on the English coast; others went ashore near La Rochelle. Of one hundred and thirty-four vessels which sailed from Corunna in July, but fifty-three, great and small, made their escape to Spain, and these were so damaged as

[1] "Had the English been well furnished with victuals and munition," says Stow,[k] "they would in the pursuit have brought the Spaniards to their mercy. On the other hand, had the Spaniards but two days longer continued to fight, they must have driven the English to retreat for want of shot and powder, leaving the Spaniards masters of the field."

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to be utterly worthless. The Invincible Armada had not only been vanquished, but annihilated.[1]

Of the thirty thousand men who sailed in the fleet, it is probable that not more than ten thousand ever saw their native land again. Most of the leaders of the expedition lost their lives. Medina Sidonia reached Santander in October. Recalde, Diego Flores de Valdez, Oquendo, Maldonado, Bobadilla, Manriquez, either perished at sea, or died of exhaustion immediately after their return. Many other nobles were prisoners in England and Holland. There was hardly a distinguished family in Spain not placed in mourning, so that, to relieve the universal gloom, an edict was published forbidding the wearing of mourning at all.[2] On the other hand, a merchant of Lisbon, not yet reconciled to the Spanish conquest of his country, permitted himself some tokens of hilarity at the defeat of the Armada, and was immediately hanged by express command of Philip. Thus, as men said, one could neither cry nor laugh within the Spanish dominions. This was the result of the invasion so many years preparing, and at an expense almost incalculable. In the year 1588 alone, the cost of Philip's armaments for the subjugation of England could not have been less than six millions of ducats, and there was at least as large a sum on board the Armada itself, although the pope refused to pay his promised million. And with all this outlay, and with the sacrifice of so many thousand lives, nothing had been accomplished, and Spain in a moment, instead of seeming terrible to all the world, had become ridiculous.

"Beaten and shuffled together from the Lizard to Calais, from Calais driven with squibs from their anchors, and chased out of sight of England about Scotland and Ireland," as the Devonshire skipper expressed himself, it must be confessed that the Spaniards presented a sorry sight. "Their invincible and dreadful navy," said Drake, "with all its great and terrible ostentation, did not in all their sailing about England so much as sink or take one ship, bark, pinnace, or cock-boat of ours, or even burn so much as one sheep-cote on this land."

Meanwhile Farnese sat chafing under the unjust reproaches heaped upon him, as if he, and not his master, had been responsible for the gigantic blunders of the invasion.

Those Hollanders and Zealanders guarding every outlet to the ocean, occupying every hole and cranny of the coast, laughed the invaders of England to scorn, braving them, jeering them, daring them to come forth, while the Walloons and Spaniards shrank before such amphibious assailants, to whom a combat on the water was as natural as upon dry land. Alexander, upon one occasion, transported with rage, selected a band of one thousand musketeers, partly Spanish, partly Irish, and ordered an assault upon those insolent boatmen. With his own hand—so it was related—he struck dead more than one of his own officers who remonstrated against these commands; and then the attack was made by his thousand musketeers upon the Hollanders, and every man of the thousand was slain.

He had been reproached for not being ready, for not having embarked his men; but he had been ready for a month, and his men could be embarked in a

[1 See the history of Spain for the Spanish account of the Armada, and the history of the Netherlands for the large share due to Holland in this victory.]

[2] Philip learned with surprise and grief the utter failure of his favourite scheme, but bore himself like a man of higher nature than he was. He received the defeated admiral graciously on his return. Throwing the whole blame upon the weather, he said, "It is impossible to contend with God"; and perhaps marvelled that an expedition so blessed by the Church should have ended in so miserable a reverse.—WHITE.

single day. "But it was impossible," he said, "to keep them long packed up on board vessels so small that there was no room to turn about in: the people would sicken, would rot, would die." So soon as he had received information of the arrival of the fleet before Calais—which was on the 8th of August—he had proceeded the same night to Newport and embarked sixteen thousand men, and before dawn he was at Dunkirk, where the troops stationed in that port were as rapidly placed on board the transports. Sir William Stanley with his seven hundred Irish kerns were among the first shipped for the enterprise.

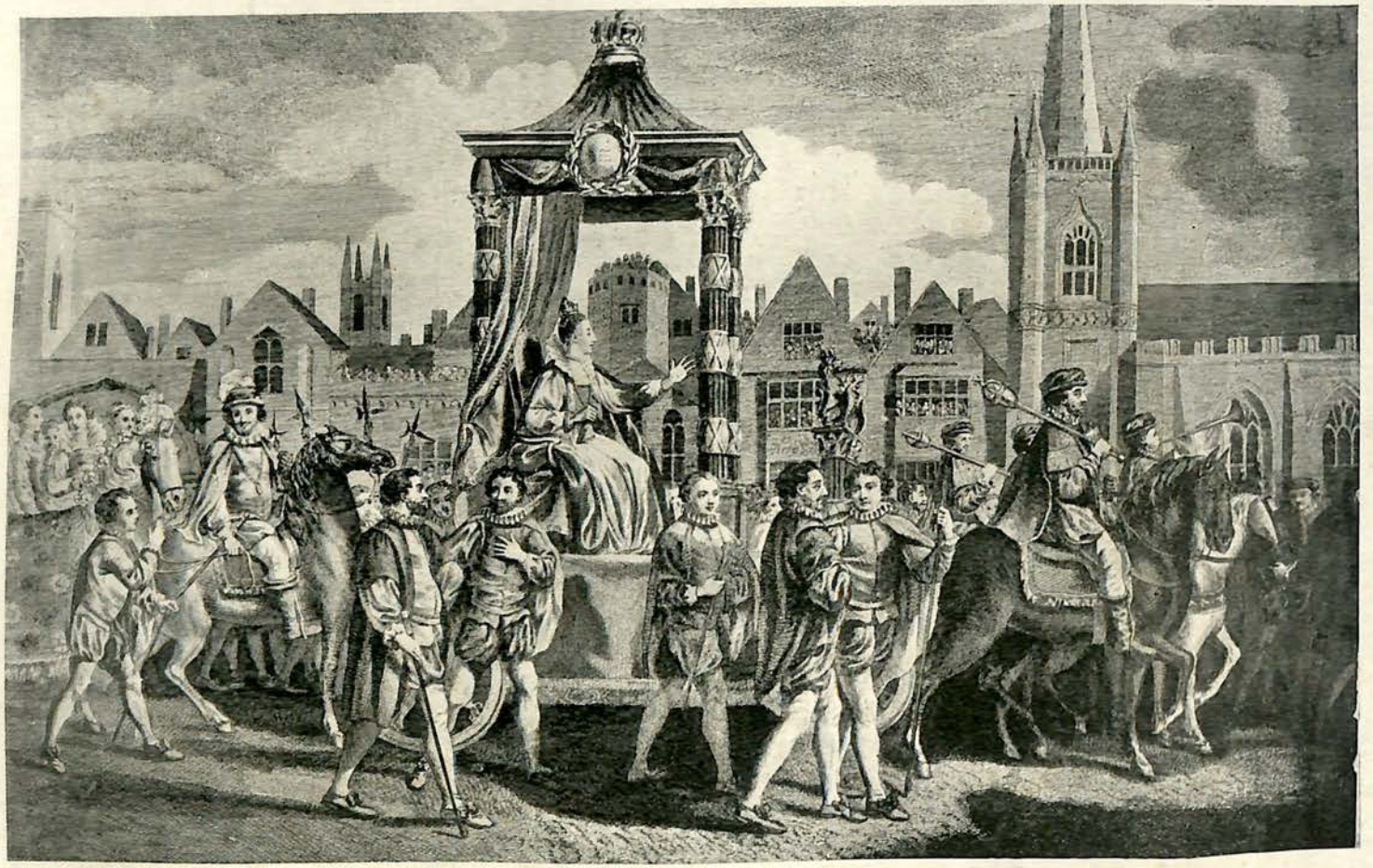
Two long days these regiments lay heaped together like sacks of corn—as one of their officers described it—in the boats, and they lay cheerfully, hoping that the Dutch fleet would be swept out of the sea by the Invincible Armada, and patiently expecting the signal for setting sail to England. Then came the news of the fire-ships and the dispersion and flight of the Armada. It is very certain that, of all the high parties concerned, Alexander Farnese was the least reprehensible for the overthrow of Philip's hopes.

To the queen's glorious naval commanders, to the dauntless mariners of England, with their well-handled vessels, their admirable seamanship, their tact, and their courage, belonged the joys of the contest, the triumph, and the glorious pursuit; but to the patient Hollanders and Zealanders, who, with their hundred vessels, held Farnese, the chief of the great enterprise, at bay, a close prisoner with his whole army in his own ports, daring him to the issue, and ready, to the last plank of their fleet and to the last drop of their blood, to confront both him and the duke of Medina Sidonia, an equal share of honour is due. The safety of the two free commonwealths of the world in that terrible contest was achieved by the people and the mariners of the two states combined.

THE ARMY AT THIS CRISIS

Great was the enthusiasm certainly of the English people as the volunteers marched through London to the place of rendezvous, and tremendous were the cheers when the brave queen rode on horseback along the lines of Tilbury. Glowing pictures are revealed to us of merry little England arising in its strength, and dancing forth to encounter the Spaniards as if to a great holiday. "It was a pleasant sight," says that enthusiastic merchant-tailor John Stow,[k] "to behold the cheerful countenances, courageous words and gestures of the soldiers as they marched to Tilbury, dancing, leaping wherever they came, as joyful at the news of the foe's approach as if lusty giants were to run a race. And Bellona-like did the queen infuse a second spirit of loyalty, love, and resolution into every soldier of her army, who, ravished with their sovereign's sight, prayed heartily that the Spaniards might land quickly, and when they heard they were fled, began to lament."[1]

[1] The earls of Essex and Leicester held her bridle-rein while she delivered a stirring speech to the men. "My loving people," said the queen, "we have been persuaded by some that are careful of our safety to take heed how we commit ourselves to armed multitudes, for fear of treachery; but I assure you I do not desire to live to distrust my faithful and loving people. Let tyrants fear! I have always so behaved myself that, under God, I have placed my chiefest strength and safeguard in the loyal hearts and goodwill of my subjects; and therefore I am come amongst you at this time, not as for my recreation and sport, but being resolved in the midst and heat of the battle to live or die amongst you all—to lay down for my God, for my kingdom, and for my people, my honour and my blood, even in the dust. I know that I have but the body of a weak and feeble woman; but I have the heart of a king, and of a king of England too, and think foul scorn that Parma or Spain, or any prince of



QUEEN ELIZABETH GOING TO ST. PAUL'S TO RETURN THANKS FOR THE DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH ARMADA
NOV. 24, 1588

(From an old print)

[1588 A.D.]

But if the Spaniards had not fled, if there had been no English navy in the Channel, no squibs at Calais, no Dutchmen off Dunkirk, there might have been a different picture to paint. No man who has studied the history of those times can doubt the universal and enthusiastic determination of the English nation to repel the invaders. Catholics and Protestants felt alike on the great subject. Philip did not flatter himself with assistance from any English papists, save exiles and renegades like Westmoreland, Paget, Throcmorton, Morgan, Stanley, and the rest. The bulk of the Catholics, who may have constituted half the population of England, although malcontent, were not rebellious; and notwithstanding the precautionary measures taken by the government against them, Elizabeth proudly acknowledged their loyalty.

But loyalty, courage, and enthusiasm might not have sufficed to supply the want of numbers and discipline. According to the generally accepted statement of contemporary chroniclers, there were some 75,000 men under arms; 20,000 along the southern coast, 23,000 under Leicester, and 33,000 under Lord Chamberlain Hunsdon, for the special defence of the queen's person. But it would have been very difficult, in the moment of danger, to bring anything like these numbers into the field. A drilled and disciplined army, whether of regulars or of militiamen, had no existence whatever.

The Armada had arrived in the Calais roads on Saturday afternoon, the 6th of August. If it had been joined on that day, or the next—as Philip and Medina Sidonia fully expected—by the duke of Parma's flotilla, the invasion would have been made at once. If a Spanish army had ever landed in England at all, that event would have occurred on the 7th of August. The weather was not unfavourable, the sea was smooth, and the circumstances under which the catastrophe of the great drama was that night accomplished were a profound mystery to every soul in England. For aught that Leicester, or Burghley, or Queen Elizabeth knew at the time, the army of Farnese might, on Monday, have been marching upon London. Now, on that Monday morning, the army of Lord Hunsdon was not assembled at all, and Leicester, with but four thousand men under his command, was just commencing his camp at Tilbury. The "Bellona-like" appearance of the queen on her white palfrey, with truncheon in hand, addressing her troops in that magnificent burst of eloquence which has so often been repeated, was not till eleven days afterwards, August 9th–19th; not till the great Armada, shattered and tempest-tossed, had been a week long dashing itself against the cliffs of Norway and the Faröes, on its forlorn retreat to Spain.

Leicester's jealous and overbearing temper itself was also proving a formidable obstacle to a wholesome system of defence. He was already displeased with the amount of authority intrusted to Lord Hunsdon, disposed to think his own rights invaded, and desirous that the lord chamberlain should accept office under himself. Looking at the pictures of commander-in-chief, officers and rank and file, as painted by themselves, we feel an inexpressible satisfaction that in this great crisis of England's destiny there were such men as Howard, Drake, Frobisher, Hawkins, Seymour, Winter, Fenner, and their gallant brethren, cruising that week in the Channel, and that Nassau and Warmond, De Moor and Van der Does, were blockading the Flemish coast.

The Invincible Armada was driven out of the Channel by the courage, the splendid seamanship, and the enthusiasm of English sailors and volun-

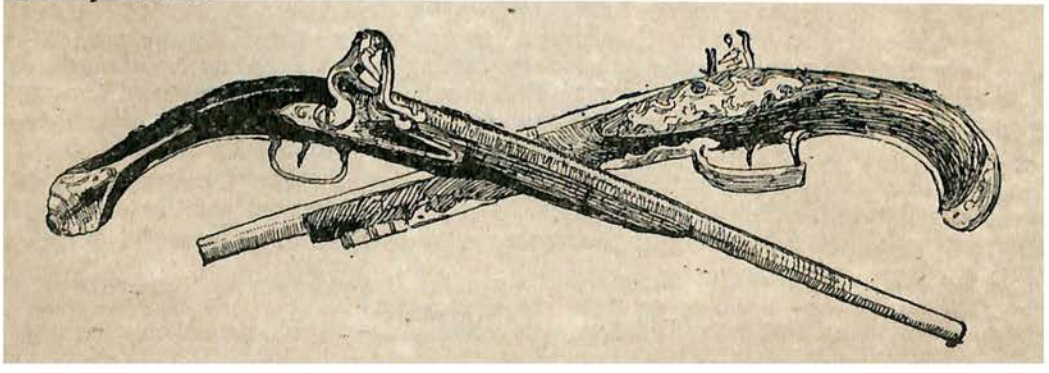
Europe, should dare to invade the borders of my realms!" Everything in this camp speech was exciting and appropriate except a laudation bestowed on the general; for her lieutenant was none other than that carpet-knight and most inefficient commander, the earl of Leicester.]

teers. The duke of Parma was kept a close prisoner by the fleets of Holland and Zealand; and the great storm of the 14th and 15th of August at last completed the overthrow of the Spaniards. It was, however, supposed for a long time that they would come back, for the disasters which had befallen them in the north were but tardily known in England. The sailors, by whom England had been thus defended in her utmost need, were dying by hundreds, and even thousands, of ship-fever, in the latter days of August. Men sickened one day and died the next, so that it seemed probable that the ten thousand sailors by whom the English ships of war were manned would have almost wholly disappeared, at a moment when their services might be imperatively required. Nor had there been the least precaution taken for cherishing and saving these brave defenders of their country. They rotted in their ships, or died in the streets of the naval ports, because there were no hospitals to receive them. The survivors, too, were greatly discontented; for after having been eight months at sea and enduring great privations, they could not get their wages.

But more dangerous than this pestilence or the discontent was the misunderstanding which existed at the moment between the leading admirals of the English fleet. Not only was Seymour angry with Howard, but Hawkins and Frobisher were at daggers drawn with Drake; and Sir Martin—if contemporary affidavits can be trusted—did not scruple to heap the most virulent abuse upon Sir Francis, calling him, in language better fitted for the forecastle than the quarter-deck, a thief and a coward, for appropriating the ransom of Don Pedro Valdez, in which both Frobisher and Hawkins claimed at least an equal share with himself.

And anxious enough was the lord-admiral, with his sailors perishing by pestilence, with many of his ships so weakly manned that, as Lord Henry Seymour declared, there were not mariners enough to weigh the anchors, and with the great naval heroes, on whose efforts the safety of the realm depended, wrangling like fisherwomen among themselves, when rumours came, as they did almost daily, of the return of the Spanish Armada, and of new demonstrations on the part of Farnese.

The invasion of England by Spain had been most portentous. That the danger was at last averted is to be ascribed to the enthusiasm of the English nation—both patricians and plebeians—to the heroism of the little English fleet, to the spirit of the naval commanders and volunteers, to the staunch and effective support of the Hollanders, and to the hand of God shattering the Armada at last; but very little credit can be conscientiously awarded to the diplomatic or the military efforts of the queen's government. Miracles alone, in the opinion of Roger Williams, had saved England on this occasion from perdition.[m]



CHAPTER XIII

THE LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH

[1588–1603 A.D.]

WHILE England became "a nest of singing birds" at home, the last years of Elizabeth's reign were years of splendour and triumph abroad. The defeat of the Armada was the first of a series of defeats which broke the power of Spain, and changed the political aspect of the world.—J. R. GREEN.[b]

DURING this crisis the queen had displayed the characteristic courage of the Tudors. The important services of the lord-admiral and of his officers were not overlooked, but in her estimation they could not be compared with those of Leicester. He stood without a rival; and to reward his transcendent merit a new and unprecedented office was created, which would have conferred on him an authority almost equal to that of his sovereign. He was appointed lord lieutenant of England and Ireland; and the warrant lay ready for the royal signature, when the remonstrances of Burghley and Hatton induced her to hesitate; and the unexpected death of the favourite concealed her weakness from the knowledge of the public.

Soon after the queen's departure from Tilbury, Leicester had by her order disbanded the army and set out for his castle of Kenilworth; but at Cornbury Park, in Oxfordshire, his progress was arrested by a violent disease which, whether it arose from natural causes or the anguish of disappointed ambition, or from poison administered by his wife and her supposed paramour, quickly terminated his existence. If tears are a proof of affection, those shed by the queen on this occasion showed that hers was seated deeply in the heart; but there was another passion as firmly rooted there—the love of money, which induced her, at the same time that she lamented the loss of her favourite, to order the public sale of his goods for the discharge of certain sums which he owed to the exchequer.

Leicester in his youth had possessed that external appearance which was sure to arrest the eye and warm the heart of Elizabeth. By the spirit of his conversation, the ardour of his flattery, and the expense of his entertainments, he so confirmed the ascendancy which he had acquired that for thirty years, though he might occasionally complain of the caprice or infidelity of his mistress, he ultimately triumphed over every competitor. As a statesman or a commander he displayed little ability, but his rapacity and ambition knew no bounds. Many years elapsed before he would resign his pretensions to the hand of his sovereign, and we have just seen that only the week before his death he prevailed on her to promise him a much larger share of the royal authority than had ever, in such circumstances, been conferred on a subject.

If we listen to the report of his contemporaries, he stands before us as the most dissolute and unprincipled of men. We are told that among the females, married or unmarried, who formed the court of Elizabeth, two only escaped his solicitations. The reader will pause before he gives his unqualified assent to such reports; yet, when he has made every allowance for the envy and malice of political enemies, when he has rejected every charge which is not supported by probable evidence, there will still remain much to stamp infamy on the character of Leicester.

PERSECUTION OF CATHOLICS

The defeat of the Armada had thrown the nation into a frenzy of joy. The people expressed their feelings by bonfires, entertainments, and public thanksgivings; the queen, whether she sought to satisfy the religious animosities of her subjects, or to display her gratitude to the Almighty, by punishing the supposed enemies of his worship, celebrated her triumph with the immolation of human victims. A commission was issued; a selection was made from the Catholics in prison on account of religion, and six clergymen were indicted for their priestly character; four laymen for having been reconciled to the Catholic church; and four others, among whom was a gentlewoman of the name of Ward, for having aided or harboured priests. All these immediately, and fifteen of their companions within the next three months, suffered the cruel and infamous punishment of traitors. It was not so much as whispered that they had been guilty of any act of disloyalty. On their trials nothing was objected to them but the practice of their religion.

Not satisfied with the blood of these victims, the persecutors looked forward to one of more exalted rank. The reader will recollect the fine and imprisonment to which the earl of Arundel had been condemned. For a considerable time after his trial he had been treated with unusual severity; by degrees the rigour of his confinement was relaxed, and he obtained permission to frequent the contiguous cell of William Bennet, one of Queen Mary's priests, where he occasionally was present at mass, and met two fellow-prisoners, Sir Thomas Gerard and William Shelley. For this indulgence his countess had given a bribe of thirty pounds to the daughter of the lieutenant; but the result provoked a suspicion that it had been granted with the connivance of some greater personage who sought the ruin of the noble captive. On the appearance of the Armada Arundel received a hint that the moment the Spaniards set their feet on English ground he and the other Catholic prisoners in the Tower would infallibly be massacred.

Their danger naturally became the subject of conversation among them; some recommended one expedient, some another; and the earl suggested that they should join in one common form of prayer to solicit the protection of heaven. The proposal was at first adopted, but afterwards abandoned by the advice of Shelley, under the apprehension that it might be misrepresented to the queen; and Bennet, if we may believe himself, through fear of the rack and the halter confessed that the earl had asked him to celebrate mass for the success of the invaders. On these depositions was grounded a charge of high treason; the queen appointed the earl of Derby lord high steward for the trial; and the prisoner was brought to Westminster Hall, April 18th, 1589, to plead for his life before that nobleman and twenty-four other peers.

Arundel most solemnly protested that the prayers which he had proposed had no reference to the invasion; he merely sought the protection of heaven for himself and his companions, who had been threatened with assassination. After an hour's debate the peers found him guilty; he heard the judgment pronounced with composure and cheerfulness; and begged, as a last favour, that he might be allowed before his death to see his wife and his son, a child about five years old, who had been born since his confinement in the Tower. No answer was returned.

Burghley and Hatton advised the queen to spare him. She had taken the life of his father; let her not stain her reputation with the blood of the son. He had now ceased to be a subject of apprehension; he lay at her mercy; on the slightest provocation, on the first appearance of danger, the sentence might be carried into execution. She suffered herself to be persuaded, yet carefully concealed her intention from the knowledge of the prisoner, who lived for several years under the impression that the axe was still suspended over his head, and never rose in the morning without some apprehension that before night he might expire on the scaffold. In 1595 he was suddenly taken ill at table; the skill of his physician checked the rapidity but could not subdue the force of his disease; and he died at the end of two months, in the eleventh year of his imprisonment. He was buried in the same grave with his father, in the chapel in the Tower.

In her conduct towards this unfortunate nobleman the queen betrayed an unaccountable spirit of revenge. He seems to have given some deep but secret offence which, though it was never divulged, could never be forgotten. There was a time when he seemed to engross her favour; when he shone the foremost in all her parties, and bore a principal share in the festivities and gallantries of her court. But from the moment that he returned to the society of his countess he was marked out for the victim of her displeasure.

During the latter part of his long and severe imprisonment he could not once obtain permission, not even on the approach of death, to see his wife or his children, or any one of his relations, Protestant or Catholic. Nor did the rancour of the queen expire with its principal object. As long as she lived, Lady Arundel was doomed to feel the royal displeasure. She could not remove from her house without danger of offence; she was obliged to solicit permission to visit London even for medical advice; and whenever Elizabeth meant to repair to St. James's, the countess received an order to quit the capital before the queen's arrival.

From the defeat of the Armada till the death of the queen, during the lapse of fourteen years, the Catholics groaned under the pressure of incessant persecution. Sixty-one clergymen, forty-seven laymen, and two gentlewomen suffered capital punishment for some or other of the spiritual felonies and treasons which had been lately created. Life, indeed, was always offered,

on the condition of conformity to the established worship; but the offer was generally refused; the refusal was followed by death; and the butchery, with very few exceptions, was performed on the victim while he was yet in perfect possession of his senses.

From the religious contests, which placed in so strong a light the stern, intolerant spirit of the age, we may now turn to the foreign wars and domestic intrigues which occupied the attention of the queen till the end of her reign. As soon as the intoxication of joy excited by the defeat of the Armada had subsided, she began to calculate the expense of the victory, and stood aghast at the enormous amount. A forced loan offered the readiest way of procuring an immediate supply. The merchants of the city were rated according to their supposed ability to pay; privy seals were despatched to the lords lieutenant of the different counties; and every recusant of fortune, every individual suspected for religion, almost every gentleman who possessed not some powerful friend at court, was compelled to advance the sum at which he had been taxed.

In a short time the convocation and parliament assembled, March 8th, 1589. From the former the queen received a grant of two subsidies of six shillings in the pound; from the latter, of two subsidies of four shillings, and four tenths and fifteenths. With this liberal vote the commons coupled a petition to the throne. As the terror of the Spanish arms was now dispelled, men thought of nothing but revenge and conquest; and the house prayed the queen to punish the insult which she had received from Philip by carrying the scourge of war into his dominions. Elizabeth praised the spirit of her affectionate people; but her exchequer was exhausted; she had no money to advance; she might supply ships of war and a few bands of veteran soldiers, but her subjects must furnish the rest from their own resources. An association was quickly formed, at the head of which appeared the names of Norris and Drake, men who were justly esteemed the first in the military and naval service; and under their auspices an armament of nearly two hundred sail, carrying twenty-one thousand men, was collected in the harbour of Plymouth.

THE EARL OF ESSEX

The reader will recollect that Lætitia, the dowager countess of Essex, had married the earl of Leicester, who introduced her son, the earl of Essex, to the queen. His youth and address and spirit soon captivated Elizabeth. She made him her master of the horse; on the appearance of the Armada she appointed him (he was then almost twenty-one years old) to the important office of captain-general of the cavalry; and when she visited the camp, ostentatiously displayed her fondness for him in the eyes of the whole army, and honoured him for his bloodless services with the order of the Garter. On the death of Leicester he succeeded to the post of prime favourite; the queen required his constant attendance at court; and her indulgence of his caprice cherished and strengthened his passions.

But the company of "the old woman" had few attractions for the volatile young nobleman, and the desire of glory, perhaps the hope of plunder (for he was already twenty-two thousand pounds in debt), taught him to turn his eyes towards the armament at Plymouth. Without communicating his intention to the queen, he suddenly disappeared from court, rode with expedition to Plymouth, embarked on board the *Swiftsure*, April 1st, a ship of the royal navy, and instantly put out to sea with the intention of following

[1589 A.D.]

the fleet which had sailed several days before. He had scarcely departed when the earl of Huntingdon arrived with orders to arrest the fugitive, and bring him back a prisoner to the feet of his sovereign. Finding that he was too late, he sent a copy of the royal instructions to the commanders of the expedition.

THE INVASION OF SPAIN

In their company was Don Antonio, prior of Crato, who had unsuccessfully contended with Philip for the crown of Portugal. The queen had given orders that they should first attempt to raise a revolution in his favour; and if that failed, should scour the coast of the peninsula and inflict on the subjects of Philip every injury in their power. But Drake had too long been accustomed to absolute command in his freebooting expeditions. He refused to be shackled by instructions, and sailed directly to the harbour of Corunna, April 2nd. Several sail of merchantmen and ships of war fell into his hands; the fishermen's town or suburb was taken; and the magazines, stored with oil and wine, became the reward of the conquerors. But it was in vain that a breach was made in the wall of the place itself; every assault was repulsed, and three hundred men perished by the unexpected fall of a tower. By this time Andrada had intrenched himself at the bridge of Burgos. Norris marched against him with an inferior force; the first attempt to cross the bridge failed; the next succeeded, and the invaders had the honour of pursuing their opponents more than a mile. But it was a barren honour, purchased with the loss of many valuable lives.[1]

From Corunna the commanders wrote to the queen an exaggerated account of their success, but informed her that they had received no tidings of the earl of Essex. That nobleman waited for them at sea, and accompanied them to Peniche, on the coast of Portugal. On their arrival it was resolved to land. Essex leaped the first into the surf, and the castle was instantly taken. Thence the fleet sailed to the mouth of the Tagus; the army marched through Torres Vedras and St. Sebastian to Lisbon. But the cardinal Albert, the governor of the kingdom, had given the command to Fonteio, an experienced captain, who destroyed all the provisions in the vicinity, and, having distributed his small band of Spaniards in positions the best adapted to suppress any rising in the city, patiently waited the arrival of the enemy.

The English advanced without opposition. Essex with his company knocked at the gate for admittance; but the moment they retired the Spaniards sallied out in small parties and surprised the weak and the stragglers. At length sickness and want compelled Norris to abandon the enterprise; not a sword had been drawn in favour of Antonio, and, in spite of the prayers and the representations of that prince, the army marched to Cascaes, a town already captured and plundered by Drake. From Cascaes the expedition sailed on its return to England, May 27th, and the next day was separated by a storm into several small squadrons. One of these took and pillaged the town of Vigo; the others, having suffered much from the weather, and still more from the vigorous pursuit of Padilla with a fleet of seventeen galleys, successively reached Plymouth.

[1] Norris and Drake appear to have been proficients in the art of composing official despatches. They tell the council that in these battles, which were fiercely contested, they killed one thousand of the enemy with the loss of only three men. See LODGE *c*. But Lord Talbot writes to his father: "As I hear privately, not without the loss of as many of our men as of theirs, if not more; and without the gain of anything, unless it were honour, and the acquainting our men with the use of their weapons."

Of the twenty-one thousand men who sailed on this disastrous expedition, not one-half, and out of eleven hundred gentlemen, not more than one-third, lived to revisit their native country. The queen rejoiced that she had retaliated the boast of invasion upon Philip, but lamented the loss of lives and treasure with which it had been purchased. The blame was laid by her on the disobedience and rapacity of the two commanders; by them partly on each other, partly on the heat of the climate and the intemperance of the men. But these complaints were carefully suppressed; in the public accounts the loss was concealed; every advantage was magnified, and the people celebrated with joy the triumph of England over the pride and power of Spain.

Essex, on his return, found the court divided between the factions of two competitors for the royal favour, Sir Walter Raleigh and Sir Charles Blount.

Blount was the second son of Lord Mountjoy and a student in the Inner Temple. One day the queen singled him out from the spectators, as she dined in public, inquired his name, gave him her hand to kiss, and bade him remain at court. This was sufficient to point him out to Raleigh as a rival; but the earl of Essex, on his return, assumed a proud superiority over them both; and Raleigh, when he ventured to come into collision with that young nobleman, received from the queen an order to leave England, and go and plant his twelve thousand acres in Ireland.

Blount was more fortunate at a tilting-match. Elizabeth, to show her approbation, sent him a chess-queen of gold, which he bound to his arm with a crimson ribbon. The jealousy of Essex induced him to remark that "now every fool must have his favour"; and the pride of Blount demanded satisfaction for the insult. They fought; Essex was wounded in the thigh; and the queen gratified her vanity with the conceit "that her beauty had been the object of their quarrel." By her command they were reconciled, and in process of time became sincere and assured friends.

The attention of Elizabeth was soon absorbed by the extraordinary and important events which rapidly succeeded each other in France.*d*

Henry III had caused the duke of Guise and his brother the cardinal to be murdered; he himself perished soon after by the dagger of a fanatical monk, and the king of Navarre, being the next heir, assumed the title of Henry IV. But the Catholic party, incited by Philip II, refused to acknowledge an heretical sovereign; they set up the cardinal of Bourbon against him, and the war continued to rage with its wonted animosity. Elizabeth aided Henry with both money and men; the English troops, led by Sir John Norris, the gallant earl of Essex, and other brave officers, distinguished themselves on all occasions.[1] Henry, however, after continuing the contest for nearly three years, found that unless he conformed to the religion of the great majority of his subjects he had little chance of ultimate success. He therefore (1593) declared himself a Catholic, and gradually the whole kingdom submitted to him. Elizabeth, though grieved at this change of faith, felt it her interest to maintain the alliance she had formed, and her troops aided in the reduction of such places as still held out against him.

Against Spain the naval warfare was still kept up, and the earl of Cumberland, Sir Martin Frobisher, and Thomas White did much injury to the Spanish trade. The English at this time also first made their way to the East Indies.

[1 Year after year a subsidiary force sailed from England, too inconsiderable to do more than create a diversion for the moment; in a few months it dwindled away through disease and the casualties of war, and the loss was subsequently repaired by the transmission of other petty reinforcements. The truth is, that Henry and Elizabeth were playing a similar game, each trying to derive benefits from the embarrassment of the other.—LINGARD.*d*]

Two vessels, commanded by George Riman and James Lancaster, doubled the Cape of Good Hope. Riman perished off the east coast of Africa; but Lancaster proceeded, and, after enduring many hardships and losing the greater part of his men, returned to England.

The year 1590 was distinguished by the deaths of the able and disinterested secretary Walsingham; of Thomas Randolph, who had been on thirteen embassies to Scotland, three to Russia, and two to France; of Sir James Crofts, and of the earl of Shrewsbury, earl-marshal of England. The following year the chancellor Hatton died. The generous Essex endeavoured to procure Walsingham's office for the unfortunate Davison, but the queen's resentment against him was too strong, and Burghley, as a means of bringing forward his son Sir Robert Cecil, took the duties of the office on himself. The great seal was committed to Sergeant Puckering, under the title of lord-keeper.

In 1594, Richard, son of Sir John Hawkins, sailed to the South Sea; but he was made a prisoner on the coast of Chili and sent to Spain. The same year James Lancaster was furnished with three vessels by the merchants of London; he captured thirty-nine ships of the enemy, and took and plundered the town of Pernambuco, on the coast of Brazil. The next year (1595) the able and enterprising Sir Walter Raleigh set forth in search of fortune to America.[e]

S. R. GARDINER'S ACCOUNT OF RALEIGH

Raleigh was born at Hayes, in Devonshire, in 1552. After a short residence at Oriel College, Oxford, he took service, in the autumn of 1569, with a body of volunteers serving in the French Huguenot army, and he probably did not return to England till 1576. During the course of these years he appears to have made himself master of seamanship, though no evidence of this is obtainable. In 1579 he was stopped by the council from taking part in a voyage planned by his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and in 1580 he commanded an English company in Munster (Ireland). On the 10th of November he took part in the massacre at Smerwick. He remained in Ireland till December, 1581, distinguished for his vigour and ability as well as for his readiness to treat Irish rebels as mere wild beasts, who were to be pitilessly exterminated, and whose leaders might be smitten down if necessary by assassination. In one way or another Raleigh's conduct gained the favourable notice of Elizabeth, especially as he had chosen to seek for the support of Leicester, in whose suite he is found at Antwerp in February, 1582.

For some years Raleigh shone as a courtier, receiving from time to time licenses to export woollen cloths and to sell wine, after the system by which Elizabeth rewarded her favourites without expense to herself. In 1585 he became lord warden of the Stannaries, soon afterwards he was vice-admiral of Devon and Cornwall, and in 1587 was captain of the guard. But he was one of those who were dissatisfied unless they could pursue some public object in connection with their chase after a private fortune. In 1583 he risked £2,000 in the expedition in which Sir Humphrey Gilbert perished. In 1584 he obtained a charter of colonisation, and sent Amidas and Barlow to examine the country, which he named Virginia. In 1585 he despatched a fleet laden with colonists. They were, however, soon discouraged, and were brought back to England by Drake in the following year. Shortly afterwards fifteen fresh colonists were landed, and another party in 1587. All these, however, perished, and though Raleigh did all that was possible to succour them, the permanent colonising of Virginia passed into other hands.

In 1584 Raleigh obtained a grant of an enormous tract of land in Munster, in one corner of which he introduced the cultivation of the potato. To people that land with English colonists was but the counterpart of the attempt to exterminate its original possessors. This view of the policy of England in Ireland was not confined to Raleigh, but it found in him its most eminent supporter. In his haste to be wealthy, his love of adventure, his practical insight into the difficulties of the world, and his unscrupulousness in dealing with peoples of different habits and beliefs from his own, Raleigh was a representative Elizabethan Englishman. He did his best, so far as a usually absentee landlord could do, to make his colonists prosperous and successful; but he underestimated the extraordinary vitality of the Irish race, and the resistance which was awakened by the harsh system of which he was the constant adviser at Elizabeth's court.

SIR WALTER RALEIGH
(1552-1618)

Elizabeth, too, was unable to support him with the necessary force, and his whole attempt ended in failure. Raleigh's efforts were at least made on behalf of a race whose own civilisation and national independence were at stake. The Elizabethan men were driven to take large views of their difficulties, and it was impossible for Raleigh to separate the question whether English forms of life should prevail in Munster from the question whether they should be maintained in England. Two conceptions of politics and religion stood face to face from the Atlantic to the Carpathians, and everyone of vigour took a side. The balancing intellects were silenced, or, like Elizabeth's, were drawn in the wake of the champions of one party or the other.

Wherever the strife was hottest Raleigh was sure to be found. If he could not succeed in Ireland, he would fight it out with Spain. In 1588 he took an active part against the Armada, and is even supposed by some to have been the adviser of the successful tactics which avoided any attempt to board the Spanish galleons. In 1589 he shared in the unsuccessful expedition commanded by Drake and Norris, and for some time vessels fitted out by him were actively employed in making reprisals upon Spain.

Raleigh was a courtier as well as a soldier and a mariner, and as early as 1589 he was brought into collision with the young earl of Essex, who challenged him, though the duel was prevented. Some passing anger of the queen drove him in this year to visit Ireland, where he renewed his friendship with Spenser, and, as is told in poetic language in *Colin Clout's Come Home Again*, took the poet back with him to England, introduced him to Elizabeth, and

persuaded him to proceed to the immediate publication of a portion of the *Faërie Queene*. If Raleigh could plead for a poet, he could also plead for a Puritan, and in 1591 he joined Essex in begging for mercy for Udall.

In the end of 1591 or the beginning of 1592 Raleigh seduced and subsequently married Elizabeth Throckmorton, and was consequently thrown into the Tower by Elizabeth, who could not endure that the fantastic love-making to herself which she exacted from her courtiers should pass into real affection for a younger woman. Previously to his imprisonment Raleigh had been forbidden to sail in command of a fleet of which a great part had been fitted out at his own cost for service against Spain. The ships, however, sailed, and succeeded in capturing a prize of extraordinary value, known at the time as the *Great Carrack*. No one but Raleigh was capable of presiding over the work of securing the spoils. He was sent to Plymouth, still in the name of a prisoner, where his capacity for business and his power of winning the enthusiastic affection of his subordinates were alike put to the test. The queen at last consented to restore him to complete liberty, though she tried to cheat him of his fair share of the booty.

Raleigh resolved to use his regained liberty on an enterprise more romantic than the capture of a carrack. The fable of the existence of El Dorado was at that time fully believed in Spain, and in 1594 Raleigh sent out Captain Wheddon to acquire information about the lands near the Orinoco. In 1595 he sailed in person with five ships for Trinidad. On his arrival he found that the Spaniards, who had occupied a place called San Thomè, at the junction of the Orinoco and the Caroni, had been obliged to abandon it. Raleigh ascended the river to the spot, heard more about El Dorado from the Indians, brought away some stones containing fragments of gold, and returned to England to prepare a more powerful expedition for the following year. When he came back he published an account of his voyage. The hope of enriching himself, and of giving to his country a source of wealth which would strike the balance in its favour in the struggle with Spain, exercised a strong fascination over the imaginative character of Raleigh. In the next year, 1596, however, he was wanted nearer home, and was compelled to content himself with sending one of his followers, Captain Keymis, to extend his knowledge of Guiana. He was himself called on to take the command of a squadron in the expedition sent against Spain under Lord Howard of Effingham and the earl of Essex. It was Raleigh who, on the arrival of the fleet off Cadiz, persuaded Howard and Essex to begin by an attack on the Spanish fleet, and who himself led the van in sailing into the harbour.[1]

NAVAL DISASTERS OF 1596

Meanwhile Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins undertook a more important expedition against the Spanish settlements in America, and they carried with them six ships of the queen's and twenty more which either were fitted out at their own charge or were furnished them by private adventurers. Sir Thomas Baskerville was appointed commander of the land forces which they carried on board. Their first design was to attempt Porto Rico, where they knew a rich carrack was at that time stationed; but as they had not preserved the requisite secrecy, a pinnace, having strayed from the fleet, was taken by the Spaniards, and betrayed the intentions of the English. Preparations were made in that island for their reception; and the English fleet, notwithstanding the brave assault which they made on the enemy, was repulsed

with loss. Hawkins soon after died, and Drake pursued his voyage to Nombre de Dios, on the Isthmus of Darien; where, having landed his men, he attempted to pass forward to Panama, with a view of plundering that place.

The Spaniards so infested the English by continual alarms and skirmishes that they were obliged to return without being able to effect anything. Drake himself, from the intemperance of the climate, the fatigues of his journey, and the vexation of his disappointment, was seized with a distemper, of which he soon after died. Sir Thomas Baskerville took the command of the fleet, which was in a weak condition; and after having fought a battle near Cuba with a Spanish fleet, of which the event was not decisive, he returned to England. The Spaniards suffered some loss from this enterprise, but the English reaped no profit.

THE CAPTURE OF CADIZ

The bad success of this enterprise in the Indies made the English rather attempt the Spanish dominions in Europe, where they heard Philip was making great preparations for a new invasion of England. A powerful fleet was equipped at Plymouth, consisting of a hundred and seventy vessels, seventeen of which were capital ships of war, the rest tenders and small vessels. Twenty ships were added by the Hollanders. In this fleet there were computed to be embarked six thousand three hundred and sixty soldiers, a thousand volunteers, and six thousand seven hundred and seventy-two seamen, besides the Dutch. The land forces were commanded by the earl of Essex; the navy by Lord Effingham, high admiral. Both these commanders had expended great sums of their own in the armament—for such was the spirit of Elizabeth's reign. Lord Thomas Howard, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, and Sir Coniers Clifford had commands in this expedition, and were appointed council to the general and admiral.

The fleet set sail on the 1st of June, 1596, and meeting with a fair wind, bent its course to Cadiz, at which place, by sealed orders delivered to all the captains, the general rendezvous was appointed. They sent before them some armed tenders, which intercepted every ship that could carry intelligence to the enemy; and they themselves were so fortunate when they came near Cadiz as to take an Irish vessel, by which they learned that that port was full of merchant ships of great value, and that the Spaniards lived in perfect security, without any apprehensions of an enemy. This intelligence much encouraged the English fleet, and gave them the prospect of a fortunate issue to the enterprise.

After a fruitless attempt to land at San Sebastian, on the western side of the island of Cadiz, it was, upon deliberation, resolved by the council of war to attack the ships and galleys in the bay. This attempt was deemed rash, and the admiral himself, who was cautious in his temper, had entertained great scruples with regard to it; but Essex strenuously recommended the enterprise, and when he found the resolution at last taken, he threw his hat into the sea and gave symptoms of the most extravagant joy. He felt, however, a great mortification, when Effingham informed him that the queen, anxious for his safety, and dreading the effects of his youthful ardour, had secretly given orders that he should not be permitted to command the van in the attack. That duty was performed by Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Thomas Howard; but Essex no sooner came within reach of the enemy than he forgot the promise which the admiral had exacted from him, to keep in

the midst of the fleet; he broke through and pressed forward into the thickest of the fire.

Emulation for glory, avidity for plunder, animosity against the Spaniards, proved incentives to everyone; and the enemy were soon obliged to slip anchor and retreat farther into the bay, where they ran many of their ships aground. Essex then landed his men and immediately marched to the attack of Cadiz, which the impetuous valour of the English soon carried, sword in hand. The generosity of Essex, not inferior to his valour, made him stop the slaughter and treat his prisoners with the greatest humanity, and even affability and kindness. The English made rich plunder in the city, but missed a much richer by the resolution which the duke of Medina, the Spanish admiral, took of setting fire to the ships in order to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. It was computed that the loss which the Spaniards sustained in this enterprise amounted to twenty millions of ducats; besides the indignity which that proud and ambitious people suffered from the sacking of one of their chief cities, and destroying in their harbour a fleet of such force and value.[1]

Essex, all on fire for glory, regarded this great success only as a step to future achievements; he insisted on keeping possession of Cadiz, and he undertook with four hundred men and three months' provisions to defend the place till succours should arrive from England. But all the other seamen and soldiers were satisfied with the honour which they had acquired, and were impatient to return home in order to secure their plunder. Every other proposal of Essex to annoy the enemy met with a like reception, and the English, finding it so difficult to drag this impatient warrior from the enemy, at last left him on the Spanish coast attended by a very few ships.

The admiral was created earl of Nottingham, and his promotion gave great disgust to Essex. In the preamble of the patent it was said that the new dignity was conferred on him on account of his good services in taking Cadiz and destroying the Spanish ships—a merit which Essex pretended to belong solely to himself, and he offered to maintain this plea by single combat against the earl of Nottingham, or his sons, or any of his kindred.

The achievements in the subsequent year proved not so fortunate; but as the Indian fleet very narrowly escaped the English, Philip had still reason to see the great hazard and disadvantages of the war in which he was engaged, and the superiority which the English, by their naval power and their situation, had acquired over him. The queen having received intelligence that the Spaniards, though their fleets were so much shattered and destroyed by the expedition to Cadiz, were preparing a squadron at Ferrol and Corunna, and were marching troops thither with a view of making a descent on Ireland, was resolved to prevent their enterprise and to destroy the shipping in these harbours. She prepared a large fleet of a hundred and twenty sail, of which seventeen were her own ships, forty-three were smaller vessels, and the rest tenders and victuallers. She embarked on board this fleet five thousand

[1 Never before had the Spanish monarch received so severe a blow. He lost thirteen men-of-war and immense magazines of provisions and naval stores; the defences of Cadiz, the strongest fortress in his dominions, had been razed to the ground; and the secret of his weakness at home had been revealed to the world, at the same time that the power of England had been raised in the eyes of the European nations. Even those who wished well to Spain allotted the praise of moderation and humanity to the English commanders, who had suffered no blood to be wantonly spilled, no woman to be defiled, but had sent under an escort the nuns and females, about three thousand in number, to the port of St. Mary, and had allowed them to carry away their jewels and wearing apparel. But while foreigners applauded the conquerors, while their countrymen hailed their return with shouts of triumph, they experienced from their sovereign a cool and ungracious reception.—LINGARD.[d]]

new-levied soldiers, and added a thousand veteran troops, whom Sir Francis Vere brought from the Netherlands.

The earl of Essex, commander-in-chief both of the land and sea forces, was at the head of one squadron; Lord Thomas Howard was appointed vice-admiral of another; Sir Walter Raleigh of the third; Lord Mountjoy commanded the land forces under Essex; Vere was appointed marshal; Sir George Carew lieutenant of the ordnance, and Sir Christopher Blount first colonel. The earls of Rutland and Southampton, the lords Grey, Cromwell, and Rich, with several other persons of distinction, embarked as volunteers. Essex declared his resolution either to destroy the new Armada which threatened England, or to perish in the attempt.

RALEIGH TAKES FAYAL

This powerful fleet set sail from Plymouth, July 9th, 1597, but were no sooner out of harbour than they met with a furious storm, which shattered and dispersed them; and before they could be refitted Essex found that their provisions were so far spent that it would not be safe to carry so numerous an army along with him. He dismissed, therefore, all the soldiers except the thousand veterans under Vere; and laying aside all thoughts of attacking Ferrol or Corunna, he confined the object of his expedition to the intercepting of the Indian fleet—which had at first been considered only as the second enterprise which he was to attempt.

The Indian fleet in that age, by reason of the imperfection of navigation, had a stated course as well as season both in their going out and in their return; and there were certain islands at which, as at fixed stages, they always touched, and where they took in water and provisions. The Azores being one of these places where about this time the fleet was expected, Essex bent his course thither; and he informed Raleigh that he, on his arrival, intended to attack Fayal, one of these islands. By some accident the squadrons were separated; and Raleigh, arriving first before Fayal, thought it more prudent, after waiting some time for the general, to begin the attack alone, lest the inhabitants should by farther delay have leisure to make preparations for their defence.

He succeeded in the enterprise; but Essex, jealous of Raleigh, expressed great displeasure at his conduct, and construed it as an intention of robbing the general of the glory which attended that action. He cashiered Sidney, Bret, Berry, and others who had concurred in the attempt, and would have proceeded to inflict the same punishment on Raleigh himself, had not Lord Thomas Howard interposed with his good offices, and persuaded Raleigh, though high-spirited, to make submissions to the general. Essex, who was placable as well as hasty and passionate, was soon appeased, and received Raleigh into favour and restored the other officers to their commands. This incident, however, though the quarrel was seemingly accommodated, laid the first foundation of that violent animosity which afterwards took place between these two gallant commanders.[1]

Essex next made a disposition proper for intercepting the Indian galleons. The Spanish fleet, finding that the enemy was upon them, made all the sail possible to Terceira, and got into the safe and well-fortified harbour of Angra before the English fleet could overtake them. Essex intercepted only three

[1 According to Keightley,[e] Essex, when advised to court-martial Raleigh, nobly said, "I would, had he been one of my friends." Yet Gardiner[g] notes that in his report he did not even mention Raleigh's capture of Fayal.]

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ships; which, however, were so rich as to repay all the charges of the expedition.

The causes of the miscarriage in this enterprise were much canvassed in England upon the return of the fleet, and though the courtiers took part differently, as they affected either Essex or Raleigh, the people in general, who bore an extreme regard to the gallantry, spirit, and generosity of the former, were inclined to justify every circumstance of his conduct. The queen, who loved the one as much as she esteemed the other, maintained a kind of neutrality, and endeavoured to share her favours with an impartial hand between the parties. Sir Robert Cecil, second son of Lord Burghley, was a courtier of promising hopes much connected with Raleigh, and she made him secretary of state, preferably to Sir Thomas Bodley, whom Essex recommended for that office. But not to disgust Essex, she promoted him to the dignity of earl marshal of England—an office which had been vacant since the death of the earl of Shrewsbury.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1597

The war with Spain, though successful, having exhausted the queen's exchequer, she was obliged to assemble a parliament, October 24th, 1597, where Yelverton, a lawyer, was chosen speaker of the house of commons. Elizabeth took care, by the mouth of Sir Thomas Egerton, lord-keeper, to inform this assembly of the necessity of a supply. She said "that the wars formerly waged in Europe had commonly been conducted by the parties without farther view than to gain a few towns, or at most a province, from each other; but the object of the present hostilities on the part of Spain was no other than utterly to bereave England of her religion, her liberty, and her independence; that these blessings, however, she herself had hitherto been able to preserve in spite of the devil, the pope, and the Spanish tyrant, and all the mischievous designs of all her enemies; that in this contest she had disbursed a sum triple to all the parliamentary supplies granted her, and, besides expending her ordinary revenues, had been obliged to sell many of the crown lands; and that she could not doubt but her subjects, in a cause where their own honour and interest were so deeply concerned, would willingly contribute to such moderate taxations as should be found necessary for the common defence. The parliament granted her three subsidies and six-fifteenths—the same supply which had been given four years before, but which had then appeared so unusual that they had voted it should never afterwards be regarded as a precedent.

The commons this session ventured to engage in two controversies about forms with the house of peers—a prelude to those encroachments which, as they assumed more courage, they afterwards made upon the prerogatives of the crown. They complained that the lords failed in civility to them by receiving their messages sitting with their hats on, and that the keeper returned an answer in the same negligent posture; but the upper house proved to their full satisfaction that they were not entitled by custom and the usage of parliament to any more respect. Some amendments had been made by the lords to a bill sent up by the commons, and these amendments were written on parchment, and returned with the bill to the commons. The lower house took umbrage at the novelty. They pretended that these amendments ought to have been written on paper, not on parchment, and they complained of this innovation to the peers. The peers replied that they expected not such a frivolous objection from the gravity of the house, and that it was not material

whether the amendments were written on parchment or on paper, nor whether the paper were white, black, or brown. The commons were offended at this reply, which seemed to contain a mockery of them, and they complained of it, though without obtaining any satisfaction.

An application was made by way of petition to the queen from the lower house against monopolies, an abuse which had arisen to an enormous height; and they received a gracious though a general answer, for which they returned their thankful acknowledgments. But not to give them too much encouragement in such applications, she told them, in the speech which she delivered at their dissolution, "that with regard to these patents, she hoped that her dutiful and loving subjects would not take away her prerogative, which is the chief flower in her garden and the principal and head pearl in her crown and diadem, but that they would rather leave these matters to her disposal." The commons also took notice, this session, of some transactions in the court of high commission, but not till they had previously obtained permission from her majesty to that purpose.

Elizabeth had reason to foresee that parliamentary supplies would now become more necessary to her than ever, and that the chief burden of the war with Spain would thenceforth lie upon England. Henry IV had received an overture for peace with Philip; but before he would proceed to a negotiation he gave intelligence of it to his allies, the queen and the states, that if possible a general pacification might be made by common agreement. These two powers sent ambassadors to France in order to remonstrate against peace—the queen, Sir Robert Cecil, and Henry Herbert; the states, Justin Nassau and John Barneveld. But as Spain refused to treat with the Dutch as a free state, and Elizabeth would not negotiate without her ally, Henry found himself obliged to conclude at Vervins a separate peace, by which he recovered possession of all the places seized by Spain during the course of the civil wars, and procured to himself leisure to pursue the domestic settlement of his kingdom. His capacity for the arts of peace was not inferior to his military talents; and in a little time, by his frugality, order, and wise government, he raised France from the desolation and misery in which she was involved to a more flourishing condition than she had ever before enjoyed.

ESSEX QUARRELS WITH ELIZABETH

The military talents of the earl of Essex made him earnestly desire the continuance of war, from which he expected to reap so much advantage and distinction. The rivalship between this nobleman and Lord Burghley made each of them insist the more strenuously on his own counsel; but as Essex's person was agreeable to the queen, as well as his advice conformable to her inclinations, the favourite seemed daily to acquire an ascendancy over the minister. Had he been endowed with caution and self-command equal to his shining qualities he would have so riveted himself in the queen's confidence that none of his enemies had ever been able to impeach his credit; but his lofty spirit could ill submit to that implicit deference which her temper required, and which she had ever been accustomed to receive from all her subjects.

Being once engaged in a dispute with her about the choice of a governor for Ireland, he was so heated in the argument that he entirely forgot the rules both of duty and civility, and turned his back upon her in a contemptuous manner. Her anger, naturally prompt and violent, rose at this provocation,

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and she instantly gave him a box on the ear, adding a passionate expression suited to his impertinence.[1] Instead of recollecting himself and making the submissions due to her sex and station, he clapped his hand to his sword and swore that he would not bear such usage, were it from Henry VIII himself; and he immediately withdrew from court. Egerton, the chancellor, who loved Essex, exhorted him to repair his indiscretion by proper acknowledgments, and entreated him not to give that triumph to his enemies, that affliction to his friends, which must ensue from his supporting a contest with his sovereign, and deserting the service of his country. But Essex was deeply stung with the dishonour which he had received, and seemed to think that an insult which might be pardoned in a woman had become a mortal affront when it came from his sovereign. Yet the queen's partiality was so prevalent that she reinstated him in his former favour, and her kindness to him appeared rather to have acquired new force from this short interval of anger and resentment.

DEATH OF BURGHLEY

The death of Burghley, his antagonist, which happened about the same time (August 4th), seemed to insure him constant possession of the queen's confidence, and nothing indeed but his own indiscretion could thenceforth have shaken his well-established credit. Lord Burghley died at an advanced age, and by a rare fortune was equally regretted by his sovereign and the people. He had risen gradually from small beginnings by the mere force of merit; and though his authority was never entirely absolute or uncontrolled with the queen, he was still, during the course of nearly forty years, regarded as her principal minister. None of her other inclinations or affections could ever overcome her confidence in so useful a counsellor; and as he had had the generosity or good sense to pay assiduous court to her during her sister's reign, when it was dangerous to appear her friend, she thought herself bound in gratitude, when she mounted the throne, to persevere in her attachments to him. He seems not to have possessed any shining talents of address, eloquence, or imagination, and was chiefly distinguished by solidity of understanding, probity of manners, and indefatigable application in business: virtues which, if they do not always enable a man to attain high stations, do certainly qualify him best for filling them. Of all the queen's ministers he alone left a considerable fortune to his posterity—a fortune not acquired by rapine or oppression, but gained by the regular profits of his offices, and preserved by frugality.[2]

The last act of this able minister was the concluding of a new treaty with the Dutch, August 8th, 1598, who, after being in some measure deserted by the king of France, were glad to preserve the queen's alliance by submitting to any terms which she pleased to require of them. The debt which they owed her was now settled at eight hundred thousand pounds. Of this sum they agreed to pay, during the war, thirty thousand pounds a year; and these payments were to continue till four hundred thousand pounds of the debt should be extinguished. They engaged also, during the time that England should con-

[1 She told him "to go to the devil," according to Camden.*h*]

[2 After his decease his ashes were honoured with the tears of his sovereign. But though the "old fox" was gone, he left behind him at court his younger son, Sir Robert Cecil, who, walking in the footsteps of his father, gradually supplanted every competitor, and became so necessary to the queen that long before her death she made him, in opposition perhaps to her own feelings, the chief depository of the royal authority.—LINGARD.*d*]

tinue the war with Spain, to pay the garrisons of the cautionary towns. They stipulated that if Spain should invade England, or the Isle of Wight or Jersey, or Scilly, they should assist her with a body of five thousand foot and five hundred horse; and that in case she undertook any naval armament against Spain, they should join an equal number of ships to hers. By this treaty the queen was eased of an annual charge of a hundred and twenty thousand pounds.

Soon after the death of Burghley, the queen, who regretted extremely the loss of so wise and faithful a minister, was informed of the death of her capital enemy, Philip II, who, after languishing under many infirmities, expired at an advanced age at Madrid. This haughty prince, desirous of an accommodation with his revolted subjects in the Netherlands, but disdaining to make in his own name the concessions necessary for that purpose, had transferred to his daughter, married to Archduke Albert, the title to the Low Country provinces; but as it was not expected that this princess would have posterity, and as the reversion on failure of her issue was still reserved to the crown of Spain, the states considered this deed only as the change of a name, and they persisted with equal obstinacy in their resistance to the Spanish arms. The other powers also of Europe made no distinction between the courts of Brussels and Madrid; and the secret opposition of France, as well as the avowed efforts of England, continued to operate against the progress of Albert as it had done against that of Philip.

HUME ON THE STATE OF IRELAND

Though the dominion of the English over Ireland had been seemingly established above four centuries, it may safely be affirmed that their authority had hitherto been little more than nominal. The Irish princes and nobles, divided among themselves, readily paid the exterior marks of obeisance to a power which they were not able to resist; but as no durable force was ever kept on foot to retain them in their duty they relapsed still into their former state of independence. Too weak to introduce order and obedience among the rude inhabitants, the English authority was yet sufficient to check the growth of any enterprising genius among the natives; and though it could bestow no true form of civil government, it was able to prevent the rise of any such form from the internal combination or policy of the Irish. Most of the English institutions likewise by which that island was governed were to the last degree absurd, and such as no state before had ever thought of for preserving dominion over its conquered provinces.

The English nation, all on fire for the project of subduing France—a project whose success was the most improbable, and would to them have proved the most pernicious—neglected all other enterprises to which their situation so strongly invited them, and which in time would have brought them an accession of riches, grandeur, and security. The small army which they maintained in Ireland they never supplied regularly with pay; and as no money could be levied on the island, which possessed none, they gave their soldiers the privilege of free quarter upon the natives. Rapine and insolence inflamed the hatred which prevailed between the conquerors and the conquered; want of security among the Irish introducing despair, nourished still more the sloth natural to that uncultivated people. But the English carried further their ill-judged tyranny. Instead of inviting the Irish to adopt the more civilised customs of their conquerors, they even refused, though earnestly

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solicited, to communicate to them the privilege of their laws, and everywhere marked them out as aliens and as enemies. Thrown out of the protection of justice, the natives could find no security but in force; and flying the neighbourhood of cities, which they could not approach with safety, they sheltered themselves in their marshes and forests from the insolence of their inhuman masters. Being treated like wild beasts, they became such; and joining the ardour of revenge to their yet untamed barbarity, they grew every day more intractable and more dangerous.

As the English princes deemed the conquest of the dispersed Irish to be more the object of time and patience than the source of military glory, they willingly delegated that office to private adventurers, who, enlisting soldiers at their own charge, reduced provinces of that island, which they converted to their own profit. Separate jurisdictions and principalities were established by these lordly conquerors; the power of peace and war was assumed; military law was exercised over the Irish, whom they subdued; and by degrees over the English, by whose assistance they conquered; and after their authority had once taken root, deeming the English institutions less favourable to barbarous dominion, they degenerated into mere Irish, and abandoned the garb, language, manners, and laws of their mother country.

By all this imprudent conduct of England, the natives of its dependent state remained still in that abject condition into which the northern and western parts of Europe were sunk before they received civility and slavery from the refined policy and irresistible bravery of Rome. Even at the end of the sixteenth century, when every Christian nation was cultivating with ardour every civil art of life, that island, lying in a temperate climate, enjoying a fertile soil, accessible in its situation, possessed of innumerable harbours, was still, notwithstanding these advantages, inhabited by a people whose customs and manners approached nearer those of savages than of barbarians.

As the rudeness and ignorance of the Irish were extreme, they were sunk below the reach of that curiosity and love of novelty by which every other people in Europe had been seized at the beginning of that century, and which had engaged them in innovations and religious disputes with which they were still so violently agitated. The ancient superstition, the practices and observances of their fathers—mingled and polluted with many wild opinions—still maintained an unshaken empire over them; and the example alone of the English was sufficient to render the Reformation odious to the prejudiced and discontented Irish. The old opposition of manners, laws, and interest was now inflamed by religious antipathy; and the subduing and civilising of that country seemed to become every day more difficult and more impracticable.

The animosity against the English was carried so far by the Irish that in an insurrection raised by two sons of the earl of Clanricarde, they put to the sword all the inhabitants of the town of Athenry, though Irish, because they began to conform themselves to English customs, and had embraced a more civilised form of life than had been practised by their ancestors. The usual revenue of Ireland amounted only to six thousand pounds a year. The queen, though with much repining, commonly added twenty thousand more, which she remitted from England. With this small revenue a body of a thousand men was supported, which on extraordinary emergencies was augmented to two thousand. No wonder that a force so disproportioned to the object, instead of subduing a mutinous kingdom, served rather to provoke the natives, and to excite those frequent insurrections which still farther inflamed the animosity between the two nations, and increased the disorders to which the Irish were naturally subject.

In 1560, Shan O'Neil, or the great O'Neil, as the Irish called him, because head of that potent clan, raised a rebellion in Ulster; but after some skirmishes he was received into favour upon his submission, and his promise of a more dutiful behaviour for the future. This impunity tempted him to undertake a new insurrection in 1567; but being pushed by Sir Henry Sidney, lord deputy, he retreated into Clandeboye, and rather than submit to the English he put himself into the hands of some Scottish islanders who commonly infested those parts. The Scots, who retained a quarrel against him on account of former injuries, violated the laws of hospitality and murdered him at a festival to which they had invited him. He was a man equally noted for his pride, his violence, his debaucheries and his hatred to the English nation.

Sir Henry Sidney was one of the wisest and most active governors that Ireland had enjoyed for several reigns, and he possessed his authority eleven years; during which he struggled with many difficulties, and made some progress in repressing those disorders which had became inveterate among the people. The earl of Desmond, in 1569, gave him disturbance, from the hereditary animosity which prevailed between that nobleman and the earl of Ormonde, descended from the only family established in Ireland that had steadily maintained its loyalty to the English crown. The earl of Thomond, in 1570, attempted a rebellion in Connaught, but was obliged to fly into France before his designs were ripe for execution. Stukeley, another fugitive, found such credit with the pope, Gregory XIII, that he flattered that pontiff with the prospect of making his nephew, Buon Compagno, king of Ireland; and as if this project had already taken effect, he accepted the title of marquis of Leinster from the new sovereign. He passed next into Spain; and after having received much encouragement and great rewards from Philip, who intended to employ him as an instrument in disturbing Elizabeth, he was found to possess too little interest for executing those high promises which he had made to that monarch. He retired into Portugal, and following the fortunes of Don Sebastian, he perished with that gallant prince in his bold but unfortunate expedition against the Moors.

Lord Grey, after some interval, succeeded to the government of Ireland, and in 1579 suppressed a new rebellion of the earl of Desmond, though supported by a body of Spaniards and Italians. The rebellion of the Burkes followed a few years after, occasioned by the strict and equitable administration of Sir Richard Bingham, governor of Connaught, who endeavoured to repress the tyranny of the chieftains over their vassals. The queen, finding Ireland so burdensome to her, tried several expedients for reducing it to a state of greater order and submission. She encouraged the earl of Essex, father to that nobleman who was afterwards her favourite, to attempt the subduing and planting of Clandeboye, Ferny, and other territories, part of some late forfeitures. But that enterprise proved unfortunate; and Essex died of a distemper occasioned, as is supposed, by the vexation which he had conceived from his disappointments.

A university was founded in Dublin with a view of introducing arts and learning into that kingdom, and civilising the uncultivated manners of the inhabitants. But the most unhappy expedient employed in the government of Ireland was that made use of in 1585 by Sir John Perrott, at that time lord deputy. He put arms into the hands of the Irish inhabitants of Ulster, in order to enable them, without the assistance of the government, to repress the incursions of the Scottish islanders, by which these parts were much infested. At the same time the invitations of Philip, joined to their zeal for the Catholic religion, engaged many of the gentry to serve in the Low Country

[1598 A.D.]

wars; and thus Ireland, being provided with officers and soldiers, with discipline and arms, became formidable to the English, and was thenceforth able to maintain a more regular war against her ancient masters.

TYRONE'S REBELLION

Hugh O'Neil, nephew to Shan O'Neil, had been raised by the queen to the dignity of earl of Tyrone; but having murdered his cousin, son of that rebel, and being acknowledged head of his clan, he fomented all those disorders by which he hoped to weaken or overturn the English government. Tyrone secretly fomented the discontents of the Maguires, O'Donnells, O'Rourkes, Macmahons, and other rebels; yet trusting to the influence of his deceitful oaths and professions, he put himself into the hands of Sir William Russel, who in the year 1594 was sent over deputy to Ireland. Contrary to the advice and protestation of Sir Henry Bagnal, marshal of the army, he was dismissed; and returning to his own country, he embraced the resolution of raising an open rebellion, and of relying no longer on the lenity or inexperience of the English government. He entered into a correspondence with Spain; he procured thence a supply of arms and ammunition, and having united all the Irish chieftains in a dependence upon himself, he began to be regarded as a formidable enemy.

The native Irish were so poor that their country afforded few other commodities than cattle and oatmeal, which were easily concealed or driven away on the approach of the enemy; and as Elizabeth was averse to the expense requisite for supporting her armies, the English found much difficulty in pushing their advantages, and in pursuing the rebels into the bogs, woods, and other fastnesses to which they retreated.

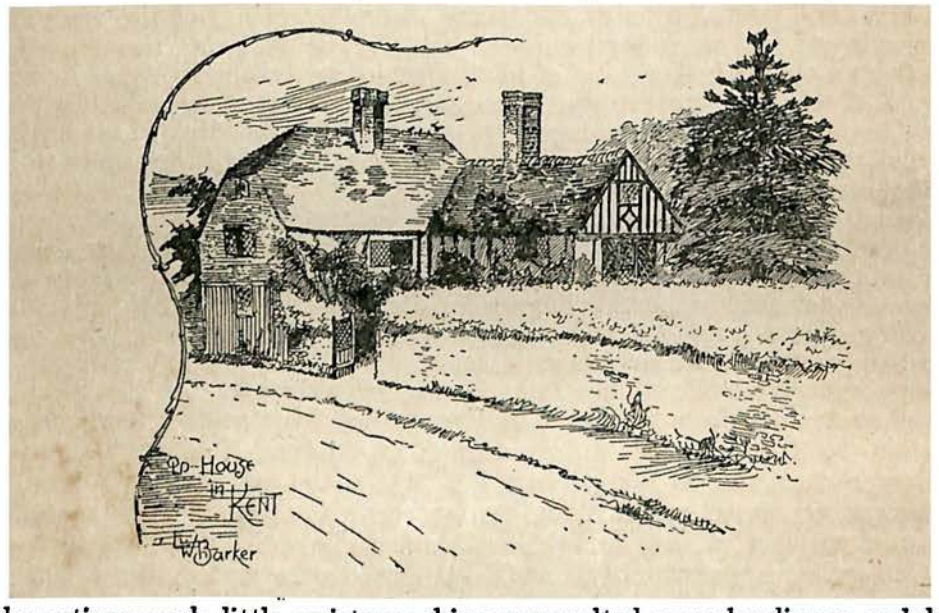
These motives rendered Sir John Norris, who commanded the English army, the more willing to hearken to any proposals of truce or accommodation made him by Tyrone; and after the war was spun out by these artifices for some years, that gallant Englishman, finding that he had been deceived by treacherous promises, and that he had performed nothing worthy of his ancient reputation, was seized with a languishing distemper, and died of vexation and discontent. Sir Henry Bagnal, who succeeded him in the command, was still more unfortunate. As he advanced to relieve the fort of Blackwater, besieged by the rebels, he was surrounded in disadvantageous ground; his soldiers, discouraged by part of their powder's accidentally taking fire, were put to flight; and though the pursuit was stopped by Montacute, who commanded the English horse, fifteen hundred men, together with the general himself, were left dead upon the spot. This victory so unusual to the Irish, roused their courage, supplied them with arms and ammunition and raised the reputation of Tyrone, who assumed the character of the deliverer of his country and patron of Irish liberty.

The English council were now sensible that the rebellion of Ireland was come to a dangerous head, and that the former temporising arts of granting truces and pacifications to the rebels, and of allowing them to purchase pardons by resigning part of the plunder acquired during their insurrection, served only to encourage the spirit of mutiny and disorder among them. It was therefore resolved to push the war by more vigorous measures, and the queen cast her eye on Charles Blount, lord Mountjoy, as a man who, though hitherto less accustomed to arms than to books and literature, was endowed she thought, with talents equal to the undertaking.[i]

ESSEX IN IRELAND: HIS SEDITION

It was proposed in the council to send Lord Mountjoy thither as chief governor; but Essex strenuously opposed this appointment, and in the description which he gave of the kind of person who should be sent he drew his own portrait so accurately that it was plain to all what his object was. Cecil, Raleigh, and his other enemies gladly seized on the occasion of removing him from court. The new title of lord lieutenant was conferred on him, and he left London in March, 1599, amid the acclamations of the people, and accompanied by a gallant train of nobles and gentlemen. The forces placed at his disposal amounted to eighteen thousand men.

Instead of marching against Tyrone at once, Essex, at the persuasion of some of the Irish council, who wished to secure their estates in Munster, led his forces thither. Here he passed the better part of the summer, and though



the natives made little resistance, his army melted away by disease and desertion. On his return to Dublin he was obliged to write to the English council for two thousand additional troops; yet even when these arrived he found that from desertion and other causes he could lead but four thousand men against O'Neil. He therefore listened to a proposal of that chief for a conference. They met on the opposite banks of a stream; a truce till the following May was agreed on, and Essex engaged to transmit to England the demands of O'Neil, which were too high ever to be granted.[1]

Though Essex had received orders not to leave Ireland, he resolved to anticipate his enemies, who he was conscious had now a fair opportunity of injuring him in the royal mind, and on the morning of Michaelmas eve the queen saw him enter her chamber before she had finished dressing and throw

[1 So unexpected an issue of an enterprise, the greatest and most expensive that Elizabeth had ever undertaken, provoked her extremely against Essex; and this disgust was much augmented by other circumstances of that nobleman's conduct. He wrote many letters to the queen and council full of peevish and impatient expressions: complaining of his enemies, lamenting that their calumnies should be believed against him, and discovering symptoms of a mind equally haughty and discontented.—HUME.]

himself on his knees before her. Taken thus by surprise, she gave him her hand to kiss. He retired in high spirits, and was heard to thank God that though he had met with many storms abroad he had found a sweet calm at home. Before the day ended, however, the calm turned to a storm;[1] the queen, who would not have her authority infringed, ordered him to confine himself to his room, and in a few days committed him to the custody of the lord-keeper Egerton. Anxiety of mind brought on him an attack of illness. Elizabeth, who really loved him, sent him some broth from her own table, and with tears in her eyes desired the physician to tell him that were it not for her honour she would visit him herself.

After his recovery he was allowed to retire to his own house, where, in the society of his countess, the accomplished daughter of Walsingham and widow of Sir Philip Sidney, he devoted himself to literature, the study of which he had never neglected. The accounts of the success of Mountjoy, who had succeeded him in Ireland, and the injudicious expressions of the popular feelings in his favour, gave strength to the arguments of his enemies, and the queen directed that he should be examined before the privy council. He made no defence, throwing himself in a strain of affecting eloquence on the queen's mercy. The sentence passed was that he should not exercise any of his offices, and should confine himself to his own house. He behaved with the greatest humility and submission, and would probably have recovered his former state of favour had not a slight circumstance occurred which caused his ruin.

A monopoly of sweet wines had been given to Essex for a term which now expired. On his application for a renewal the queen refused, saying she must first learn its value, and that an unruly beast must be stinted in its provender. Essex now fancied there was a settled design to ruin him; he began to give ear to the evil suggestions of his secretary Cuffe and others who recommended violent courses; he increased the number of his dependents; he took the opinions of some divines on the lawfulness of using force against a sovereign. Some of the more zealous Puritan clergy (a party which, like Leicester, he always favoured) recommended his cause to the citizens in their lectures. He even opened a correspondence with the king of Scots, assuring him that Cecil and the other ministers were in favour of the Infanta, and advising him to assert his right to the succession, in which he offered to support him with his life and fortune. In his imprudence he could not refrain from using disparaging language of the queen. All this was conveyed to the queen's ear by his enemies among the court ladies.

Drury house, the residence of the earl of Southampton, was the place where the principal malcontents used to meet, but Essex himself never was present. Plans were formed for seizing the palace and obliging the queen to dismiss his enemies and alter her mode of governing. The suspicions of the ministers were awakened, and Essex was summoned before the council (February 7th, 1601). He feigned illness; in the night his friends resorted to him, and as next day was Sunday and the chief citizens would be assembled according to custom at Paul's Cross, it was resolved to try to induce them to follow him to the palace.

In the morning the lord-keeper and some others were sent to Essex house. They were admitted through the wicket, but their attendants were excluded,

[1] "When I did come into her presence," says Harrington, "she chafed much, walked fastly to and fro, looked with discomposure on her visage, and I remember she catched my girdle when I kneeled to her, and swore, 'By God's son I am no queen; that man is above me. Who gave him command to come here so soon? I did send him on other business.' "

and after some altercation they were confined in one of the rooms. Essex then issued forth at the head of about eighty knights and gentlemen; on the way to the city he was joined by about two hundred others, but on reaching St. Paul's he found no one there. He advanced, shouting, "For the queen! for the queen! a plot is laid for my life!" but few noticed him. Soon after the lords Burghley and Cumberland entered the city proclaiming him a traitor; he attempted to return home, but was repulsed by the guard at Ludgate; he then entered a boat at Queenhithe and returned by water. He found his prisoners gone; soldiers began to surround the house; cannon were brought from the Tower; Lord Sands advised a sally sword in hand, but Essex did not yet despair, and he surrendered on the promise of a fair trial.

Essex and Southampton were brought to trial on the 19th before a jury of twenty-five peers. As some of them were his personal enemies, he claimed a right to challenge them, but this right was denied by the judges. The facts were easily proved, but Essex denied all intention of injuring the queen. They were found guilty. Essex said that for himself he should neither solicit nor refuse mercy, but he hoped the life of his friend would be spared, who had only acted from affection to him. Southampton threw himself immediately on the mercy of the queen. In prison Essex was attended by Ashton, his favourite divine, who awoke in his bosom such a degree of spiritual terror and remorse that he made a most ample confession.[e] It filled four sheets of paper; but its accuracy has been doubted, and his associates complained that he had loaded both himself and them with crimes of which neither he nor they were guilty.

The eyes of the public were now fixed on Elizabeth. Some persons maintained that she had not the heart to put her former favourite to death—her affection would infallibly master her resentment; others, that she dared not—revenge might urge him on the scaffold to reveal secrets disreputable to a maiden queen. But his enemies were industrious; and while they affected to remain neutral, clandestinely employed the services of certain females, whose credulity had been formerly deceived by the earl, and whose revenge was gratified by keeping alive the irritation of their mistress. From them Elizabeth heard tales of his profligacy, his arrogance, and his ingratitude to his benefactress, whom he had pronounced "an old woman, as crooked in mind as she was in body." This insult to her "divine beauty" sunk deeply into her breast, and, jointly with his obstinacy in refusing to sue for mercy, steeled her against the apologies, the solicitations, and the tears of his friends. She signed the fatal warrant; but, with her usual indecision, first sent her kinsman, Edward Carey, to forbid, and then the lord Darcy to hasten, its execution.

ESSEX'S DEATH AND CHARACTER

About eight in the morning, February 25th, Essex was led to the scaffold, which had been erected within the court of the Tower. He was attended by three divines, whose words, to use his own expression, had ploughed up his heart. Never did a prisoner behave with greater humility, or manifest a deeper sorrow. He acknowledged his numerous transgressions of the divine law; but when he came to his offence against the queen, he sought in vain for words to express his feelings. He called it "a great sin, a bloody sin, a crying and infectious sin, for which he begged pardon of God and his sovereign." Whether he still indulged a hope of pardon is uncertain; but it was remarked that he never mentioned his wife, or children, or friends; that he took leave of no one,

not even of his acquaintances then present, and that when he knelt down to pray, he betrayed considerable agitation of mind. The first stroke took from him all sense of pain; the third severed his head from the body.

Thus, at the premature age of thirty-three, perished the gallant and aspiring Essex. At his first introduction to Elizabeth he had to contend against the dislike with which she viewed the son of a woman who had been her rival, and a successful rival, in the affections of Leicester. If he overcame this prejudice, it was not owing to personal beauty or exterior accomplishments.[1] In these respects, if we except the exquisite symmetry of his hands, he was inferior to many gentlemen at court. But there was in him a frankness of disposition, a contempt of all disguise, an impetuosity of feeling, which prompted him to pour out his whole soul in conversation—qualities which captivated the old queen, fatigued as she was with the cautious and measured language of the politicians around her. She insisted on his constant presence at court, and undertook to form the young mind of her favourite; but the scholar presumed to dispute the lessons of his teacher, and the spirit with which he opposed her chidings extorted her applause. In every quarrel his perseverance was victorious; and his vanquished mistress, in atonement for the pain which she had given, loaded him with caresses and favours. Hence he deduced a maxim, which, however it might succeed for a few years, finally brought him to the scaffold—that the queen might be driven, but could not be led; that her obstinacy might be subdued by resistance, but could not be softened by submission.

Contrary to the lot of most favourites, he had enjoyed at the same time the affection of the sovereign and of the people; and the popularity of the queen, which had long been on the wane, seemed to be buried in the same grave with her favourite. On her appearance in public, she was no longer greeted with the wonted acclamations, and her counsellors were received with loud expressions of insult and abhorrence.

The death of Essex contributed to save the life of Southampton. But though the ministers solicited the queen in his favour, though they extorted from her a reprieve from the block, they could not obtain his discharge from the Tower. Cuffe, the secretary, and Merrick, the steward of Essex, suffered the usual punishment of traitors; which was commuted into decapitation in favour of Blount, his stepfather, and of Davers, the friend of Southampton. For it was in this ill-advised enterprise, as it had been in the more atrocious conspiracy of Babington: men risked their lives through affection for others. If Southampton adhered to Essex, or Davers to Southampton, it was because they deemed it a duty prescribed by friendship to live or perish together.

The king of Scots, in consequence of his engagement with the conspirators, had previously appointed the earl of Mar, and Bruce, abbot of Kinross, his ambassadors to England. Though the failure of the attempt was known in Edinburgh before their departure, they were authorised to promise that James would put himself at the head of the party, if there still remained any reasonable prospect of success. They found the adherents of Essex plunged in the deepest despair, the people in a state of discontent, and Cecil possessing in reality the exercise of the sovereign power. Veiling their object, they congratulated the queen on her escape from the control of the conspirators; affirmed in strong language the innocence of their master, not only as to that, but as to all other attempts against her life or authority; and demanded an addition to his annual pension, and a promise that nothing should be done to

[1] He stooped forward, walked and danced ungracefully, and was slovenly in his dress. —WOTTON. *i*

the prejudice of his right to the succession. James dared not hope for success in this negotiation. He knew that Essex had betrayed the secret connection between them, and he expected every bad office from the presumed hostility of Cecil.

But Cecil was a thoroughbred politician, who measured his friendships and enmities by his personal interest. When Elizabeth was tottering on the brink of the grave, it was not for him to brave the resentment of her successor. How the reconciliation was effected is not precisely stated; but the result appears to have been an agreement that all past causes of offence should be forgiven, that the king should receive an addition of two thousand pounds to his annuity, and that Cecil, with the aid of the lord Henry Howard, should silently pave the way for his succession at the death of Elizabeth.

The secretary, however, required silence as an indispensable condition. Should the secret transpire, should even a suspicion be provoked of any concert between him and the Scottish king, the jealousy of Elizabeth would pronounce Cecil a traitor and James a rival; and it should be remembered that the court contained many who through interested motives would gladly infuse such notions into the royal mind. This advice was approved and adopted. The correspondence which followed between the parties was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the queen and the courtiers, and generally passed through the hands of the lord Henry Howard in England, and of Mar and Bruce in Scotland. Cecil continued to act as if he had no eye to the succession of James; and James affected to speak of him as of one from whom he had no reason to expect any service.

Essex, in his confession, had betrayed the project for his release from captivity, to which the lord Mountjoy had formerly given his assent. Though that nobleman had conducted the war in Ireland with a vigour and success which raised him to a high pre-eminence above all former deputies, he knew that he had reason to dread the resentment of the queen, and had made every preparation to seek, at the first summons, an asylum on the Continent. Cecil, however, convinced her that it stood not with her interests to irritate a favourite general at the head of a victorious army. Dissembling her knowledge of his guilt, she acquainted him, in a long and gracious letter, with the trial and execution of Essex; assured him that in her distress it afforded her consolation to think of his loyalty and attachment.

PARLIAMENT AND THE MONOPOLIES

Elizabeth now summoned a parliament to meet at Westminster. Unwilling that men should notice her increasing infirmities, she opened the session with more than usual parade, October 27th, 1601; but her enfeebled frame was unable to support the weight of the royal robes, and she was actually sinking to the ground when the nearest nobleman caught and supported her in his arms. The only object of the minister was to obtain a supply of money for the Irish war, and his wish was gratified by the unexampled vote of four subsidies, and eight tenths and fifteenths. But if the members were liberal in their grant to the crown, they were obstinate in demanding the redress of their grievances. The great subject of complaint, both within and without the walls of parliament, was the multitude of monopolies bestowed by the queen on her favourites. By a monopoly was understood a patent signed by her, and vesting in an individual, as a reward for his real or pretended services, the exclusive right of vending some particular commodity. This custom began in the seventeenth year of her reign, and grew in a short time into an

[1601-1602 A.D.]

intolerable abuse. If it supplied her with the means of satisfying importunate suitors without cost to herself, yet, to the public, each patent operated as a new tax on the consumer. Wine, vinegar, oil, salt, starch, tin, steel, coals, and numerous other commodities, among which were several of the first necessity, and therefore of universal consumption, had of late years been advanced to double the usual price; and the representatives of most counties and boroughs had been instructed by their constituents to demand the abolition of so oppressive a grievance.

The motion was soon made: by the advisers of the crown it was met with the argument that the granting of monopolies was a branch of the prerogative; that whoever only touched the prerogative would incur the royal indignation; that to proceed by bill was useless and unwise, because, though the two houses might pretend "to tie the queen's hands by act of parliament, she still could loose them at her pleasure"; and that the speaker was blamable to admit such motions, contrary to the royal commandment given at the opening of the session. It was, however, replied, that the patentees were the blood-suckers of the commonwealth; that the people could no longer bear such burdens; that the close of the last parliament had shown how little redress was to be expected from petition; and that the only sure remedy was to abolish all monopolies by statute.

HOUSE OF THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD

This perseverance of the commons shook the resolution of the minister, who was terrified by the execrations of the people as he hastened in his carriage through the streets; and subdued the obstinacy of the queen, who, though she annually became more attached to what she deemed the rights of the crown, yielded at length to his suggestions and entreaties. The commons, happy to obtain redress without engaging in a contest with their sovereign, returned her thanks in language little short of blasphemy.[d]

The only event of much importance in the remainder of the queen's reign was the reduction of Tyrone and the other Irish chiefs by the deputy Mountjoy (1602). The king of Spain had sent a body of six thousand men to their aid under Juan de Aguilar and Alfonso Ocampo, but these generals were obliged to capitulate to the lord-deputy at Kinsale and Baltimore.[e]

The time so long dreaded by the queen had at length arrived when, to use her own expression, men would turn their backs on the setting, to worship the rising sun. It was in vain that she affected the vigour and gaiety of youth;[1]

[1] At this time the queen had a new favourite, the young earl of Clanricarde. "He resembles much the late earl of Essex, and is growing to be a favourite." August 25th. "Flatterers say that he resembles Essex; the queen dissembles, and says that she cannot love him, inasmuch as he recalls her sorrow for that nobleman."—BEAUMONT.[k] By mistake he is called Clancarty in Von Raumer.[l]

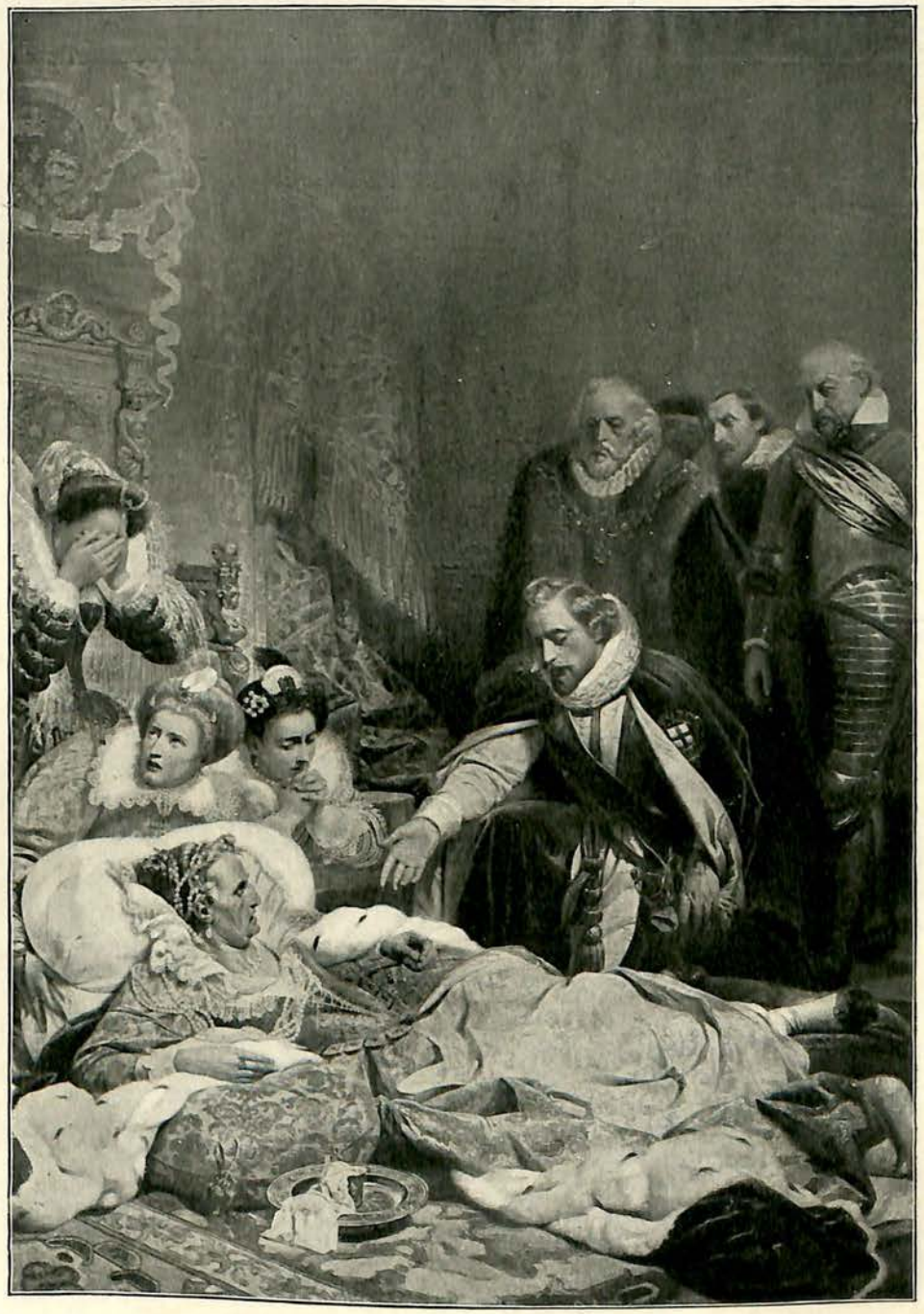
that in opposition to the unanimous advice of the council she persisted in making her annual progress; and that every other day she fatigued her decrepit frame with riding on horseback to view the labours of the chase and the other sports of the field. No art could conceal her age and infirmities from the knowledge of her subjects; the consequences of her approaching demise became the general topic of conversation at court, and every man who dared to give an opinion was careful to name as her successor the king of Scots. The question of the succession was as warmly agitated among the exiles abroad as among the courtiers and politicians at home. The reader is acquainted with the plan of the Spanish faction to place the Infanta on the English throne. As long as she was at liberty to marry either the king of Scots or an English nobleman, it was hoped that the nation might be induced to admit her claim; but from the moment of her union with the archduke Albert, the most sanguine of her partisans began to despond. But there could be no doubt that on the death of Elizabeth many competitors would appear; and that on such an occasion the Catholic monarchs, in union with the Catholic natives, might form a powerful party in favour of a Catholic claimant.

Attempts had formerly been made to steal away the lady Arabella Stuart as a dangerous rival to the Infanta; she now became the favourite of the faction; it was proposed that she should marry the cardinal Farnese, who could trace his descent from John of Gaunt, and that all Catholics should be exhorted to support their united pretensions. When this visionary scheme was suggested to Clement VIII, he appeared to entertain it with pleasure, but was careful not to commit himself by any public avowal of his sentiments.

ELIZABETH'S LAST ILLNESS

Elizabeth had surprised the nations of Europe by the splendour of her course; she was destined to close the evening of her life in gloom and sorrow. The bodily infirmities which she suffered may have been the consequences of age; her mental afflictions are usually traced by historians to regret for the execution of Essex. That she occasionally bewailed his fate, that she accused herself of precipitation and cruelty, is not improbable; but there were disclosures in his confession to which her subsequent melancholy may with greater probability be ascribed. From that document she learned the unwelcome and distressing truth that she had lived too long; that her favourites looked with impatience to the moment which would free them from her control; and that the very men on whose loyalty she had hitherto reposed with confidence had already proved unfaithful to her. She became pensive and taciturn; she sat whole days by herself, indulging in the most gloomy reflections; every rumour agitated her with new and imaginary terrors; and the solitude of her court, the opposition of the commons to her prerogative, and the silence of the citizens when she appeared in public, were taken by her for proofs that she had survived her popularity, and was become an object of aversion to her subjects. Under these impressions, she assured the French ambassador that she had grown weary of her very existence.

Sir John Harington, her godson, who visited the court about seven months after the death of Essex, has described in a private letter the state in which he found the queen. She was altered in her features and reduced to a skeleton. Her food was nothing but manchet bread and succory pottage. Her taste for dress was gone. She had not changed her clothes for many days. Nothing could please her; she was the torment of the ladies who waited on her person.



THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

(From the painting by Paul Delaroche, in the Louvre)

She stamped with her feet, and swore violently at the objects of her anger. For her protection she had ordered a sword to be placed by her table, which she often took in her hand and thrust with violence into the tapestry of her chamber. In January, 1603, she was troubled with a cold, and about the end of the month removed, on a wet and stormy day, from Westminster to Richmond. Her indisposition increased, but with her characteristic obstinacy she refused the advice of her physicians. Loss of appetite was accompanied with lowness of spirits, and to add to her distress it chanced that her intimate friend, the countess of Nottingham, died. Elizabeth now spent her days and nights in sighs and tears.

In the first week of March all the symptoms of her disorder were considerably aggravated; she lay during some hours in a state of stupor, rallied for a day or two, and then relapsed. The council, having learned from the physicians that her recovery was hopeless, prepared to fulfil their engagements with the king of Scots, by providing for his peaceable succession to the throne. The lord-admiral, the lord-keeper, and the secretary remained with the queen at Richmond; the others repaired to Whitehall. Orders were issued for the immediate arrest and transportation to Holland of all vagrants and unknown persons found in London or Westminster; a guard was posted at the exchequer; the great horses were brought up from Reading; the court was supplied with arms and ammunition; and several gentlemen, "hunger-starved for innovation," and therefore objects of suspicion, were conveyed prisoners to the Tower.

The queen, during the paroxysms of her disorder, had been alarmed at the frightful phantoms conjured up by her imagination. At length she obstinately refused to return to her bed, and sat both day and night on a stool bolstered up with cushions, having her finger in her mouth and her eyes fixed on the floor, seldom condescending to speak, and rejecting every offer of nourishment. The bishops and the lords of the council advised and entreated in vain. For them all, with the exception of the lord-admiral, she expressed the most profound contempt. He was of her own blood, from him she consented to accept a basin of broth; but when he urged her to return to her bed, she replied that if he had seen what she saw there he would never make the request. To Cecil, who asked if she had seen spirits, she answered that it was an idle question beneath her notice. He insisted that she must go to bed, if it were only to satisfy her people. "Must!" she exclaimed, "is 'must' a word to be addressed to princes? Little man, little man, thy father, if he had been alive, durst not have used that word; but thou art grown presumptuous because thou knowest that I shall die." Ordering the others to depart, she called the lord-admiral to her, saying in a piteous tone, "My lord, I am tied with an iron collar about my neck." He sought to console her, but she replied, "No; I am tied, and the case is altered with me."

At the commencement of her illness the queen had been heard to say that she would leave the crown to the right heir; it was now deemed advisable to elicit from her a less equivocal declaration on behalf of the king of Scots. On the last night of her life the three lords waited upon her. According to the narrative of the maid of honour who was present, the persons first mentioned to the queen by the lords were the king of France and the king of Scotland. The queen neither spoke nor stirred. The third name was that of the lord Beauchamp.[1] At the sound her spirit was roused.[d] She replied, "My seat

[1] Lord Beauchamp was the fruit of the furtive marriage between Lord Hertford and the lady Catherine Grey, and consequently heir to the pretensions of the house of Suffolk. This was the reason why he was named, and also why the queen used the expression "a ras-

has been the seat of kings; I will have no rascal's son, but a king." When asked to explain, she said, "Who should that be but our cousin of Scotland?" During the day she became speechless. In the afternoon, when the primate and the other prelates had left her, the councillors returned, and Cecil asked her if she still continued in her resolution, "whereat suddenly heaving herself upwards in her bed and pulling her arms out of bed, she held her hands jointly over her head in form of a crown." At six in the evening she made signs for the archbishop and her chaplains. The primate examined her of her faith; she replied by signs; he prayed at her desire till it was late in the night. He then retired, and at the hour of three in the morning, March 24th, 1603, the queen gently yielded up her spirit. At ten o'clock King James was proclaimed.

This great queen had nearly attained the age of seventy years, during forty-five of which she had occupied the throne.[e]

LINGARD'S ESTIMATE OF ELIZABETH'S CHARACTER

In the judgment of her contemporaries—and that judgment has been ratified by the consent of posterity—Elizabeth was numbered among the greatest and the most fortunate of our princes. The tranquillity which, during a reign of nearly half a century, she maintained within her dominions, while the neighbouring nations were convulsed with intestine dissensions, was taken as a proof of the wisdom or the vigour of her government; and her successful resistance against the Spanish monarch, the severe injuries which she inflicted on that lord of so many kingdoms, and the spirit displayed by her fleets and armies, in expeditions to France and the Netherlands, to Spain, to the West and even the East Indies, served to give to the world an exalted notion of her military and naval power. When she came to the throne, England ranked only among the secondary kingdoms; before her death, it had risen to a level with the first nations in Europe.

Of this rise two causes may be assigned. The one, though more remote, was that spirit of commercial enterprise which had revived in the reign of Mary and was carefully fostered in that of Elizabeth by the patronage of the sovereign and the co-operation of the great. Its benefits were not confined to the trading and seafaring classes, the two interests more immediately concerned. It gave a new tone to the public mind, and diffused a new energy through all ranks of men. The other cause may be discovered in the system of foreign policy adopted by the ministers—a policy, indeed, which it may be difficult to reconcile with honesty and good faith, but which in the result proved eminently successful. The reader has seen them perpetually on the watch to sow the seeds of dissension, to foment the spirit of resistance, and to aid the efforts of rebellion in the neighbouring nations. In Scotland the authority of the crown was almost annihilated; France was reduced to an unexampled state of anarchy, poverty, and distress; and Spain beheld with dismay her wealth continually absorbed, and her armies annually perishing among the dikes and sand-banks of the Low Countries. The depression of these powers, if not a positive, was a relative benefit. As other princes descended, the English queen appeared to rise on the scale of reputation and power.

In what proportion the merit or demerit of these and of other measures should be shared between Elizabeth and her counsellors, it is impossible to

cal's son." Lingard[d] denies the story that Elizabeth indicated James by a sign, but it is generally accepted.

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determine. On many subjects she could see only with their eyes and hear with their ears, yet it is evident that her judgment or her conscience frequently disapproved of their advice.[1] Sometimes, after a long struggle, they submitted to her wisdom or obstinacy; sometimes she was terrified or seduced into the surrender of her own opinion; generally a compromise was effected by mutual concessions. This appears to have happened on most debates of importance, and particularly with respect to the treatment of the unfortunate queen of Scots. Elizabeth may perhaps have dissembled; she may have been actuated by jealousy or hatred; but if we condemn, we should also remember the arts and frauds of the men by whom she was surrounded, the false information which they supplied, the imaginary dangers which they created, and the despatches which they dictated in England to be forwarded to the queen through the ambassadors in foreign courts, as the result of their own judgment and observation.

It may be that the habitual irresolution of Elizabeth was partially owing to her discovery of such practices; but there is reason to believe that it was a weakness inherent in the constitution of her mind. To deliberate, appears to have been her delight; to resolve, her torment. She would receive advice from any, from foreigners as well as natives, from the ladies of her bedchamber no less than the lords of her council; but her distrust begot hesitation, and she always suspected that some interested motive lurked under the pretence of zeal for her service. Hence she often suffered months, sometimes years, to roll away before she came to a conclusion; and then it required the same industry and address to keep her steady to her purpose as it had already cost to bring her to it.

The ministers, in their confidential correspondence, perpetually lamented this infirmity in the queen; in public they employed all their ingenuity to screen it from notice, and to give the semblance of wisdom to that which, in their own judgment, they characterised as folly.

Besides irresolution, there was in Elizabeth another quality equally, perhaps more, mortifying to her counsellors and favourites: her care to improve her revenue, her reluctance to part with her money. That frugality in a sovereign is a virtue deserving the highest praise could not be denied; but they contended that in their mistress it had degenerated into parsimony, if not into avarice. Their salaries were, indeed, low; she distributed her gratuities with a sparing hand; and the more honest among them injured their fortunes in her service; yet there were others who, by the sale of places and of patronage, by grants and monopolies, were able to amass considerable wealth, or to spend with a profusion almost unexampled among subjects. The truth, however, was, that the foreign policy of the cabinet had plunged the queen into a gulf of unfathomable expense. Her connection with the insurgents in so many different countries, the support of a standing army in Holland, her long war with Spain, and the repeated attempts to suppress the rebellion of Tyrone, were continual drains upon the treasury, which the revenue of the crown, with every adventitious aid of subsidies, loans, fines, and forfeitures, was unable to supply. Her poverty increased as her wants multiplied. All her efforts were cramped; expeditions were calculated on too limited a scale,

[1] It is, moreover, observed by one who had the means of judging, that "when the busynesse did turn to better advantage, she did moste cunningly commit the good issue to hir own honour and understandinge; but, when ought fell oute contrarie to hir wyll and intente, the council were in great straite to defende their owne actinge, and not blemyshe the queen's goode judgmente. Herein hir wyse men did oft lacke more wysdome; and the lorde treasurer woude ofte shed a plenty of tears on any miscarriage, well knowynge the difficulte parte was, not so muche to mende the matter itself as his mistresse's humour."—HARINGTON.[m]

and for too short a period; and the very apprehension of present served only to entail on her future and enormous expense.

An intelligent foreigner had described Elizabeth, while she was yet a subject, as haughty and overbearing; on the throne she was careful to display that notion of her own importance, that contempt of all beneath her, and that courage in the time of danger, which were characteristic of the Tudors. She seemed to have forgotten that she ever had a mother, but was proud to remind both herself and others that she was the daughter of a powerful monarch, of Henry VIII. On occasions of ceremony she appeared in all her splendour, accompanied by the great officers of state, and with a numerous retinue of lords and ladies dressed in their most gorgeous apparel. In reading descriptions of her court, we may sometimes fancy ourselves transported into the palace of an eastern princess. When Hentzner[n] saw her she was proceeding on a Sunday from her own apartment to the chapel. First appeared a number of gentlemen, barons, earls, and knights of the garter; then came the chancellor with the seals, between two lords carrying the sceptre and the sword. Elizabeth followed; and wherever she cast her eyes, the spectators instantly fell on their knees.

She was then in her sixty-fifth year. She wore false hair of a red colour, surmounted with a crown of gold. The wrinkles of age were imprinted on her face; her eyes were small, her teeth black, her nose prominent. The collar of the garter hung from her neck, and her bosom was uncovered, as became an unmarried queen. Her train, of great length, was borne by a marchioness; behind her followed a number of noble ladies, mostly dressed in white; and on each side stood a line of gentlemen pensioners, with their gilt battle-axes and in splendid uniforms.

Yet while she maintained this state in public and in the palace, while she taught the proudest of the nobility to feel the distance between themselves and their sovereign, she condescended to court the goodwill of the common people. In the country they had access to her at all times; neither their rudeness nor importunity appeared to offend her; she received their petitions with an air of pleasure, thanked them for their expressions of attachment, and sought the opportunity of entering into private conversation with individuals. Her progresses were undoubtedly undertaken for pleasure; but she made them subservient to policy, and increased her popularity by her affability and condescension to the private inhabitants of the counties in which she made her temporary abode.

From the elevation of the throne, we may now follow her into the privacy of domestic life. Her natural abilities were great; she had studied under experienced masters; and her stock of literature was much more ample than that of most females of the age. Like her sister Mary, she possessed a knowledge of five languages; but Mary did not venture to converse in Italian, neither could she construe the Greek Testament, like Elizabeth. The queen is said to have excelled on the virginals, and to have understood the most difficult music. But dancing was her principal delight, and in that exercise she displayed a grace and spirit which were universally admired. She retained her partiality for it to the last; few days passed in which the young nobility of the court were not called to dance before their sovereign; and the queen herself condescended to perform her part in a galliard with the duke of Nevers, at the age of sixty-nine.

Of her vanity the reader will have noticed several instances in the preceding pages; there remains one of a more extraordinary description. It is seldom that females have the boldness to become the heralds of their own

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charms; but Elizabeth by proclamation announced to her people that none of the portraits which had hitherto been taken of her person did justice to the original; that at the request of her council she had resolved to procure an exact likeness from the pencil of some able artist; that it should soon be published for the gratification of her loving subjects; and that on this account she strictly forbade all persons whomsoever to paint or engrave any new portraits of her features without license, or to show or publish any of the old portraits till they had been re-formed according to the copy to be set forth by authority.

The courtiers soon discovered how greedy their sovereign was of flattery. If they sought to please, they were careful to admire; and adulation the most fulsome and extravagant was accepted by the queen with gratitude and rewarded with bounty. Neither was her appetite for praise cloyed; it seemed rather to become more craving by enjoyment. After she had passed her grand climacteric, she exacted the same homage to her faded charms as had been paid to her youth; and all who addressed her were still careful to express their admiration of her beauty in the language of oriental hyperbole.

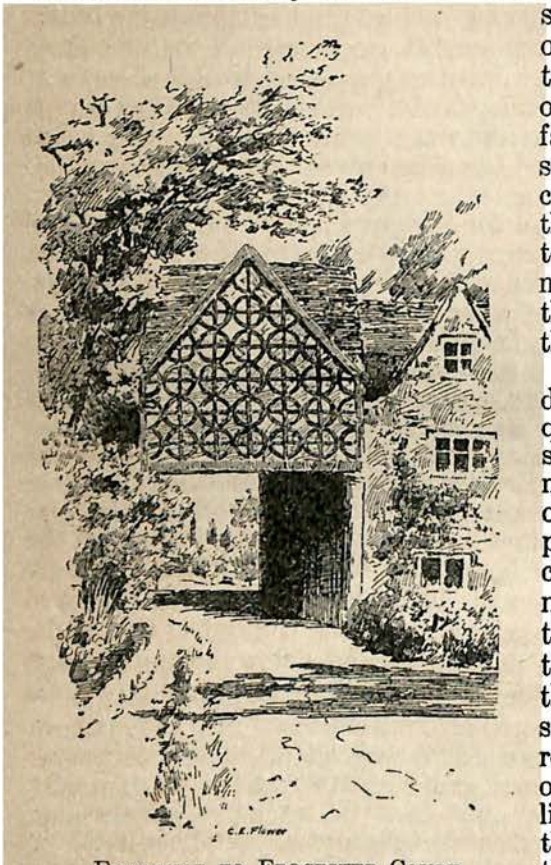
But however highly she might think of her person, she did not despise the aid of external ornament. At her death two—some say three—thousand dresses were found in her wardrobe, with a numerous collection of jewellery, for the most part presents which she had received from petitioners, from her courtiers on her saint's day, and at the beginning of each year, and from the noblemen and gentlemen whose houses she had honoured with her presence. To the austere notions of the bishop of London this love of finery appeared unbecoming her age, and in his sermon he endeavoured to raise her thoughts from the ornaments of dress to the riches of heaven; but she told her ladies that if he touched upon that subject again, she would fit him for heaven. He should walk there without a staff, and leave his mantle behind him. In her temper Elizabeth seemed to have inherited the irritability of her father. The least inattention, the slightest provocation, would throw her into a passion. At all times her discourse was sprinkled with oaths; in the sallies of her anger it abounded with imprecations and abuse. Nor did she content herself with words; not only the ladies about her person, but her courtiers and the highest officers in the state, felt the weight of her hands. She collared Hatton, she gave a blow on the ear to the earl marshal, and she spat on Sir Matthew Arundel, with the foppery of whose dress she was offended.

To her first parliament she had expressed a wish that on her tomb might be inscribed the title of "the virgin queen." But the woman who despises the safeguards must be content to forfeit the reputation of chastity. It was not long before her familiarity with Dudley provoked dishonourable reports. At first they gave her pain, but her feelings were soon blunted by passion; in the face of the whole court she assigned to her supposed paramour an apartment contiguous to her own bed-chamber, and by this indecent act proved that she had become regardless of her character and callous to every sense of shame.[1]

[1] Quandra, bishop of Aquila, the Spanish ambassador in the beginning of 1561, informs the king that, according to common belief, the queen "lived with Dudley"; that in one of his audiences Elizabeth spoke to him respecting this report, and, in proof of its improbability, showed him the situation of her apartment and bed-chamber, *la disposicion de su camera y alcoba*. But in a short time she deprived herself of this plea. Under the pretext that Dudley's apartment in a lower story of the palace was unhealthy, she removed him to another, contiguous to her own chamber; *una habitacion alta junto a su camera, pretestando que la que tenia era mal sana*. In September of the same year these rumours derived additional credit from the change in the queen's appearance. "*La reigna (a lo que entiendo) se hace hydropica,*

But Dudley, though the most favoured, was not considered as her only lover; among his rivals were numbered Hatton, and Raleigh, and Oxford, and Blount, and Simier, and Anjou; and it was afterwards believed, according to Osborn,[o] that her licentious habits survived even when the fire of wantonness had been quenched by the chill of age. The court imitated the manners of the sovereign. It was a place in which, according to Faunt,[p] "all enormities reigned in the highest degree,"[1] or according to Harington,[m] "where there was no love but that of the lusty god of gallantry, Asmodeus."

Elizabeth firmly believed and zealously upheld the principles of government established by her father—the exercise of absolute authority by the sovereign, and the duty of passive obedience in the subject. The doctrine with which the lord-keeper Bacon opened her first parliament was indefatigably inculcated by all his successors during her reign, that if the queen consulted the two houses it was through choice, not through necessity, to the end that her laws might be more satisfactory to her people, not that they might derive any force from their assent.



ENTRANCE TO FROCESTER COURT, GLOUCESTERSHIRE

An intolerable grievance was the discretionary power assumed by the queen of gratifying her caprice or resentment by the restraint or imprisonment of those who had given her offence. Such persons were ordered to present themselves daily before the council till they should receive further notice, or to confine themselves within their own doors, or were given in custody to some other person, or were thrown into a public prison. In this state they remained, according to the royal pleasure, for weeks, or months, or years, till they could obtain their liberty by their submission, or through the intercession of their friends, or with the payment of a valuable composition.

The queen was not sparing of the blood of her subjects. The statutes inflicting death for religious opinion have been already noticed. In addition, many new felonies and new treasons were created during her reign; and the ingenuity of the judges gave to these enactments the most extensive applica-

y comienza ya a hincharse notablemente . . . lo que se parece es que anda discarda y flaca en extremo, y con un color de muerta . . . que la marquesa di Noramton y milady Coban tengan a la reyna por pelegrosa y hydropica, no hay duda." The original despatches are at Simancas, with several letters from an English lady, formerly known to Philip (probably the marchioness of Winchester), describing in strong colours the dissolute manners both of Elizabeth and her court. Philip II received at court a supposed son of Elizabeth and Leicester.

[1 Keightley[e] discounts the complaint of this "rigid querulous Puritan; as if there ever was a court which would not appear licentious and dissolute in the eyes of an austere religionist."]

tion. In 1595 some apprentices in London conspired to release their companions who had been condemned by the Star Chamber to suffer punishment for a riot; in 1597 a number of peasants in Oxfordshire assembled to break down enclosures and restore tillage; each of these offences, as it opposed the execution of the law, was pronounced treason by the judges; and both the apprentices in London and the men of Oxfordshire suffered the barbarous death of traitors.

We are told that her parsimony was a blessing to the subject, and that the pecuniary aids voted to her by parliament were few and inconsiderable in proportion to the length of her reign. They amounted to twenty subsidies, thirty tenths, and forty fifteenths. We know not how we are to arrive at the exact value of these grants, but they certainly exceed the average of the preceding reigns; and to them must be added the fines of recusants, the profits of monopolies, and the moneys raised by forced loans; of which it is observed by Naunton,[c] that "she left more debts unpaid, taken upon credit of her privy seals, than her progenitors did take, or could have taken up, that were a hundred years before her."

The historians who celebrate the golden days of Elizabeth have described with a glowing pencil the happiness of the people under her sway. To them might be opposed the dismal picture of national misery drawn by the Catholic writers of the same period. But both have taken too contracted a view of the subject. Religious dissension had divided the nation into opposite parties of almost equal numbers, the oppressors and the oppressed. Under the operation of the penal statutes many ancient and opulent families had been ground to the dust; new families had sprung up in their place; and these, as they shared the plunder, naturally eulogised the system to which they owed their wealth and their ascendancy. But their prosperity was not the prosperity of the nation; it was that of one half obtained at the expense of the other. It is evident that neither Elizabeth nor her ministers understood the benefits of civil and religious liberty. The prerogatives which she so highly prized have long since withered away; the bloody code which she enacted against the rights of conscience has ceased to stain the pages of the statute-book; and the result has proved that the abolition of despotism and intolerance adds no less to the stability of the throne than to the happiness of the people.[d]

HUME CONCERNING ELIZABETH'S CHARACTER

Mary Stuart's animosity against Elizabeth may easily be conceived, and it broke out in an incident which may appear curious. While the former queen was kept in custody by the earl of Shrewsbury she lived during a long time in great intimacy with the countess; but that lady entertaining a jealousy of an amour between her and the earl, their friendship was converted into enmity, and Mary took a method of revenge which at once gratified her spite against the countess and that against Elizabeth. She wrote to the queen, informing her of all the malicious scandalous stories which, she said, the countess of Shrewsbury had reported of her: That Elizabeth had given a promise of marriage to a certain person, whom she afterwards often admitted to her bed; that she had been equally indulgent to Simier, the French agent, and to the duke of Anjou; that Hatton was also one of her paramours, who was even disgusted with her excessive love and fondness; that though she was, on other occasions, avaricious to the last degree, as well as ungrateful, and kind to very few, she spared no expense in gratifying her amorous pas-

sions; that notwithstanding her licentious amours, she was not made like other women, and all those who courted her marriage would in the end be disappointed; that she was so conceited of her beauty as to swallow the most extravagant flattery from her courtiers, who could not, on these occasions, forbear even sneering at her for her folly; that it was usual for them to tell her that the lustre of her beauty dazzled them like that of the sun, and they could not behold it with a fixed eye. She added that the countess had said that Mary's best policy would be to engage her son to make love to the queen; nor was there any danger that such a proposal would be taken for mockery; so ridiculous was the opinion which she had entertained of her own charms.

She pretended that the countess had represented her as no less odious in her temper than profligate in her manners and absurd in her vanity; that she had so beaten a young woman of the name of Scudamore as to break that lady's finger, and in order to cover over the matter, it was pretended that the accident had proceeded from the fall of a candlestick; that she had cut another across the hand with a knife, who had been so unfortunate as to offend her. Mary added, that the countess had informed her that Elizabeth had suborned Rolstone to pretend friendship to her in order to debauch her, and thereby throw infamy on her rival.

This imprudent and malicious letter was written a very little before the detection of Mary's conspiracy, and contributed, no doubt, to render the proceedings against her the more rigorous. How far all these imputations against Elizabeth can be credited may perhaps appear doubtful; but her extreme fondness for Leicester, Hatton, and Essex, not to mention Mountjoy and others, with the curious passages between her and Admiral Seymour, contained in Haynes, render her chastity very much to be suspected.

Her self-conceit with regard to beauty we know from other undoubted authority to have been extravagant. Even when she was a very old woman, she allowed her courtiers to flatter her with regard to her "excellent beauties." Her passionate temper may also be proved from many lively instances, and it was not unusual with her to beat her maids of honour. The blow she gave to Essex before the privy council is another instance. There remains in the Museum a letter of the earl of Huntingdon's in which he complains grievously of the queen's pinching his wife very sorely on account of some quarrel between them. Had this princess been born in a private station, she would not have been very amiable; but her absolute authority, at the same time that it gave an uncontrolling swing to her violent passions, enabled her to compensate her infirmities by many great and signal virtues.

Most of Queen Elizabeth's courtiers feigned love and desire towards her, and addressed themselves to her in the style of passion and gallantry. Sir Walter Raleigh, having fallen into disgrace, wrote the following letter to his friend Sir Robert Cecil, with a view, no doubt, of having it shown to the queen:

"My heart was never broke till this day, that I hear the queen goes away so far off, whom I have followed so many years with so great love and desire in so many journeys, and am now left behind her in a dark prison all alone. While she was yet near at hand, that I might hear of her once in two or three days, my sorrows were the less; but even now my heart is cast into the depth of all misery. I, that was wont to behold her riding like Alexander, hunting like Diana, walking like Venus, the gentle wind blowing her fair hair about her pure cheeks, like a nymph, sometimes sitting in the shade like a goddess, sometimes singing like an angel, sometimes playing like Orpheus; behold the sorrow of this world! once amiss hath bereaved me of all. O glory that only

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shineth in misfortune! what is become of thy assurance? All wounds have scars but that of fantasy, all affections their relenting but that of womankind. Who is the judge of friendship but adversity, or when is grace witnessed but in offences? There were no divinity but by reason of compassion; for revenges are brutish and mortal. All those times past, the loves, the sighs, the sorrows, the desires, cannot they weigh down one frail misfortune? Cannot one drop of gall be hid in so great heaps of sweetness? I may then conclude, *Spes et fortuna, valete.* She is gone in whom I trusted, and of me hath not one thought of mercy, nor any respect of that which was. Do with me now, therefore, what you list. I am more weary of life than they are desirous I should perish; which if it had been for her, as it is by her, I had been too happily born."

It is to be remarked that this nymph, Venus, goddess, angel, was then about sixty. Yet five or six years after she allowed the same language to be used to her.[i]

CREIGHTON'S ESTIMATE

Elizabeth's imperishable claim to greatness lies in her instinctive sympathy with her people. She felt, rather than understood, the possibilities which lay before England, and she set herself the task of slowly exhibiting and impressing them on the national mind. She educated Englishmen to a perception of England's destiny, and for this purpose fixed England's attention upon itself.

Personally, she was attracted by physical endowments, and let herself go in accordance with her feelings up to a certain point. But she was both intellectually and emotionally cold. In politics and in private life alike she cared little for decorum, because she knew that she could stop short whenever prudence made it needful.

Elizabeth was hailed at her accession as being "mere English"; and "mere English" she remained. Round her, with all her faults, the England which we know grew into the consciousness of its destiny.[r]

BACON'S ESTIMATE OF QUEEN ELIZABETH

Elizabeth both in her nature and her fortune was a wonderful person among women, a memorable person among princes. The government of a woman has been a rare thing at all times; felicity in such government a rarer thing still; felicity and long continuance together the rarest thing of all. Yet this queen reigned forty-four years complete, and did not outlive her felicity.

I account also as no small part of Elizabeth's felicity the period and compass of her administration; not only for its length, but as falling within that portion of her life which was fittest for the control of affairs and the handling of the reins of government. She was twenty-five years old (the age at which guardianship ceases) when she began to reign, and she continued reigning till her seventieth year; so that she never experienced either the disadvantages and subjection to other men's wills incident to a ward, nor the inconveniences of a lingering and impotent old age. Now old age brings with it even to private persons miseries enough; but to kings, besides those evils which are common to all, it brings also decline of greatness and inglorious exits from the stage. Nor must it be forgotten withal among what kind of

people she reigned; for had she been called to rule over Palmyrenes or in an unwarlike and effeminate country like Asia, the wonder would have been less; a womanish people might well enough be governed by a woman; but that in England, a nation particularly fierce and warlike, all things could be swayed and controlled at the beck of a woman, is a matter for the highest admiration.

Observe, too, that this same humour of her people, ever eager for war and impatient of peace, did not prevent her from cultivating and maintaining peace during the whole time of her reign. And this her desire of peace, together with the success of it, I count among her greatest praises, as a thing happy for her times, becoming to her sex, and salutary for her conscience. Some little disturbance there was in the northern counties about the tenth year of her reign, but it was immediately quieted and extinguished. The rest of her years flourished in internal peace, secure and profound. And this peace I regard as more especially flourishing from two circumstances that attended it, and which, though they have nothing to do with the merit of peace, add much to the glory of it. The one, that the calamities of her neighbours were as fires to make it more conspicuous and illustrious; the other, that the benefits of peace were not unaccompanied with honour of war—the reputation of England for arms and military prowess being by many noble deeds not only maintained by her, but increased.

For the aids sent to the Low Countries, to France, and to Scotland; the naval expeditions to both the Indies, some of which sailed all around the globe; the fleets despatched to Portugal and to harass the coasts of Spain; the many defeats and overthrows of the rebels in Ireland—all these had the effect of keeping both the warlike virtues of our nation in full vigour and its fame and honour in full lustre. Which glory had likewise this merit attached —that while neighbour kings on the one side owed the preservation of their kingdoms to her timely succours, suppliant peoples on the other, given up by ill-advised princes to the cruelty of their ministers, to the fury of the populace, and to every kind of spoliation and devastation, received relief in their misery; by means of which they stand to this day.

Upon another account also this peace so cultivated and maintained by Elizabeth is matter of admiration; namely, that it proceeded not from any inclination of the times to peace, but from her own prudence and good management. For in a kingdom labouring with intestine faction on account of religion, and standing as a shield and stronghold of defence against the then formidable and overbearing ambition of Spain, matter for war was nowise wanting; it was she who by her forces and her counsels combined kept it under; as was proved by an event the most memorable in respect of felicity of all the actions of our time. For when that Spanish fleet, got up with such travail and ferment, waited upon with the terror and expectation of all Europe, inspired with such confidence of victory, came ploughing into our channels, it never took so much as a cock-boat at sea, never fired so much as a cottage on the land, never even touched the shore; but was first beaten in a battle and then dispersed and wasted in a miserable flight, with many shipwrecks; while on the ground and territories of England peace remained undisturbed and unshaken.

Again, the reigns of women are commonly obscured by marriage, their praise and actions passing to the credit of their husbands; whereas those that continue unmarried have their glory entire and proper to themselves. In her case this was more especially so, inasmuch as she had no helps to lean upon in her government, except such as she had herself provided; no own brother,

[1603 A.D.]*

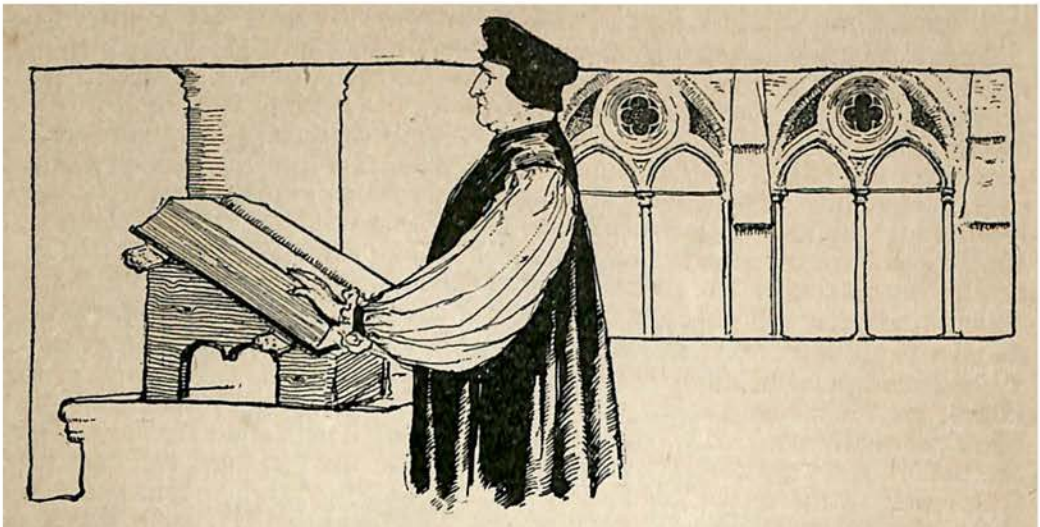
no uncle, no kinsman of the royal family to share her cares and support her authority. Childless she was indeed, and left no issue of her own; a thing which has happened also to the most fortunate persons, as Alexander the Great, Julius Cæsar, Trajan, and others.

To crown all, as she was most fortunate in all that belonged to herself, so was she in the virtue of her ministers. For she had such men about her as perhaps till that day this island did not produce. But God when he favours kings raises also and accomplishes the spirits of their servants.

And if any man shall say in answer, as was said to Cæsar, "Here is much indeed to admire and wonder at, but what is there to praise?" surely I account true wonder and admiration as a kind of excess of praise. Nor can so happy a fortune as I have described fall to the lot of any, but such as, besides being singularly sustained and nourished by the divine favour, are also in some measure by their own virtue the makers of such fortune for themselves.

As for those lighter points of character—as that she allowed herself to be wooed and courted, and even to have love made to her, and liked it, and continued it beyond the natural age for such vanities—if any of the sadder sort of persons be disposed to make a great matter of this, it may be observed that there is something to admire in these very things, whichever way you take them. For if viewed indulgently, they are much like the accounts we find in romances of the queen in the blessed islands, and her court and institutions, who allows of amorous admiration but prohibits desire. But if you take them seriously, they challenge admiration of another kind and of a very high order; for certain it is that these dalliances detracted but little from her fame and nothing at all from her majesty, and neither weakened her power nor sensibly hindered her business; whereas such things are not unfrequently allowed to interfere with the public fortune.

Nor was she spoiled by power and long reigning: but the praises which pleased her most were when one so managed the conversation as aptly to insinuate that even if she had passed her life in a private and mean fortune she could not have lived without some note of excellency among men; so little was she disposed to borrow anything of her fortune to the credit of her virtue. Thus much I have said in a few words, according to my ability. But the truth is that the only true commender of this lady is time, which, so long a course as it has run, has produced nothing in this sex like her, for the administration of civil affairs.[s]



CHAPTER XIV

THE RELIGIOUS HISTORY OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN

ELIZABETH believed, like all her contemporaries, that the formation of new bodies in the church without her permission was as flagrant rebellion as the establishment of courts and officers of justice unauthorised by her would have been. The English nation was now divided into three theological and political parties: the Churchmen, who considered the ecclesiastical revolution as already sufficient; the Puritans, who sought a more perfect reformation by agitating the minds of the people; and the Catholics, who, supported by all the great powers of the Continent, did not despair of re-establishing the ancient church by another revolution. These sects constituted the parties of Elizabeth's reign.—SIR JAMES MACKINTOSH.[b]

MACAULAY'S ESTIMATE OF THE ENGLISH REFORMATION

THE history of the Reformation in England is full of strange problems. The most prominent and extraordinary phenomenon which it presents to us is the gigantic strength of the government, contrasted with the feebleness of the religious parties. During the twelve or thirteen years which followed the death of Henry VIII the religion of the state was thrice changed. Protestantism was established by Edward; the Catholic was restored by Mary; Protestantism was again established by Elizabeth. The faith of the nation seemed to depend on the personal inclinations of the sovereign. Nor was this all. An established church was then, as a matter of course, a persecuting church.

Edward persecuted Catholics; Mary persecuted Protestants; Elizabeth persecuted Catholics again. The father of those three sovereigns had enjoyed the pleasure of persecuting both sects at once, and had sent to death on the same hurdle the heretic who denied the real presence and the traitor who denied the royal supremacy. There was nothing in England like that fierce and bloody opposition which, in France, each of the religious factions in its

turn offered to the government. We had neither a Coligny nor a Mayenne, neither a Moncontour nor an Ivry.

No English city braved sword and famine for the reformed doctrines with the spirit of La Rochelle, or for the Catholic doctrines with the spirit of Paris. Neither sect in England formed a league. Neither sect extorted a recantation from the sovereign. Neither sect could obtain from an adverse sovereign even a toleration. The English Protestants, after several years of domination, sank down with scarcely a struggle under the tyranny of Mary. The Catholics, after having regained and abused their old ascendancy, submitted patiently to the severe rule of Elizabeth. Neither Protestants nor Catholics engaged in any great and well-organised scheme of resistance. A few wild and tumultuous risings, suppressed as soon as they appeared—a few dark conspiracies, in which only a small number of desperate men engaged—such were the utmost efforts made by these two parties to assert the most sacred of human rights, attacked by the most odious tyranny. The explanation of these circumstances which has generally been given is very simple, but by no means satisfactory. The power of the crown, it is said, was then at its height, and was in fact despotic. This solution, we own, seems to us to be no solution at all. It has long been the fashion—a fashion introduced by Mr. Hume[c]—to describe the English monarchy in the sixteenth century as an absolute monarchy. And such undoubtedly it appears to a superficial observer.

The truth seems to be that the government of the Tudors was, with a few occasional deviations, a popular government, under the forms of despotism. The Tudors committed many tyrannical acts. But in their ordinary dealings with the people they were not, and could not safely be, tyrants. It cannot be supposed that a people who had in their own hands the means of checking their princes, would suffer any prince to impose on them a religion generally detested. It is absurd to suppose that if the nation had been decidedly attached to the Protestant faith, Mary could have re-established the papal supremacy. It is equally absurd to suppose that if the nation had been zealous for the ancient religion, Elizabeth could have restored the Protestant church. The truth is, that the people were not disposed to engage in a struggle either for the new or for the old doctrines. In plain words, they did not think the difference between the hostile sects worth a struggle. There was undoubtedly a zealous Protestant party and a zealous Catholic party. But both these parties, we believe, were very small. We doubt whether both together made up, at the time of Mary's death, a twentieth part of the nation. The remaining nineteen-twentieths halted between the two opinions, and were not disposed to risk a revolution in the government for the purpose of giving to either of the extreme factions an advantage over the other.

The religion of the English was a mixed religion, like that of the Samaritan settlers, described in the second book of Kings, who "feared the Lord, and served their graven images"; like that of the Judaising Christians who blended the ceremonies and doctrines of the synagogue with those of the church; like that of the Mexican Indians, who, during many generations after the subjugation of their race, continued to unite with the rites learned from their conquerors the worship of the grotesque idols which had been adored by Montezuma and Guatemotzin.

These feelings were not confined to the populace. Elizabeth herself was by no means exempt from them. A crucifix, with the wax-lights burning round it, stood in her private chapel. She always spoke with disgust and anger of the marriage of priests. "I was in horror," says Archbishop Parker, "to hear such words to come from her mild nature and Christian learned

conscience, as she spake concerning God's holy ordinance and institution of matrimony." Burghley prevailed on her to connive at the marriage of churchmen. But she would only connive; and the children sprung from such marriages were illegitimate till the accession of James I.

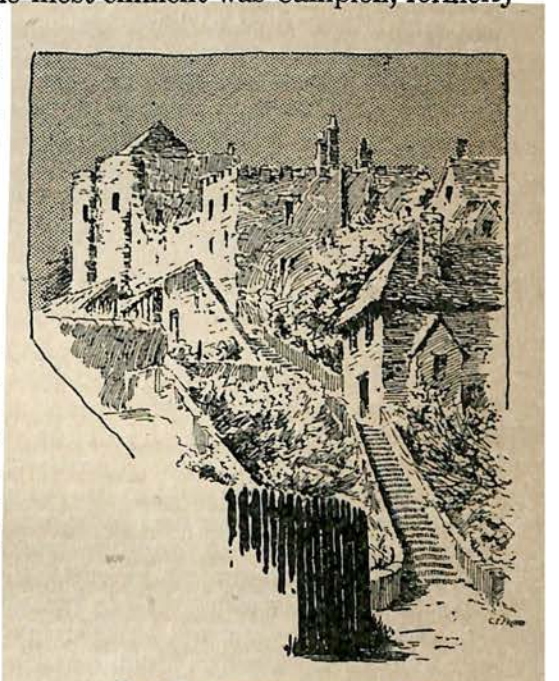
That which is the great stain on the character of Burghley is also the great stain on the character of Elizabeth. Being herself an Adiaphorist, having no scruple about conforming to the Romish church when conformity was necessary to her own safety, retaining to the last moment of her life a fondness for much of the doctrine and much of the ceremonial of that church, she yet subjected that church to a persecution even more odious than the persecution with which her sister had harassed the Protestants. We say more odious; for Mary had at least the plea of fanaticism. She did nothing for her religion which she was not prepared to suffer for it. She had held it firmly under persecution. She fully believed it to be essential to salvation. If she burned the bodies of her subjects, it was in order to rescue their souls. Elizabeth had no such pretext. In opinion, she was little more than half a Protestant. She had professed, when it suited her, to be wholly a Catholic. There is an excuse, a wretched excuse, for the massacres of Piedmont and the *autos-da-fe* of Spain. But what can be said in defence of a ruler who is at once indifferent and intolerant?[d]

HALLAM ON THE CATHOLIC PERSECUTIONS

It will not surprise those who have observed the effect of all persecution for matters of opinion upon the human mind, that during this period the Romish party continued such in numbers and in zeal as to give the most lively alarm to Elizabeth's administration. One cause of this was beyond doubt the connivance of justices of the peace, a great many of whom were secretly attached to the same interest, though it was not easy to exclude them from the commission, on account of their wealth and respectability. The facility with which Catholic rites can be performed in secret was a still more important circumstance. Nor did the voluntary exiles established in Flanders remit their diligence in filling the kingdom with emissaries. The object of many at least among them, it cannot for a moment be doubted, from the era of the bull of Pius V, if not earlier, was nothing less than to subvert the queen's throne. They were closely united with the court of Spain, which had passed from the character of an ally and pretended friend to that of a cold and jealous neighbour, and at length of an implacable adversary. Though no war had been declared between Elizabeth and Philip, neither party had scrupled to enter into leagues with the disaffected subjects of the other. Such sworn vassals of Rome and Spain as an Allen or a Parsons were just objects of the English government's distrust; it is the extension of that jealousy to the peaceful and loyal which we stigmatise as oppressive, and even as impolitic.

The grievous penalties on recusancy, as the wilful absence of Catholics from church came now to be denominated, were doubtless founded on the extreme difficulty of proving an actual celebration of their own rites. But they established a persecution which fell not at all short in principle of that for which the Inquisition had become so odious. Nor were the statutes merely designed for terror's sake, to keep a check over the disaffected, as some would pretend. They were executed in the most sweeping and indiscriminating manner, unless perhaps a few families of high rank might enjoy a connivance.

It had certainly been the desire of Elizabeth to abstain from capital punishments on the score of religion. The first instance of a priest suffering death by her statutes was in 1577, when one Mayne was hanged at Launceston, without any charge against him except his religion, and a gentleman who had harboured him was sentenced to imprisonment for life. In the next year, if we may trust the zealous Catholic writers, Thomas Sherwood, a boy of fourteen years, was executed for refusing to deny the temporal power of the pope, when urged by his judges. But in 1581, several seminary priests from Flanders having been arrested whose projects were supposed (perhaps not wholly without foundation) to be very inconsistent with their allegiance, it was unhappily deemed necessary to hold out some more conspicuous examples of rigour. Of those brought to trial, the most eminent was Campion, formerly a Protestant, but long known as the boast of Douai for his learning and virtues. This man, so justly respected, was put to the rack, and revealed through torture the names of some Catholic gentlemen with whom he had conversed. He appears to have been indicted along with several other priests, not on the recent statutes, but on that of 25 Edward III, for compassing and imagining the queen's death. Nothing that we have read affords the slightest proof of Campion's concern in treasonable practices, though his connections, and profession as a Jesuit, render it by no means unlikely. If we may confide in the published trial, the prosecution was as unfairly conducted, and supported by as slender evidence, as any perhaps which can be found in our books.[1]



OLD FORTIFICATIONS AT RYE

The public executions, numerous as they were, scarcely form the most odious part of this persecution. The common law of England has always abhorred the accursed mysteries of a prison-house, and neither admits of torture to extort confession, nor of any penal infliction not warranted by a judicial sentence. But this law, though still sacred in the courts of justice, was set aside by the privy council under the Tudor line. The rack seldom stood idle in the Tower for all the latter part of Elizabeth's reign. To those who remember the annals of their country, that dark and gloomy pile affords associations not quite so numerous and recent as the Bastille once did, yet enough to excite our hatred and horror. But standing as it does in such striking contrast to the fresh and flourishing constructions of modern wealth, the proofs and the rewards of civil and religious liberty, it seems like a captive tyrant, reserved to grace the triumph

[1] The trials and deaths of Campion and his associates are told in the continuation of Holinshed *a* with a savageness and bigotry which, I am very sure, no scribe for the Inquisition could have surpassed. But it is plain, even from this account, that Campion owned Elizabeth as queen. See particularly the insulting manner in which this writer describes the pious fortitude of these butchered ecclesiastics.

of a victorious republic, and should teach us to reflect in thankfulness how highly we have been elevated in virtue and happiness above our forefathers.

Such excessive severities under the pretext of treason, but sustained by very little evidence of any other offence than the exercise of the Catholic ministry, excited indignation throughout a great part of Europe. The queen was held forth in pamphlets, dispersed everywhere from Rome and Douai, not only as a usurper and heretic, but a tyrant more ferocious than any heathen persecutor, for inadequate parallels to whom they ransacked all former history. These exaggerations, coming from the very precincts of the Inquisition, required the unblushing forehead of bigotry; but the charge of cruelty stood on too many facts to be passed over, and it was thought expedient to repel it by two remarkable pamphlets, both ascribed to the pen of Lord Burghley.

The strictness used with recusants, which much increased from 1579 or 1580, had the usual consequence of persecution, that of multiplying hypocrites. For, in fact, if men will once bring themselves to comply, to take all oaths, to practise all conformity, to oppose simulation and dissimulation to arbitrary inquiries, it is hardly possible that any government should not be baffled. Fraud becomes an over-match for power. The real danger, meanwhile, the internal disaffection, remains as before or is aggravated.

The Catholic martyrs under Elizabeth amount to no inconsiderable number. Dodd[h] reckons them at one hundred and ninety-one; Milner[i] has raised the list to two hundred and four. Fifteen of these, according to him, suffered for denying the queen's supremacy, one hundred and twenty-six for exercising their ministry, and the rest for being reconciled to the Romish church. Many others died of hardships in prison, and many were deprived of their property.[1] There seems nevertheless to be good reason for doubting whether anyone who was executed might not have saved his life by explicitly denying the pope's power to depose the queen.[2] It was constantly maintained by her ministers that no one had been executed for his religion. This would be an odious and hypocritical subterfuge if it rested on the letter of these statutes, which adjudge the mere manifestation of a belief in the Roman Catholic religion, under certain circumstances, to be an act of treason. But both Lord Burghley, in his *Execution of Justice*, and Walsingham, in a letter published by Burnet,[e] positively assert the contrary; and we are not aware that their assertion has been disproved.

This certainly furnishes a distinction between the persecution under Elizabeth (which, unjust as it was in its operation, yet, as far as it extended to capital

[1] Butler, 178. In Coke's famous speech in opening the case of the Powder-plot, he says that not more than thirty priests and five receivers had been executed in the whole of the queen's reign, and for religion not anyone.

Doctor Lingard[j] says of those who were executed between 1588 and the queen's death, "the butchery, with a few exceptions, was performed on the victim while he was in full possession of his senses." We should be glad to think that the few exceptions were the other way. Much would depend on the humanity of the sheriff, which one might hope to be stronger in an English gentleman than his zeal against the papacy. But there is reason to believe the disgusting cruelties of the legal sentence to have been frequently inflicted. In an anonymous memorial among Lord Burghley's papers, written about 1586, it is recommended that priests persisting in their treasonable opinion should be hanged, 'and the manner of drawing and quartering forborne."—STRYPE.[k] This seems to imply that it had been usually practised on the living. And Bacon,[l] in his observations on a libel written against Lord Burghley in 1592, does not deny the "bowellings" of Catholics, but makes a sort of apology for it, as "less cruel than the wheel or forcipation, or even simple burning."

[2] The balance of blood between the two religions may be thus stated: During the forty-five years of Elizabeth about two hundred Catholics, it is said, were executed as traitors, while in the six years of Mary nearly three hundred Protestants were burned solely on account of their religion.—KEIGHTLEY.[m]

inflictions, had in view the security of the government) and that which the Protestants had sustained in her sister's reign, springing from mere bigotry and vindictive rancour, and not even shielding itself at the time with those shallow pretexts of policy which it has of late been attempted to set up in its extenuation. But that which renders these condemnations of popish priests so iniquitous is, that the belief in, or rather the refusal to disclaim, a speculative tenet, dangerous indeed, and incompatible with loyalty, but not coupled with any overt act, was construed into treason; nor can any one affect to justify these sentences who is not prepared to maintain that a refusal of the oath of abjuration, while the pretensions of the house of Stuart subsisted, might lawfully or justly have incurred the same penalty.[r]

FORMS OF TORTURE USED IN ENGLAND

The following were the kinds of torture chiefly employed in the Tower:

The rack was a large open frame of oak, raised three feet from the ground. The prisoner was laid under it, on his back, on the floor; his wrists and ankles were attached by cords to two rollers at the ends of the frame; these were moved by levers in opposite directions, till the body rose to a level with the frame. Questions were then put, and if the answers did not prove satisfactory, the sufferer was stretched more and more till the bones started from their sockets.

The scavenger's daughter was a broad hoop of iron, so called, consisting of two parts, fastened to each other by a hinge. The prisoner was made to kneel on the pavement and to contract himself into as small a compass as he could. Then the executioner, kneeling on his shoulders and having introduced the hoop under his legs, compressed the victim close together, till he was able to fasten the extremities over the small of the back. The time allotted to this kind of torture was an hour and a half, during which time it commonly happened that from excess of compression the blood started from the nostrils; sometimes, it was believed, from the extremities of the hands and feet.—See Bartoli.[n]

Iron gauntlets, which could be contracted by the aid of a screw. They served to compress the wrists, and to suspend the prisoner in the air, from two distant points of a beam. He was placed on three pieces of wood, piled one on the other, which, when his hands had been made fast, were successively withdrawn from under his feet. "I felt," says F. Gerard, one of the sufferers, "the chief pain in my breast, belly, arms, and hands. I thought that all the blood in my body had run into my arms, and began to burst out at my finger ends. This was a mistake; but the arms swelled, till the gauntlets were buried within the flesh. After being thus suspended an hour, I fainted, and when I came to myself I found the executioners supporting me in their arms; they replaced the pieces of wood under my feet; but as soon as I was recovered, removed them again. Thus I continued hanging for the space of five hours, during which I fainted eight or nine times."

A fourth kind of torture was a cell called "little ease." It was of so small dimensions, and so constructed, that the prisoner could neither stand, walk, sit, nor lie in it at full length. He was compelled to draw himself up in a squatting posture, and so remained during several days. We will add a few lines from Rishton's *Diary*,[o] that the reader may form some notion of the proceedings in the Tower.

December 5th, 1580. Several Catholics were brought from different prisons. December 10th. Thomas Cottam and Luke Kirby, priests (two of the

number), suffered compression in the scavenger's daughter for more than an hour. Cottam bled profusely from the nose. December 15th. Ralph Sherwine and Robert Johnson, priests, were severely tortured on the rack. December 16th. Ralph Sherwine was tortured a second time on the rack. December 31st. John Hart, after being chained five days to the floor, was led to the rack. Also Henry Orton, a lay gentleman. January 3rd, 1581. Christopher Thomson, an aged priest, was brought to the Tower, and racked the same day. January 14th. Nicholas Roscaroc, a lay gentleman, was racked. Thus he continues till June 21st, 1585, when he was discharged.*i*

THE PURITANS

But the other description of non-conformists, opposite as were most of their principles and objects, gave, even in this early stage of their existence, nearly as much trouble as the Catholics. The origin of the Protestant dissenters may be traced to the very dawn of the Reformation; for the principles of Wycliffe in this country, and of Huss and Jerome of Prague on the Continent, were certainly much more nearly allied to what in a later age was styled Puritanism than to the doctrine of the established church. But the first appearance of Puritanism in England as an element at variance with the spirit of the establishment was in the reign of Edward VI. In some of their notions, indeed, even the original founders of the establishment, Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and their associates, may be regarded as having been puritanically inclined in comparison with their successors, the restorers of the reformed church in the reign of Elizabeth.

Puritanism was first imported into England after the establishment of the Reformation by certain foreign divines, Peter Martyr, Bucer, John Laski, and others, who came over from Germany on the accession of Edward VI, and by one or two Englishmen who had studied or travelled in that country. Of these last the celebrated John Hooper was the most distinguished; and the first disturbance occasioned in the newly founded church by the principles of Puritanism was when Hooper, in 1550, on being nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester, refused to submit to the appointed forms of consecration and admission. At this date, however, English Puritanism—which, indeed, was not even yet known by that name—was a mere mustard-seed in comparison with what it afterwards became. Accidentally, one of the most remarkable and enduring consequences of the restoration of the papacy in England in the reign of Mary was the eventual introduction into the country of a new spirit of Puritanism. This was brought about through the large emigration of English Protestants to the Continent at the commencement of Mary's persecutions, and their return home on the accession of Elizabeth, fraught, many of them, with notions which they had acquired in the schools of Calvin, Zwingli, and other foreign reformers, whose principles were on many points wholly adverse to those which prevailed in the reconstruction of the English church.

Great contentions, in fact, had taken place among the exiles while resident abroad, on the subject of the rites and ceremonies retained in King Edward's Book of Common Prayer; and at last, while the party in favour of these forms retained possession of the church at Frankfort, their opponents retired for the most part to Geneva, and there, under the eye of Calvin and the immediate pastoral care of his disciple Knox, set up a new service of their own, mostly borrowed from that of the French Protestants, in which there were no litany, no responses, and hardly any rites or ceremonies; and a direc-

tory of which they published in English under the title of the *Service, Discipline, and Form of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments used in the English Church of Geneva.* Even many of those who had been members of the church at Frankfort brought back with them inclinations in favour of a wider departure from the papal worship than Elizabeth would consent to in her Reformed church.

The church of England, it is always to be remembered, no more adopts or sanctions the principle of the private interpretation of Scripture than does the church of Rome. Differing from the church of Rome in holding the Scripture to be the sole rule of faith, it still insists that the Scripture shall be received not as any individual may interpret it for himself, but as it is expounded in the articles and other formularies of the church. It may, indeed, be doubted if the Puritans themselves at this early period had arrived at what it has been common in later times to speak of as the great fundamental principle of Protestantism—the right of every individual to be his own interpreter of the Word of God; for this, when carried out, would seem to lead directly to the conclusion that the church ought to be unrestrained by any articles or formularies whatever. To this height, certainly, no class of Protestants had soared in the days of which we are speaking.

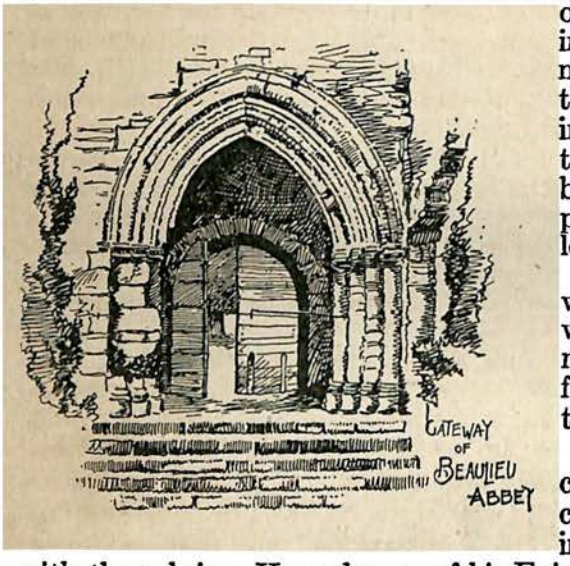
MARKET CROSS, CHICHESTER
(Erected 1500)

The utmost that was demanded by the first dissenters from the church of England was, that certain points about which they felt scruples should be left as matters indifferent; these being, for the present, principally such mere matters of outward or ceremonial observance as the habits of the priesthood and the forms of public worship. In one sense these things were left by the church as indifferent: they were admitted to be indifferent as matters of faith—that is to say, dissent in regard to them was not held to be heresy; but it was still held to be schism, and was made equally to exclude the individual maintaining and acting upon it from the fellowship of the church. In this respect the act of uniformity bore as hard upon the Puritans as it did upon the papists. Nor was even the act of supremacy acceptable to the former any more than to the latter; for, in general, the Puritans now felt scruples as to the acknowledgment in any terms of the king or queen as the head of the church. These beginnings, too, soon led to further differences:

in the words of Southey,[p] "the habits at first had been the only or chief matter of contention; all the rites of the church were soon attacked, and finally, its whole form and structure." The avowed object of the non-conformists, indeed, soon came to be to substitute, for the established forms of worship and discipline, the Geneva system in all its parts; nor were there wanting some of them who would have made a Geneva republic of the state as well as of the church.

Throughout the present period, too, and for a long time after, it is important to remark, the Puritans equally with the church abominated and strenuously stood out against any toleration of those who differed from themselves in respect to what they considered essential points. They held that such persons ought not only to be excluded from communion with the brethren, but restrained and punished by the law of the land.

At first many of the Puritans so far overcame their scruples as to comply with the required forms and accept of livings in the establishment. Neal,[q] the writer of their history, maintains that, if they had not done this, in hopes of the removal of their grievances in more settled times, the Reformation would have fallen back into the hands of the papists; "for it was impossible," he observes, "with all the assistance they could get from both universities, to fill up the parochial vacancies with men of learning and character."



For some years the Puritans who had joined the church were winked at by the authorities in many deviations from the appointed forms which they introduced into the public service.

Archbishop Parker has the chief credit of having instigated the proceedings that were taken to enforce in all the clergy a rigid compliance with the rubric. He and some of his Episcopal brethren, having been constituted ecclesiastical commissioners for that purpose by the queen, summoned the clergy of the several dioceses before them, and suspended all who refused to subscribe an agreement to submit to the queen's injunctions in regard to the habits, rites, and ceremonies.

Great numbers of ministers, including many of those most eminent for their zeal and piety and their popularity as preachers, were thus ejected from both the service and the profits of their cures, and sent forth into the world in a state of entire destitution. The course pursued towards them was in some respects of the harshest and most oppressive character.

THE SEPARATISTS

It was in these circumstances that, feeling all chance of reconciliation at an end, the ejected clergymen resolved to separate themselves from the establishment, breaking off from the public churches, and assembling, as they had opportunity, in private houses or elsewhere, to worship God in a manner that

might not offend against the light of their consciences. This separation took place in 1566.

The preachings of the deprived ministers in the woods and private houses gave rise to the new offence of what was called frequenting conventicles, the putting down of which now afforded abundant employment to the queen and her ecclesiastical commissioners.

The Puritans were brought in great numbers before the commissioners, and fined, imprisoned, and otherwise punished, both under the authority of the act of parliament enforcing attendance upon the parish churches, and by the more ample powers of the act of supremacy, to which scarcely any bounds were set. Meanwhile the controversy with the church began to spread over a wider field, chiefly through the preaching of the celebrated Thomas Cartwright, fellow of Trinity College and Lady Margaret professor of divinity at Cambridge, a most learned, eloquent, and courageous non-conformist.

The university of Cambridge was a great stronghold of Puritanism, and here Cartwright was for some time protected and permitted to disseminate his opinions, while most of his brethren were silenced; but he, too, was at last reached by the ecclesiastical commissioners, and, on the interference of Cecil, the chancellor, was in 1570 deprived of his professorship. He was afterwards also deprived of his fellowship, and expelled from the university. The temper, however, of a formidable minority in the new parliament, which met in 1571, showed that the principles of Puritanism, though expelled from the church, and almost driven from the face of day, were still making progress in the nation. Notwithstanding all the efforts of the government, the non-conformists found means to maintain the defence of their opinions through the press; numerous books and pamphlets were published by them, printed it could not be discovered by whom or where, nor was it possible to prevent them from being bought and read.

Archbishop Parker died in 1575; and if his successor Grindal had been allowed to follow his own inclinations, or had been left in the real government of the church over which he nominally presided, the Puritans would have had a breathing-time from their sufferings during the ten years of his occupation of the metropolitan dignity. But the circumstances in which he was himself placed, and the activity of some of his brethren of another spirit and temper—especially of Sandys, bishop of London, who from a violent professor had become a still more violent persecutor of puritanic principles—prevented Grindal from being able to do anything to change the course of rigour and severity that had been begun under his predecessor. When, in the second year of his primacy, he ventured to write to the queen, recommending milder measures, her majesty answered his letter by an order from the Star Chamber confining him to his house, and suspending him from his archiepiscopal functions altogether; and so suspended he remained till within about a year of his death. It was by this sort of boldness and decision that Elizabeth throughout her reign kept the non-conformists at bay.

The house of commons which met in 1581 was more puritanic than ever, and actually began its proceedings by voting that the members should, on the second Sunday after, meet together in the Temple Church, there to have preaching and to join together in prayer, with humiliation and fasting, for the assistance of God's Spirit in all their consultations! But when the queen was informed of this extraordinary proceeding, she instantly took measures to check it. Hatton, her vice-chamberlain, was sent down with a message to the effect that "she did much admire at so great a rashness in that house as to put in execution such an innovation without her privity and pleasure

first made known to them." Upon which it was forthwith moved and agreed to "that the house should acknowledge their offence and contempt, and humbly crave forgiveness, with a full purpose to forbear committing the like for the future."

It was during this very session that the act was passed raising the penalty for non-attendance upon the parish church to £20 per month; and also another act (23 Elizabeth, c. 2), entitled "An act against seditious words and rumours uttered against the queen's most excellent majesty," by which the devising and speaking seditious rumours against her majesty was made punishable with the pillory and loss of both ears; the reporting of such rumours, with the pillory and loss of one ear; the second offence in either case being made felony without clergy; and by which the printing, writing, or publishing any manner of book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing containing any false, seditious, and slanderous matter, to the defamation of the queen, etc., were constituted capital crimes. This last act was especially levelled at the Puritans, whose complaints and remonstrances from the press were daily growing sharper as well as more abundant, and several of them were put to death under its provisions.

To this date is assigned the rise of what has been designated the third race of Puritans—the Brownists—afterwards softened down into the Independents—whose founder was Robert Browne, a preacher in the diocese of Norwich, descended of a good family. "These people," says Neal, "were carried off to a total separation, and so far prejudiced as not to allow the church of England to be a true church, nor her ministers true ministers; they renounced all communion with her, not only in the prayers and ceremonies, but in hearing the Word and the sacraments."

Archbishop Grindal, dying in 1583, was succeeded by Doctor Whitgift, who held the primacy during the remainder of the reign, and proved a ruler of the church altogether to her majesty's mind. As soon as he was seated in his place of eminence and authority he commenced a vigorous crusade against the non-conformists. Within a few weeks after he became archbishop he suspended many hundreds of the clergy in all parts of his province for refusing subscription to a new set of articles or regulations he thought proper to issue. He then procured from the queen a new ecclesiastical commission, drawn up in terms much more comprehensive than had ever before been employed, conveying, indeed, powers of inquisition and punishment in regard to every description of offence that could by any colour be brought within the category of spiritual or ecclesiastical delinquency. A set of articles, which Whitgift drew up for the use of this court in the examination of the clergy, were so strong as to startle even Cecil, and make him write to the archbishop (though to no purpose) to get him to mitigate them somewhat. "I have read over your twenty-four articles," he says, ". . . and I find them so curiously penned that I think the Inquisition of Spain used not so many questions to comprehend and to trap their priests."

The archbishop's proceedings had thrown the nation into the greatest ferment when parliament met in November, 1584; and the commons immediately proceeded to take into consideration a number of bills for restraining the power of the church. But as soon as they had passed the first of them a thundering message from the queen again stopped them in an instant. In 1592, at the same time with the "act against popish recusants," another act was passed (35 Elizabeth, c. 1), entitled 'An act to retain the queen's subjects in obedience," to meet the case of the Protestant non-conformists. It was enacted that all persons above sixteen years of age who should for a

whole month refuse to attend divine service according to law, or should attend unlawful conventicles, or should persuade others to dispute the queen's authority in matters ecclesiastical, should be sent to prison, there to remain until they should openly conform and submit themselves; and that all offenders convicted, and not conforming and submitting within three months, should abjure the realm, and should, if they returned, be put to death, as for felony, without benefit of clergy.

Fines, imprisonment, and the gibbet continued to do their work in the vain attempt of the church and the government to put down opinion by these inefficient arms, till within four or five years of the close of the reign.

But the history of the church and of religion during this reign ought not to be brought to a close without the mention of one instance in which the old writ *de hæretico comburendo* was again called into use, and the stake and the fagot were employed by Elizabeth to punish a mere religious opinion, exactly in the same manner as they had been employed by her father and her sister. On Easter day, 1575, twenty-seven German anabaptists, as they were called, were apprehended in the city of London, having been found assembled at worship in a private house beyond Aldersgate. Four of them consented to recant; the others, refusing to abjure, were brought to trial in the consistory court, by which eleven of them were condemned to be burned. Nine of the eleven were banished; but the remaining two, named John Wielmacker and Hendrick Ter Woort, were actually, on the 22nd of July, consigned to the flames in Smithfield.

This execution was Elizabeth's own act: to his eternal honour, John Fox, the venerable martyrologist, ventured to interfere in behalf of the unfortunate men, and wrote an earnest and eloquent letter in Latin to the queen, beseeching her to spare their lives; but his supplication was sternly rejected. Fox seems to have been almost the only man of his time who was at all shocked at the notion of destroying these poor anabaptists; and yet he merely objected to the degree, and more especially to the kind, of the punishment. His argument is not so much for toleration as against capital punishments, and above all against the punishment of burning. "There are excommunications," he says, "and close imprisonments; there are bonds; there is perpetual banishment, burning of the hand, and whipping, or even slavery itself. This one thing I most earnestly beg, that the piles and flames in Smithfield, so long ago extinguished by your happy government, may not now be again revived." *f*

HOOKER'S ECCLESIASTICAL POLITY: ITS CHARACTER

But while these scenes of pride and persecution on one hand, and of sectarian insolence on the other, were deforming the bosom of the English church, she found a defender of her institutions in one who mingled in these vulgar controversies like a knight of romance among caitiff brawlers, with arms of finer temper and worthy to be proved in a nobler field. Richard Hooker, master of the Temple, published the first four books of his *Ecclesiastical Polity* in 1594; the fifth, three years afterwards; and, dying in 1600, left behind three which did not see the light till 1647. This eminent work may justly be reckoned to mark an era in our literature; for if passages of much good sense and even of a vigorous eloquence are scattered in several earlier writers in prose, yet none of these, except perhaps Latimer and Ascham, and Sir Philip Sidney in his *Arcadia*, can be said to have acquired enough reputation to be generally known even by name, much less are read in the present day; and it is,

indeed, not a little remarkable that England until near the end of the sixteenth century had given few proofs in literature of that intellectual power which was about to develop itself with such unmatchable energy in Shakespeare and Bacon.

We cannot, indeed, place Hooker (but whom dare we to place?) by the side of these master spirits, yet he has abundant claims to be counted among the luminaries of English literature. He not only opened the mine, but explored the depths, of our native eloquence. So stately and graceful is the march of his periods, so various the fall of his musical cadences upon the ear, so rich in images, so condensed in sentences, so grave and noble his diction, so little is there of vulgarity in his racy idiom, of pedantry in his learned phrase, that we know not whether any later writer has more admirably displayed the capacities of our language, or produced passages more worthy of comparison with the splendid monuments of antiquity. If we compare the first book of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* with what bears, perhaps, most resemblance to it of anything extant, the treatise of Cicero, *De Legibus*, it will appear somewhat, perhaps, inferior, through the imperfection of our language, which, with all its force and dignity, does not equal the Latin in either of these qualities, and certainly more tedious and diffuse in some of its reasonings, but by no means less lofty in sentiment or less bright in fancy, and far more comprehensive and profound in the foundations of its philosophy.[r]

CHAPTER XV

ELIZABETHAN COMMERCE, ART, AND LITERATURE

> NEVER was English monarch surrounded by such an illustrious band of statesmen and administrators. Never was reign more renowned for its galaxy of literary splendour, for its merchant princes, and for its bold navigators, who by their enterprise and courage made the name of England famous across unknown seas and in distant lands. It was called, with pardonable exaggeration, the Golden Age and the Augustan Age of the country's history, filling "the spacious times of great Elizabeth with sounds that echo still." It formed the theme of *Kenilworth*, one of the greatest of Scott's romances. Men flourished of whom any nation and any period might well be proud.—W. H. S. AUBREY.[b]

IT is interesting to notice that the two worst kings of English history—John and Henry VIII—were the founders and creators of the English navy. During the following reigns English commerce, which had entered upon a new era, mainly occasioned by the discovery of a new world, and the ten thousand wants which it had created, went onward with a strength and steadiness which the mines of Peru and Mexico, and the wealth of Ormus, failed to impart to Spain and Portugal.

The Newfoundland cod fishery, into which the English entered in 1536, was encouraged by Edward VI, and exempted from the levies which had been imposed upon it, so that it quickly grew into a source of national profit; and in 1554 the English Russia Company was incorporated by a charter of Queen Mary, in consequence of the encouragement given to traffic with England by the Muscovite sovereign, Ivan Vasilievitch, otherwise known as Ivan the Terrible. The Steelyard Company, a corporation of German or Hanseatic merchants, residing in England, and possessed of exclusive privileges by which they held a monopoly in certain branches of trade, was abolished, as subversive of the necessary freedom of merchandise; and the advancement of the

English merchant-adventurers promoted in its room, by which native activity and enterprise were more fully called into exercise.

But in spite of this growing liberality the laws against usury, or the taking of interest, continued to be repeated, as a crime odious in the sight of God and hurtful to the welfare of man. Ten per cent. had hitherto been allowed as a lawful rate of interest, but in the reign of Edward VI this permission was repealed, and a law enacted that "whoever shall henceforth lend any sum of money for any manner of usury, increase, lucre, gain, or interest to be had, received, or hoped for, over and above the sum so lent," was not only to forfeit the amount of the loan, but to suffer fine and imprisonment according to the king's pleasure.

It is perhaps unnecessary to add, that this unnatural law only aggravated the evil it was meant to cure. Merchants from the first had found out, what legislators as yet did not understand, that traffic could not be carried on, or mercantile credit maintained, without such accommodations, and that a "fool who lent out money gratis" was not to be found in those places "where merchants most do congregate." The obnoxious statute, after a twenty years' trial, was repealed; but though ten per cent. was once more made the established rate of interest, all beyond this was branded with the name of usury, and made liable to the former pains and penalties.

All this mercantile progress, however, had been but a prelude to that which it made during the reign of Elizabeth. The navigation laws, which had commenced so early as the latter part of the twelfth century, prohibiting all exports or imports in any other than English vessels, were rescinded in her first parliament, as productive of national jealousies and dissensions, and injurious to the true interests of commerce; and in their stead a slight tax was imposed upon cargoes imported or exported by foreign shipping. This was of itself sufficient to expand, in an immense ratio, the sphere of English traffic; and the effect of the impulse was manifested in the quantities of English wool and cloth consigned to the fairs of Holland and the Netherlands. Of these commodities, there was a trade to both countries amounting to £2,400,000 annually—an immense sum compared with its rate in the present day.

In Antwerp was also an English bourse or exchange, to which merchants of various countries repaired for an hour every morning and evening, accompanied by brokers and interpreters, and bargained for those articles of English produce, which they afterwards resold in the markets of Italy and Germany. As an English exchange, however, was still more necessary at London than at Antwerp, this want was soon supplied, and that, too, not by public subscription but the princely liberality of a single merchant. This was Sir Thomas Gresham, who, perceiving the inconvenience of the usual mercantile place of meeting, which was in Lombard Street, in the open air, resolved to build a covered walk for the purpose similar to that of Antwerp. His only demand upon the city on this occasion was for a site; and when this was readily granted he erected upon it in 1567 a stately edifice of brick, roofed with slate, which, by the command of the queen, was proclaimed with the sound of trumpets and the voice of heralds, the Royal Exchange.

VOYAGES OF EXPLORATION

It was now full time that England should enter upon that track of discovery which other nations had so successfully opened, and the first experiment tried during this reign was the attempt to find a new passage to India.

This was commenced in 1567 by Martin Frobisher, who set sail upon the bold adventure with no better armament than two barks of twenty-five tons each, and a pinnace of ten tons. He entered the strait leading to Hudson Bay, thenceforth called Frobisher Strait, and took possession of the neighbouring coast in the name of the queen, but was unable to proceed farther from sickness among his crew..

A second voyage which he made in 1577, with more ample means, was not, however, in quest of an Indian passage, but of gold with which it was thought the country he had discovered abounded, but which was never found. A third voyage, which he made in 1578, with fifteen ships, was for the discovery of a northwest passage, to which the strait of his own name was thought to lead, as well as a search for gold, but in either case his attempt was unsuccessful. His first voyage, indeed, although with such humble means, was his most successful, by the islands and coasts it enabled him to discover, as well as an entrance into the Polar seas.

Another adventurous navigator of the same period was Sir Francis Drake, who left England in 1577 with the double purpose of discovering new countries and plundering the Spaniards, with whom England was still at peace; in both of these attempts he was successful. After an absence of nearly two years, in which he explored the western coast of America, crossed the Pacific, and circumnavigated the globe—having been the first Englishman who performed that feat—he returned triumphantly to England laden with Spanish plunder.

A third adventurer was Sir John Davis, who made three voyages in search of the northwest passage; and although he was unsuccessful in finding it, he enlarged the geographical knowledge of his countrymen, while he perpetuated his own name by the discovery of Davis Strait. A fourth in the list of English naval adventure was Thomas Cavendish, who, like Drake, performed the periplus of the globe; and in a second expedition one of his captains (John Davis, who has already been mentioned) discovered the Falkland Islands.

Besides these, other expeditions were fitted out towards the close of Elizabeth's reign, which had for their chief object the exploration of the South Seas, and the discovery of a northwest passage. While these attempts were prosecuted with such diligence, the paths that had already been opened up by foreign navigators were not neglected; and among the foremost of these was India, the great commercial mart both of the ancient and modern world. For this purpose, the Turkey Company was incorporated in 1581, and the East India Company in 1600. The splendid results with which this enterprise was crowned belong to a later period of the commercial history of England.

COLONIZATION

As Britain was finally destined to be the "mighty mother" of colonies, England commenced her great vocation during this stirring period of adventure by attempting experiments in colonisation upon the North American continent. The first of these, undertaken by Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1576 and 1583, accompanied by his more renowned step-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, were unsuccessful; and in the last of these voyages Gilbert himself, and four of the five ships that composed his armament, were lost at sea. Undeterred by this fatal example, Sir Walter in the following year fitted out two ships, which he sent to the coast of North America, with instructions as to the direction in which they were to sail; and the result was the discovery of Virginia, which was so named by Elizabeth herself in honour of her own state of celibacy.

As Raleigh by letters-patent had obtained the right of property in this discovery, which comprised at that time both what is now called Virginia and North Carolina, he sent to his new territory a fleet of colonisation consisting of seven ships; but although this trial, which proved a failure, was followed by repeated attempts and sacrifices, Virginia was not at this early stage to become the home of an English population. Every successive landing was followed by an attack from the natives, under which the newcomers perished, and at last the attempt was abandoned in despair. England was thus fated to learn at the outset that to colonise a country is more difficult than to discover it; but bravely she persisted and enduringly she persevered, until the lesson was learned and the prize obtained.

A glance at the history of England during the reign of Elizabeth will suffice to show how necessary this mercantile spirit was, not only for national prosperity, but even for very existence. Spain, which had taken the lead in maritime discovery and been enriched with the treasure of America as her reward, was enabled in consequence to fit out an Armada which, according to human calculation, was justly termed the Invincible.

Had England remained indifferent to her mercantile advantages as an island, the utmost she could have done in such a crisis would have been to abide the uncertain issue of an invasion, by which she would have been thrown back for a century at least in progress, even if she had been finally victorious. The former sovereigns had been obliged in their difficulties to apply for shipping to such foreign ports as Genoa, Dantzic, Hamburg, and Venice, but in the present case such a resource would have been useless. Happily, however, her commerce had already created not only a numerous and well-manned navy, but skilful commanders; and thus, when the battle was confined to the ocean, the Spaniards were confronted by men as inured to naval conflict as themselves. At the end of the reign of Elizabeth the royal navy amounted to 17,110 tonnage, while at the end of the reign of Mary it had only amounted to 7,110. Of these ships of Elizabeth the largest was of 1,000 tons burden, and carried three hundred and forty seamen and forty guns; while the whole royal navy amounted to forty sail, with a crew of about three hundred men for each vessel.[c]

The progress of trade might, however, have been slower if it had depended alone on those exact calculations of advantage from accessible and well-understood sources, which are its natural province. But the voyages of the Spaniards and Portuguese had disclosed to the dazzled imaginations of mankind new worlds and races of men before unknown; the owners of treasures apparently unbounded, which they had neither power to defend nor skill to extract from the earth. The spirit of commerce mingled with the passion for discovery, which was exalted by the grandeur of vast and unknown objects. A maritime chivalry arose, which equipped crusades for the settlement and conquest of the New World; professing to save the tribes of that immense region from eternal perdition, and somewhat disguising these expeditions of rapine and destruction under the illusions of military glory and religious fanaticism.

Great noblemen, who would have recoiled with disgust from the small gains of honest industry, eagerly plunged into associations which held out wealth and empire in the train of splendid victory. The lord treasurer, the lord steward, the lord privy seal, and the lord high-admiral were at the head of the first company formed for the trade of Russia, on the discovery of that country. For nearly a century it became a prevalent passion among men of all ranks, including the highest, to become members of associations framed

for the purposes of discovery, colonisation, and aggrandisement, which formed a species of subordinate republics—the vassals of the crown of England. By links like these the feudal world was gradually allied with the commercial, in a manner which civilised the landholder and elevated the merchant.[d]

Allen B. Hinds[e] regards "the loss of Calais as one of the most important events in English history" in its bearing on the commercial development of the country. He points out that the loss of this last English possession on the Continent was regarded at the time as a stupendous disaster, leading foreigners and even Englishmen to suppose "that the importance of England as a European power had ceased to exist." But he thinks that in reality this event formed the final scene of the policy dating from William the Conqueror, and that it launched England on a career of maritime enterprise and colonisation. Raleigh's settlement "broke up miserably, and the expeditions of Drake and his fellows were little better than buccaneering forays." But now the way had been prepared for successful colonising enterprise of a more permanent kind, and the results were soon to be made manifest.[a]

In the internal traffic of England, the greater part of it, as in other countries, was carried on by fairs, held annually or more frequently, at stated periods, in some noted place of resort; and such were the local advantages derived from these great musters that every means was adopted to make them attractive, as well as to retain them in existence in those towns where they were found no longer necessary. Therefore, that when the lord-mayor and aldermen of London, during the reign of Henry VII., prohibited any of the citizens from repairing with their goods to any market or fair out of the city, many places remonstrated. The obnoxious prohibition was repealed by Parliament in 1487. In the appeal that was made on this occasion, we learn the principal places at which fairs were then held in England, and the kind of business transacted, as well as the persons who frequented them. "There be many fairs," it said, "for the common weal of your said liege people, as at Salisbury, Birstow, Oxenforth, Cambridge, Nottingham, Ely, Coventry, and at many other places where lords spiritual and temporal, abbots, priors, knights, squires, gentlemen, and your said commons of every country, hath their common resort to buy and purvey many things that be good and profitable." The great meeting of this kind for the metropolis itself was Bartholomew Fair, to which multitudes annually repaired from the several English counties, and even from foreign countries, so that if any epidemic happened to prevail in London during the season when the fair was held, there was some danger that the infection might thus be carried over the whole kingdom. Such was especially the case in 1593, while the plague was raging in the metropolis, so that its holding was prohibited; but so necessary had Bartholomew Fair now become for the welfare of the realm, that the people were willing to brave the danger; and all that the authorities could therefore effect was merely to appoint certain regulations by which the risk might be lessened.

We now turn from the commercial to the agricultural state of England at this period. The subdivision of farms, and increase of rent, compelled the use of a better kind of cultivation; and this was followed with such success, that by the end of the reign of Elizabeth the produce of each cultivated acre was at least doubled. The same active spirit which necessity had thus kindled into new life, was also manifested in better farmhouses and cottages, and a more comfortable style of living than had hitherto prevailed. While improvements in farming had thus been going on, those of gardening had not been neglected; for while plums, cherries,

currants, apricots, pippins, and gooseberries, which had been introduced from abroad during the reign of Henry VIII, were now carefully cultivated and brought into general use, the garden was also ornamented with the damask and musk rose, the gillyflower, rose of Provence, and carnation, which were imported into England towards the latter end of the sixteenth century.

ELIZABETHAN ARCHITECTURE

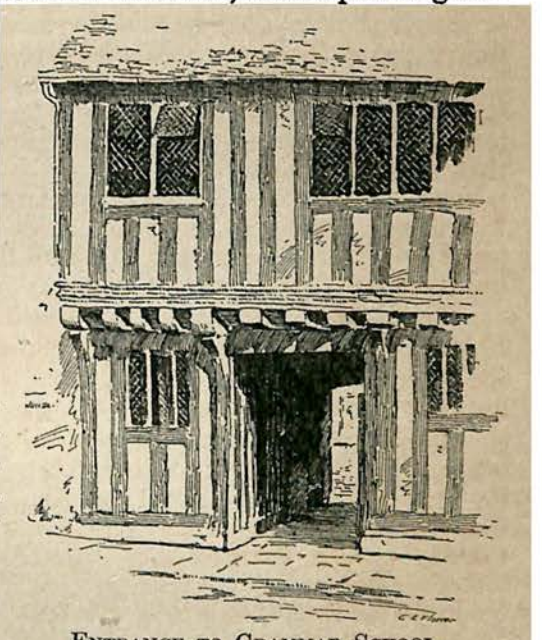
From the yeomanry of merry England we now pass to the dwellings of the rich and the noble. Much of the former occupation of these magnates had now departed along with the political power and sway which they were no longer entitled to hold; but this deprivation only strengthened their desire for more comfortable homes and a superior style of living. It was only thus that they could still retain their superiority as the descendants of nobles and princes; and as models, they could have found few better fitted, according to the age, for their imitation, than Henry VIII and his gorgeous prime-minister Wolsey, the former of whom built, completed, or improved ten splendid palaces.

The style of building now introduced into the palatial residences of the English nobles has been generally called the Tudor style, and prevailed during the sixteenth century. The change thus introduced is worthy of particular notice. Ecclesiastical architecture had now so far retrograded, and become so mixed up with foreign features, that its distinctive English character was gone. Henry VIII patronised Italian artists, and these, having no feeling for the Gothic of the North, could not appreciate its beauties, and sought to engraft their own ideas on a style which, as it had such hold on the national mind, they could not at once throw aside. The beautiful proportions of the old style were not seen, and when it was copied it was without knowledge or feeling. The result was that step by step the ancient features were supplanted by the new introduction, until at length all character was lost, and churches were built in debased imitation of the classic styles. It will therefore be unnecessary in this place to treat further of ecclesiastical edifices.

In domestic architecture, also, the same influences were at work, and produced a somewhat similar change; but other causes in this case led to modifications in the style of building and living. The cessation of the wars which had so long devastated England, and the consequent feeling of security under the house of Tudor, rendered no longer necessary the military character which had hitherto distinguished the dwellings of the aristocracy. The castellated form to which the mind had been so long accustomed was still retained; but it was no longer a military fortress, in which all domestic arrangements were compelled to give way to the necessities of defence. The windows, which before were small, were now gradually enlarged, until they became the most important feature of the building. Towers and turrets were still used, but only for ornament; and as they were no longer required for watch-towers, or to be manned with warders or bowmen, the flat leads within the parapet were no longer necessary, and they were finished with ornamental roofs, richly crocketed and finialed, and ending in gay weather-vanes or armorial devices. Chimneys, too, now became an important feature of ornamentation. They were mostly of brick, and consisted of large stacks of tall slender shafts, issuing from a square basement, frequently of stone. These shafts were richly moulded and often twisted, and they were generally orna-

mented over their whole surface with various diaper patterns and armorial bearings.

Turrets and chimneys, with the general prevalence of the octagonal over the square form for towers, etc.; large square windows, divided into many lights by mullions and cross-bars or transoms; the extensive use of panelling and of the Tudor flower; and other details of the late Perpendicular style—and also of armorial bearings, with the very general use of brick—may be taken as the characteristics of the genuine Tudor style before its admixture with foreign details. But before the end of the reign of Henry VIII it had become materially altered; the castellated form was lost, and it passed gradually into what is known as the Elizabethan style.



ENTRANCE TO GRAMMAR SCHOOL, STRATFORD-ON-AVON
(Where Shakespeare was educated)

In the latter part of this style all trace of military character was lost, and the Gothic features were mixed with and gradually replaced by Italian. The Grecian and Roman orders were generally used, but were copied in an impure and debased manner. From these apparently discordant materials designs were formed which have at least great picturesque effect to recommend them. The windows, however, still retained their mullions and transoms, but they were increased in size in some instances (as at Hardwick) to such an excess that the walls were reduced to little more than mere window frames.

Indeed the buildings of this reign were built for pomp and pleasure, for banquets and pageants; and therefore splendid apartments, approached by wide and magnificent staircases, and above all, a gallery for dancing and other amusements, and which frequently extended the whole length of the building, were essential in a house of any pretensions. The ceilings were richly and profusely ornamented with flowers, foliage and arabesques, figures, and classic allusions.

On the exterior, as moats and walls for defence were no longer needed, the sloping ground was cut into wide and stately terraces for promenading. These were generally bounded by massive stone balustrades and connected with each other by steps, and were ornamented with statues, vases, etc.

The princely houses, or rather palaces, which rose in this reign are numerous, many even yet remaining to attest the splendour of the reign of the Virgin Queen. Of these may be mentioned Burghley, Kirby, Oxnead, etc.[c]

The Elizabethan manor-house is too well known to need any description. It is generally a plain building, with two projecting wings and a central porch. The initial letter of Elizabeth has been held to have suggested this form. In its homely provision for domestic convenience, the manor-house is more completely identified with the prevailing character of English society than the more gorgeous mansion. The manor-house had its hall and its buttery, its dining-room and its parlour, sometimes its chapel, always its great kitchen,

It was surrounded with a moat; it possessed its little flower-garden. When the tobacco which Raleigh introduced ceased to be worth its weight in silver, the smoking-room was added. On great festival days the rich plate is brought out and displayed on the court-cupboard of the dining-parlour, and "it is merry in hall, when beards wag all."

ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE

The historian Hume,[g] in his desire to exhibit the reign of Elizabeth as a period of uncontrolled despotism, says: "It is remarkable that in all the historical plays of Shakespeare, where the manners and characters, and even the transactions, of the several reigns are so exactly copied, there is scarcely any mention of civil liberty." Hallam,[h] without adverting to this passage, has furnished an answer to it: "These dramatic chronicles borrowed surprising liveliness and probability from the national character and form of government. A prince, and a courtier, and a slave, are the stuff on which the historical dramatist would have to work in some countries; but every class of free men, in the just subordination without which neither human society nor the stage, which should be its mirror, can be more than a chaos of huddled units, lay open to the selection of Shakespeare."

HOUSE IN STRATFORD-ON-AVON
(Where Shakespeare was born)

The "manners and characters" not only of Shakespeare's historical plays, but of all his other dramas, are instinct with all the vitality that belongs to a state of social freedom, in which what we hold as tyranny was exceptional. The very fact which Hume alleges, but which must be taken with some limitation, that in Shakespeare's historical plays "there is scarcely any mention of civil liberty," is really a proof of the existence of such liberty. In our own time a French writer has recorded that after attending a debate in our house of commons he observed to an English statesman that he had heard no assertion of the general principles of constitutional freedom. The answer was, "We take all that for granted."

We are not about to analyse the characters of Shakespeare's dramas to show that "they comprise every class of free men." We believe of Shakespeare, as we believe of Chaucer, that neither of these great poets could have existed except under a condition of society which permitted a very large amount of civil liberty. But this is not the place to set forth any detailed reasons for this belief; and we should scarcely have alluded to the assertion of Hume, except to show that he properly looked beyond courts and parliaments to discover the spirit of an age. All poetry, as all other art, must in a great degree be the reflection of the time in which it is produced. The Elizabethan poetry—and especially the drama—the Elizabethan music, the

Elizabethan architecture, bear the most decided impress of their own time. The rapid and therefore imperfect view which we shall take of the most prominent indications of intellectual progress will be principally to exhibit them as characteristics of their period.

The stormy reigns of Edward VI and of Mary were not favourable to the cultivation of literature. Wyatt and Surrey belonged to the time of Henry VIII, before the elements of religious contention had penetrated much below the surface of society. But when the nation came to be divided into two great opposing classes, earnest in their convictions even to the point of making martyrs or being martyrs, the sonneteer and the lyrist would have little chance of being heard. There were a few such poets—Vaux, Edwards, Hunnis—but even their pleasant songs have a tincture of seriousness. The poet who at the very beginning of the reign of Elizabeth struck out a richer vein—Thomas Sackville—breathes the very spirit of the gloomy five years of persecution and almost hopeless bigotry through which England had passed into a healthier existence. There was then a long interval during which poetry was strengthening her wings for her noblest flights.

Beginnings of Drama

The drama was emerging from the childishness and buffoonery of her first period of separation from the shows of Catholicism. The same Thomas Sackville, early in the reign of Elizabeth, produced his tragedy of *Gorboduc*,

COTTAGE OF ANNE HATHAWAY, THE WIFE OF SHAKESPEARE

of which it may be sufficient to say that Sidney in his *Defense of Poesy* describes it as "full of stately speeches and well-sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca his style."

English dramatic poetry was not born with the courtly Sackville. It was struggling into life when it first seized upon the popular mind as an instrument of education, and, in Heywood's words, "made the ignorant more apprehensive, taught the unlearned the knowledge of many famous histories, instructed such as cannot read in the discovery of all our English chronicles." Roughly was that useful work originally done, but it was a reflection of the national spirit, and it produced its effect upon the national character.

The early dramatists, if we may credit one of their eulogists, Nash, proposed great moral lessons in their representations. "In plays, all cozenages,

all cunning drifts, overgilded with outward holiness, all stratagems of war, all the canker-worms that breed on the rust of peace, are most lively anatomised; they show the ill-success of treason, the fall of hasty climbers, the wretched end of usurpers, the misery of civil dissension, and how just God is evermore in punishing of murder." Such passages have been again and again quoted, but we repeat them to show how thoroughly the English drama became adapted to its time, even before its palmy state. It went forth from the courtly direction of the master of the revels at Whitehall and Greenwich, to delight multitudes at the Bell Savage and the Bull. The bones of brave Talbot were "new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least."

It was a rude stage in which the place of action was "written in great letters upon an old door"; a stage without scenes, so that "a hideous monster came out with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it (the stage) for a cave." And yet the most elaborate mechanism, the most gorgeous decoration, never produced the delight which the unassisted action and the simple dialogue of these early plays excited. The spectators were in a new world. They were there to believe, and not to criticise. "You shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden." The thousands who paid each their penny did so believe. They gave up their imaginations to the delusion, and were taken out of themselves into a higher region than that of their daily labours.

When the transition period arrived, in which the first rude utterings of a mimetic life were passing into the higher art of the first race of true dramatists —of which race Marlowe was the undoubted head—there was extravagance in action and character; bombast in language; learning—for Marlowe, Peele, Greene, Lodge, Kyd, were scholars—but learning falsely applied; yet there was real poetical power. They dealt in horrors; their comedy was for the most part ribaldry. The drama, says Sidney, "like an unmannerly daughter, showing a bad education, causeth her mother Poesy's honesty to be called in question." But the bad education of the unmannerly daughter was to be greatly attributed to the examples of the outer world in which she was born. She asserted her divine origin when strength and refinement had become united, in the greater assimilation of character between the courtly and the industrious classes; when rough ignorance was not held to be the necessary companion of martial prowess, and elegance and effeminacy had ceased to be confounded.

Against the growing refinement which was a natural consequence of the more general diffusion of wealth, the satirist, whether he belonged to the severe religionists or to the class held by them as the licentious, directed his constant invectives. There was a general belief that luxury, was lowering the national character. Harrison denounces the chimneys which had taken the place of the reredos in the hall; the feather bed and the sheets which had driven out the straw pallet; the pewter vessels which were splendid at the yeoman's feasts, instead of the wooden platters; the carpets and the tapestry, the bowl for wine, and the dozen silver spoons.

The town wits held the growing riches of the citizens as the spoils of usury and brokery; and the lawyers who "fatted on gold" were counted the oppressors of the poor. All this is indicative of a great change of manners, resulting from the growing opulence of the middle classes and the wide increase of competition. There was a general activity of intellect; and it was one of the fortunate circumstances of the social condition of England, that there was a great national cause to fight for, which lifted men out of the selfishness of unwonted industrial prosperity.

Edmund Spenser

At such a period arose the two greatest poets of that age, Spenser and Shakespeare. They each essentially belonged to their time. They each in their several ways reflected that time.

Spenser dealt much more largely than Shakespeare with the events and characteristics of his age. In his *Shepherd's Calendar* he is a decided church-reformer. In the *Faërie Queene* he shadows forth "the most excellent and glorious person" of Elizabeth; and many historical personages may be traced in the poem. Amongst the numerous allegorical characters we find Una, the true church, opposed to Duessa, the type of Romanism. But it is not in these more literal marks of the time that we discover in Spenser the spirit of the time. It is not in his *Mother Hubberd's Tale*, where we find the boldest satire against courtly corruption—justice sold, benefices given to the unworthy, nobility despised, learning little esteemed, the many not cared for—that we must look for the general reflection in Spenser's verse of the spirit of his age. His fate had been "in suing long to bide," and he took a poet's revenge for the neglect. It is in the general elevation of the tone of the *Faërie Queene*, and of the other poems of his matured years, that we may appreciate the moral and intellectual tastes of the educated classes of Elizabeth's latter period.

EDMUND SPENSER
(1552–1599)

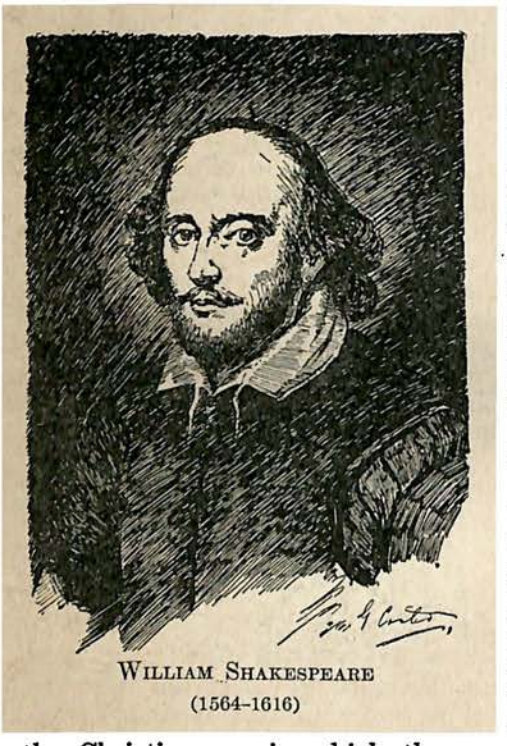
Unquestionably the poet, by his creative power, may in some degree shape the character of an age, instead of being its mirror; but in the relations of a great writer to his readers there is a mutual action, each inspiring the other. The tone of Spenser's poetry must at any rate have been in accordance with the mental condition of those with whom the *Faërie Queene* became at once the most popular of all books. It ceased to be popular after two generations had passed away, and the Rochesters and Sedleys were the great literary stars.

The heroic age to which Spenser belonged was then over. "Fierce wars and faithful loves" had become objects of ridicule. The type of female perfection was not "heavenly Una, with her milk-white lamb," but Mistress Nelly in the side-box. "The goodly golden chain of chivalry" was utterly worthless compared with the price paid for Dunkirk. Such were the differences of morals and intellect between 1600 and 1670. Spenser was the most popular of poets while the ideal of chivalry still lingered in the period that had produced Sidney, and Essex, and Raleigh, and Grenville—when the rough Devonshire captains fought the Spaniards with an enthusiastic bravery and endurance that the Orlandos and the Red Cross Knights of Ariosto and Spenser could not excel. The great laureate's popularity was gone when the Dutch sailed up the Medway; for the spirit of the Elizabethan "golden time" was gone.

William Shakespeare

The age of Elizabeth may pre-eminently claim the distinction of having called up a great native literature. The national mind had already put forth many blossoms of poetry, and in the instance of Chaucer the early fruit was of the richest flavour. But in the latter part of Elizabeth's reign England had a true garden of the Hesperides. It has been most justly observed by Macaulay[i] that "in the time of Henry VIII and Edward VI, a person who did not read French or Latin could read nothing or next to nothing." Hence the learned education of the ladies of that period.

The same writer asks, "Over what tragedy could Lady Jane Grey have wept, over what comedy could she have smiled, if the ancient dramatists had not been in her library?" Lady Jane Grey meekly laid her head upon the block in 1554. Had she lived fifty years longer she would have had in her library all Shakespeare's historical plays, except *King John* and *King Henry VIII*; she would have had *Romeo and Juliet, Love's Labour's Lost, The Merchant of Venice, A Midsummer Night's Dream, Much Ado about Nothing, The Merry Wives of Windsor, Hamlet*—for all these were printed before that period. She might have seen all these acted; and she might also have seen *As You Like It, All's Well that Ends Well, The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Twelfth Night,* and *Othello.*



WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE
(1564–1616)

Her pure and truly religious nature would not have shrunk from the perusal of these works, which might worthily stand by the side of her *Terence* and her *Sophocles* in point of genius, and have a far higher claim upon her admiration. For they were imbued, not with the lifeless imitation of heathen antiquity, but with the real vitality of the Christian era in which they were produced; with all the intellectual freedom which especially distinguished that era from the past ages of Christianity. The deities of the old mythology might linger in the pageants of the court; but the inspiration of these creations of the popular dramatist was derived from the pure faith for which the lady Jane died.

From no other source of high thought could have originated the exquisite creations of female loveliness which Shakespeare and Spenser equally presented. Some portion of what was tender and graceful in the Catholic worship of "Our Lady" passed into the sober homage involuntarily paid to the perfectness of woman by the two great Protestant poets.

In Shakespeare was especially present a more elevated spirit of charity than belonged to the government of his times, although his toleration must have abided to a great extent amongst a people that had many common ties of brotherhood whatever were their differences of creed. Hence the patriotism of Shakespeare—a considerate patriotism founded upon that nationality by which he is held "to have been most connected with ordinary men." But

Shakespeare lived in an age when nationality was an exceeding great virtue, which alone enabled England, in a spirit of union, to stand up against the gigantic power which sought her conquest through her religious divisions. All around the dramatist, and reflected by him in a thousand hues of "many-coloured life," were those mixed elements of society, out of whose very differences results the unity of a prosperous nation. There was a great industrious class standing between the noble and the peasant, running over with individual originality of character, and infusing their spirit into the sovereign, the statesman, and the soldier. The gentlemen of Shakespeare are distinct from those of any other poet in their manly frankness; and the same quality of straightforward independence may be traced in his yeomen and his peasants. His clowns even are the representatives of the national humour which itself was a growth of the national freedom. There was a select lettered class, who, having shaken off the trammels of the scholastic philosophy, were exploring the depths of science and laying the foundations of accurate reasoning.

Shakespeare stood between the new world of bold speculation that was opening upon him, and the world of submission to authority that was passing away. Thus, whilst he lingers amidst the simplicity and even the traditionary superstitions of the multitude with evident delight—calls up their elves and their witches and their ghosts, but in no vulgar shapes—he asserts his claim to take rank with the most elevated of the world's thinkers in the investigation of the hardest problems of man's nature.

Such are a few of the relations in which the art of Shakespeare stood to the period in which he lived; and although it has been truly said, "he was not for an age, but for all time," we hold that he could not have been produced except in that age and in the country of which he has become the highest glory. There must have been a marvellous influence of the social state working upon the highest genius, to have called forth those dramas for the people, which, having their birth in a yeoman's house at Stratford, "show, sustain, and nourish all the world."

Lyric Poets

The lyrical poetry of the Elizabethan time was chiefly written to be married to music. As Shakespeare's drama was drama to be acted, so his songs were songs to be sung. Their grace, their simplicity, their variety of measure, were qualities which are found in the lyrical poems of Marlowe, Greene, Lodge, Raleigh, Breton, Drayton, and others less known to fame, who contributed to the delight of many a tranquil evening in the squire's pleasure garden and by the citizen's sea-coal fireside, where Morley's *Airs*, and other popular collections, were as familiarly known as Moore's *Melodies* in our own day.

It was not that the musical taste of England was first developed in this period, but that it had spread from the court to the people. There was a greater diffusion of wealth, and therefore more leisure for the cultivation of the elegancies of life. Property was secure. The days of feudal tyranny were past. The whole aspect of the country was necessarily changed. If we open the county histories of this period we find an enumeration of "principal manor-houses," which shows how completely the English gentleman of moderate fortune had in every parish taken the place of the baron or the abbot, who were once the sole proprietors of vast districts. A poet of the period has noticed this change in his description of rural scenery.

"Here on some mount a house of pleasure vanted
Where once the warring cannon had been planted."

These lines are from the *Britannia's Pastorals* of William Browne, whose poems, unequal as they are, contain many exquisite descriptions of country life.

But nearly all the poetry of this age shows how thoroughly the realities of that life had become familiar to the imaginative mind. The second-hand images with which town poets make their rural descriptions wearisome are not found in the Elizabethan poets. The commonest objects of nature uniformly present their poetical aspects in Shakespeare, as they did in Chaucer. The perpetual freshness and variety of creation were seen by these great masters with that rapid power of observation which belongs to genius. But the minor poets of the end of the sixteenth century evidently studied rural scenery with that feeling of the picturesque which is always a late growth of individual or national cultivation.

The country, to the educated proprietor of the soil, had become something more than the source of his revenue. His ancestral trees had now for him a higher interest than to furnish logs for his hall-fire. His garden was no longer a mere place for growing kail and pot-herbs: it was to have choice flowers and shady seats; the stately terrace and the green walk; the fountain and the vase. The poets reflect the prevailing taste. They make their posies of the peony and the pink, the rose and the columbine. They go with the huntsman to the field, and with the angler to the river. They are found nutting with the village boys, and they gather strawberries in the woods. They sit with the lady of the May in her bower, and quaff the brown ale at the harvest-home. The country has become the seat of pleasant thoughts; and the poets are there to aid their influences.

The reign of Elizabeth, which witnessed such an outburst of native literature, had not neglected that cultivation of ancient learning upon which sound literature and correct taste must in a great degree be built. New colleges had been founded at Oxford and Cambridge. Elizabeth had also founded Trinity College, Dublin. James VI had erected the university of Edinburgh, in addition to the Scottish academical institutions, and Marischal College, Aberdeen, was built in his reign. To the London grammar schools of St. Paul's and Christ church had been added Westminster school by the queen, and Merchant Taylors' school by the great city company of that name. The grammar schools were essentially the schools of the people; and it is a sufficient praise of Elizabeth's new foundation of Westminster to say that Camden there taught and that Jonson there learned.*f*

CHAPTER XVI

THE STUART DYNASTY: JAMES I

[1603–1625 A.D.]

UNDER no other dynasty in the world have large national changes depended so completely on the personal ideas of monarchs as in England under the Tudors. But now the energetic Tudor line had vanished from the throne. By right of inheritance, another family ascended, whose origins and associations were in Scotland, the crown of which it now united to that of England.—VON RANKE.[b]

ENGLAND appeared as despotic a country at the death of Elizabeth as any in Europe, and it was only by the concurrence of two circumstances that it did not lose its liberties altogether. The first of these was that the wiliest and most ambitious of her kings had no standing army. When a monarch has the interest of a superstitious priesthood and the ignorance of the multitude in his favour, he needs only a military force to strike out the last spark of freedom. When Henry VII, therefore, had broken the nobility and gained the church, and quieted the people, there would have been no power able to oppose him if he had had a soldiery in his pay; as it was, he had to trust to the national force—the archers of the different parishes and men raised for a limited time. The English army was a militia, officered by the gentry of the land; so Henry VII and his imperious son had not the means of consolidating the tyrannic power which circumstances enabled them to exercise for a time.

The other circumstance was the very strange one that the degradation of the house of commons tempted the first Tudors to use it as an ostensible instrument of their authority, till the people, who were not aware of the personal baseness and subserviency of their representatives, seeing every great event attributed to parliament, began to believe that it was mightier than the king. They saw a church overthrown, and another church established; a queen divorced, and another executed; Mary declared illegitimate, and the

kingdom left to the disposal of the sovereign, all by act of parliament; and there was no limit to their confidence in these magic words. The crawling sycophants who sat on the packed benches of the commons began to be invested with a part of the majesty which the policy of the kings had thrown over the assembly to cloak their own designs; and towards the end of Elizabeth's reign the belief in the dignity of parliament had seized even on some of the members, and they reasoned, remonstrated, accused, and finally made terms, as if they had in reality some of the influence which had belonged to them in the times of the Plantagenets. Nothing, however, would persuade the new race of kings that parliament was anything but a collection of their clerks and servants; and all through the next two reigns the point in dispute was the usurped, but constantly exerted, supremacy of the crown, and the theoretical, but long disused, supremacy of parliament.

Fortunately for the parliament, the representative of absolute monarchy, who now presented himself in the person of James, was not rendered very dangerous by his vigour of mind or body. Even the country he came from detracted from his popularity; for the long wars between the realms had made Scotland a disagreeable sound in English ears. The people were considered barbarous, and their land a desert. A flight of locusts was looked upon as a similar infliction to an incursion of the hungry Scots, whether as friends or foes. The behaviour of James, since his accession to his native throne, had not raised his reputation for courage or plain dealing; and reports must have been already widely spread of his garrulity, selfishness, pedantry, and awkwardness, which made him a very unfit president of the most accomplished, learned, and high-spirited court in Christendom. A courtier like Sir Walter Raleigh, hearing an argument of Bacon in the morning and a play of Shakespeare in the afternoon, could have had little appetite for the laborious and jocular platitudes of the Solomon of the north. Yet with all the advantages of an undisputed right, and bearing with him the prospect not only of peace, but union, between the two peoples who inhabited the island, the great-grandson of Margaret of England took peaceable possession of the throne of the Plantagenets and Tudors. It was taking the people back to the olden time, of which every new generation entertains such a fond recollection, when they saw in the son of the beauteous Mary—representative in the third degree of Henry VII and Elizabeth of York—a blending once more of the white and red roses, and never were king and nation more pleased at the parts they were to play. His journey from the north was a perpetual triumph. Arches covered the streets, and orations exhausted the eloquence of mayors; and his speeches in reply transcended their understanding. He ate, and drank, and spouted Latin, and made poems in a manner never heard of before; he also made knights on all occasions.

But the habits and temper of the new king came out in more disagreeable colours in the course of the same journey. Gentlemen, accustomed to the stately cavalcades of Elizabeth, and even her affected and grandiose style of walking, were at first astonished to see a little fat personage, with large and wandering eyes; a bonnet cast by chance upon his head, and sticking on as it best could; his legs too thin for his weight; his clothes so thickly padded out to resist a dagger-stroke, of which he was in continual dread, that he looked more like a vast seal than a man; a flabby, foolish mouth, widened for the freer extrusion of remarkably broad Scotch—and all these surmounting a horse saddled after the manner of an arm-chair, with appliances for the rider's support, in spite of which his majesty not unfrequently managed to tumble most ungracefully to the ground; and before the courtly nobles who had

[1603 A.D.]

met him at the borders had time to be reconciled to his appearance, he gave them a specimen of his regard for law which was of evil omen for his future conduct. At Newark-upon-Trent a pickpocket was detected in the act, and, without waiting for judge or jury, the king directed a royal warrant to the recorder to hang the man without delay, and the culprit was suspended at once. Completing his first impression by the coarse and contemptuous manner in which he spoke of his great predecessor, whose death had silenced all recent cavils and only recalled the triumphs and glories of her reign, he showed his disregard of her example—in guarding the honour of the English peerage only for the most deserving and celebrated of her subjects—by lavishing titles on dozens at a time, including in the list his hungry and grasping followers, who had shown no quality except the attachment to their native sovereign, which made them forsake the wilderness of their patrimonial domains for the rich estates with which they were presented in the different shires of England.[1]

He now began to govern. He was an advocate for peace at any price, particularly if the price was to be paid into his exchequer; and as England had been a great support to the Netherlands in their noble insurrection against Philip, and James thought no insurrection justifiable on any provocation, both parties were encouraged to approach him. Henry IV of France and the Hollanders sent over to request his continued aid, and bribed in a very handsome manner to obtain their end. Philip III, however, had not the dogged obstinacy of his father, and sent over an ambassador to patch up an agreement between him and his revolted subjects, under the mediation of James, and in a few months the king looked with pride on the motto he had chosen for the royal arms, "Blessed are the Peacemakers." The independence of the Provinces was virtually acknowledged, and Spain continued the downward course which threw her helpless at the feet of the blood-stained Inquisition, denuded her realm of the vigour and genius of the Moors and Hebrews and the spirit and enterprise of the Dutch, leaving her the impotent victim of ignorance and pride. But affairs were not so peaceful at home. James had been so disgusted by the aggressive insolence of the Presbyterian leaders in his old dominion, that he had held out hopes to the Catholics of a leaning to their cause. On finding, however, that the English church, though as much opposed as himself to the levelling and republican tendencies of Geneva, was equally hostile to the doctrines of Rome, he gave public marks of his adhesion to the strongest side, and issued edicts against all manner of dissenters, whether Calvinist or papist. Toleration was formally disavowed, and an internecine war seemed impending.

Puritans and Catholics joined in a plot to get quit of the present order in church and state, each sect determining to exterminate the other when their common enemy was overthrown. The king was to be seized, the government altered, and freedom of conscience proclaimed.[e]

The coronation had taken place on the 25th of July, amidst the gloom and consternation of the people of London, for the plague was making the most fearful ravages in the city. The sight of the pageant was confined to the nobility and the court. On this account, as alleged, a parliament was not summoned, according to the usual course upon the accession of a new sovereign.

[1 "I hear our new king," writes Harington,[c] "hath hanged one man before he was tried; 'tis strangely done; now if the wind bloweth thus, why may not a man be tried before he hath offended?" But James' notion of kingly rewards was as absurd as his notion of kingly punishments. During his journey of thirty-two days from Edinburgh to London, he showered the honour of knighthood on two hundred and thirty-seven gentlemen who were presented to him. Elizabeth bestowed such honours sparingly upon her statesmen and soldiers. James made the noblest title of the old chivalry ridiculous.—KNIGHT.[d]]

THE "MAIN" AND THE "BYE" PLOTS

At the death of Elizabeth the rivalry which had sprung up between Robert Cecil and Raleigh was to have its triumph in the confirmed favour of James to the minister with whom he had for some time been in secret communication. The wily secretary of state was far too strong for the bold captain of the guard. Raleigh was deprived of his offices, and within a few months was under a charge of high treason. Hume, in a very brief relation of "the discovery of a conspiracy to subvert the government, and to fix on the throne Arabella Stuart, a near relation of the king by the family of Lennox, and descended equally from Henry VII," mixes up the accounts of two alleged conspiracies. He says Roman Catholic priests; Lord Grey, a Puritan; Lord Cobham, a profligate man; and Raleigh, a freethinker, were engaged in "a conspiracy"; and he asks, "What cement could unite men of such discordant principles in so dangerous a combination?" The Roman Catholic conspiracy was wholly different from that in which Raleigh, Cobham, and Grey were accused of engaging, and was known as "the treason of the priests," or the "Bye" [or the Surprise]—the cant word by which it was designated upon the trials of the accused. Its object was to seize the person of the king. The other treason was known as the "Main," and its purposes were so ill-defined that, half a century afterwards, it was described by Rushworth[g] as "a dark kind of treason"; the author of the *Historical Collections* adding, "in his time the veil still rested upon it." Subsequent investigations have not withdrawn the veil.

Cobham, a very weak man, though possessed of great power from his position, had taken part with Raleigh in his jealousy of the earl of Essex; and James, who considered that Essex had been sacrificed through his anxiety to promote that claim to the succession which Elizabeth did not recognise, held them both in great dislike. Cecil, who was equally united with them in jealousy of Essex, had propitiated the king of Scotland, and to him was confided the chief power of the government when James came to the English throne. There is little in these alleged treasons that deserves any minute relation, except as they involve the trial and conviction of one of the most remarkable men in the history of the country. The mind of Raleigh never was exhibited in a more heroic attitude than in his conduct on this memorable trial. On the 17th of November, 1603, a special commission was held at Winchester, the plague then raging in London and other parts. Sir Walter Raleigh had been indicted on the previous 21st of August upon a charge of high treason; the overt acts alleged being that he had conferred with Lord Cobham as to advancing Arabella Stuart to the crown of England, dispossessing the king; and that it was arranged that Lord Cobham should go to the king of Spain and the archduke of Austria, to obtain six hundred thousand crowns for the support of Arabella's title. Raleigh pleaded not guilty.

The conduct of the attorney-general upon this trial was such as made even Cecil remonstrate against his unfairness. Coke's brutality to the prisoner remains as a perpetual warning to the bar and the bench, that if the character of the gentleman is ever publicly dissociated from that of the lawyer in the administration of justice, the greatest learning, the most elevated rank will not save the trickster or the bully from the contempt of his own generation and of future times. Coke began by declaring that the treason of Raleigh was "the treason of the Main, the others were the Bye," and then went on to mix him up with both treasons. "I pray you, gentlemen of the jury," said Raleigh, "remember I am not charged with the Bye, which was the

treason of the priests." To this quiet observation Coke replied: "You are not; but your lordships will see that all these treasons, though they consisted of several points, closed in together, like Samson's foxes, which were joined in the tails, though their heads were severed."

Let us pursue this dialogue a little further. Coke went on, again travelling far out of the indictment, to associate Raleigh with every charge against other conspirators of whose proceedings it is manifest that he knew nothing. "To what end do you speak all this?" said the prisoner. "I will prove you to be the most notorious traitor that ever came to the bar," rejoined Coke. "Thou art a monster. Thou hast an English face but a Spanish heart." Coke then proceeded with a recital of his charges against Cobham. "If my lord Cobham be a traitor, what is that to me?" said Raleigh. Then the great lawyer replied, "All that he did was by thy instigation, thou viper, for I thou thee, thou traitor!"[1] When Coke came to the words about "destroying the king and his cubs," which rested upon a declaration of one of the priests of what the Jesuits intended, Raleigh lost patience for a moment, and exclaimed, "O barbarous! Do you bring the words of these hellish spiders against me?" Coke retorted, "Thou art thyself a spider of hell." Such were the flowers of rhetoric with which the attorney-general of that day sustained the dignity of English justice.

The charge against Raleigh rested solely upon the accusation of Lord Cobham, of which a contemporary letter-writer says it "was no more to be weighed than the barking of a dog." Raleigh demanded that Cobham should be confronted with him. He contended that by the law of treasons two witnesses were necessary to conviction. His eloquence was unavailing. He was found guilty and sentenced to death. The opinion of after times is expressed by Hallam:[h] "His conviction was obtained on the single deposition of Lord Cobham, an accomplice, a prisoner, not examined in court, and known to have already retracted his accusation. Such a verdict was thought contrary to law, even in that age of ready convictions." Raleigh's contemporaries felt that his conviction was most unjust. Raleigh was unpopular, for he was proud; but his trial produced a complete change in the general feeling. One who was present at Winchester affirmed "that whereas when he saw him first he was so led with the common hatred that he would have gone a hundred miles to see him hanged, he would, ere he parted, have gone a thousand to save his life." The priests and Brooke were found guilty of the "Bye" plot, and were executed. Cobham, Grey, and Markham were found guilty, and were brought upon the scaffold to die.[d]

The strangest and most heartless treatment of prisoners which has ever occurred in English annals took place on this occasion. Raleigh was placed at his window in the Tower, which commanded a view of the scaffold. It was Friday morning, and he was to die on the following Monday. First he saw George Markham, one of his confederates, led up to the block, and when preparations had been made for his death, he was led away again, and there was silent expectation in the crowd for an hour or two. Lord Grey then made his appearance, and sustained the character for manly self-command he had won at the trial. He prayed, and said farewell to his friends; and when thus the bitterness of death was past, and he was about to lay his head upon the block, a movement took place among the spectators, and he also

[1 If Raleigh's trial is remarkable for the distinct enunciation by the judges of the harsh principles which were then in repute amongst lawyers, it is equally worthy of memory, as giving the first signal of the reaction which from that moment steadily set in in favour of the rights of individuals against the state.—GARDINER.*j*]

was led away. Lastly, Lord Cobham was brought forth, and with brazen audacity, which could only arise from a knowledge of what was to happen,[1] reiterated his accusations of Raleigh and his friends, and affected to seal the faith of his words with his blood. But again the crowd was moved, and Markham and Grey were brought back. Face to face they gazed on each other, each surprised to find the other alive. Shouts now rent the air; hats were thrown up, and joyous acclamations sounded from the hill and were echoed all through the city, for a messenger had appeared with the royal mercy, and the shameless cruelty of playing with men's feelings in such awful circumstances was lost in the delight at their deliverance; from which we may conclude that very few people believed in the plot. Raleigh was reprieved along with the others, but old enmity rankled in James' heart, for the interest of Raleigh had been employed against him when he used to be knocking humbly as a poor kinsman at Elizabeth's door. It was a reprieve, and not a pardon.[e]

Raleigh's twelve years of imprisonment were not spent in vain repining. In his prison chamber he wrote his *History of the World*—a noble book, worthy of the man and of the days in which he had gloriously lived; full of poetry and high philosophy, and in its solemn recognitions of the "power, light, virtue, wisdom, and goodness" of the "Omnipotent Cause" and "Almighty Mover," furnishing the best answer to the scurrility of the attorney-general, who called him "damnable atheist," and of the chief justice who, in sentencing him, said, "You have been taxed by the world, Sir Walter Raleigh, with holding heathenish, atheistical, and profane opinions, which I list not to repeat, because Christian ears cannot endure to hear them; but the authors and maintainers of such opinions cannot be suffered to live in any Christian commonwealth."[d]

THE HAMPTON COURT CONFERENCE

When James was on his way to London the Puritan clergy had presented their Millenary petition,[2] praying for reformation in the church. They desired that the sign of the cross should not be made in baptism, or that rite be administered by women; that the ring be disused in marriage; that confirmation be abolished; that the clergy no longer wear the cap and surplice, nor teach the people to bow at the name of Jesus; that the service be curtailed, and the Apocrypha be no more read as part of it; that church music be reformed; that the Lord's Day be not profaned, nor the observation of other holidays enjoined. They also prayed that none but able men should be ordained, and that they should be obliged to reside on their cures; that bishops should not hold livings *in commendam*; that men should not be excommunicated for small matters, etc. The two universities forthwith set forth violent declarations against the petitioners, and in favour of the present state of the church. The king, having been brought up in the kirk of Scotland, which rejected all that was complained of, could not with decency slight the petition. He therefore issued (October 24th) a proclamation for a conference between the two parties to be held in his own presence at Hampton Court.

[1 Gardiner,*i* however, thinks that James may have merely desired to know what their last confessions would be without putting them to death.]

[2 So called, as it was to have been signed by one thousand (*mille*) clergymen. [Only 750 preachers assented to it. As Gardiner*i* points out, there seem to have been no signatures at all.]

[1604 A.D.]

The conference commenced on the 14th of January, 1604. On the side of the church appeared the primate Whitgift, Bancroft, bishop of London, seven other prelates, and eight dignitaries; the Puritans were represented by Reynolds and three others, who had been selected by the king himself. The first day the Puritans were not admitted, and the king made a speech, in which he expressed his joy that "he was now come into the promised land; that he sat among grave and reverend men, and was not a king, as formerly, without state, nor in a place where beardless boys would brave him to his face."[1] He assured them that he did not propose any innovation, but that he only desired to remove such disorders as might appear. The amendments which he proposed were adopted without hesitation, and next day (16th) the Puritans were admitted, and the king required them to state their objections.

To each of their arguments James himself replied. At length, when Reynolds made proposals for holding assemblies of the clergy, and referring cases thence to the diocesan synod, the king lost his temper. He told them, as was the truth, that they were aiming at a Scottish presbytery, "which," said he, "agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom and Will and Dick shall meet, and at their pleasure censure both me and my council. Therefore, pray stay one seven years before you demand that of me; and if then you find me pursy and fat, and my windpipe stuffed, I will perhaps hearken to you; for let that government be up, and I am sure I shall be kept in breath." Then turning to the bishops, and putting his hand to his hat, he said, "My lords, I may thank you that these Puritans plead for my supremacy; for, if once you are out and they in place, I know what will become of my supremacy; for, no bishop, no king." He then asked Reynolds if he had anything more to say; but that divine, finding the cause prejudged, declined to proceed. "If this be all your party have to say," said the king, rising, "I will make them conform themselves, or else hurry them out of this land, or do worse."

The prelates were overjoyed at the behaviour of the king. Whitgift protested that he had spoken from the spirit of God. Bancroft exclaimed, "I protest my heart melteth with joy, that Almighty God, of his singular mercy, has given us a king as since Christ's time hath not been." The chancellor said he "had never seen the king and priest so fully united in one person." Next day the Puritans were called in to hear the alterations made in the prayer-book. Their entreaties for indulgence to some men of tender consciences only excited anger; the conference thus terminated, and on the 5th of March a proclamation was issued enjoining strict conformity.[i]

Persecution now began, which, except in the absence of fire and rope, was as fierce as bloody Mary's. Spies wormed their way into conventicles and prayer-meetings; preachers without a license were thrown into prison; three hundred rectors and vicars were turned out of their livings; fines and dungeons were the fate of all who resisted the law; and already the awful lessons of the Old Testament were conned over with ominous admiration. Men driven from house and home, despised and insulted by persons whom they considered worse than heathens or idolaters, found consolation in the denunciations of evil-doers and the promises of revenge held forth to the people of God. Samuel was a Puritan divine, and Agag lived at Whitehall.

Having thus embroiled himself with one of the orders of the state, James next showed his arbitrary spirit in his treatment of parliament [assembled March 19th, 1604]. His powerful predecessors had shown great skill in their

[1] Alluding to the rudeness which he had experienced from some hot-headed young ministers in Scotland, of which various instances are on record.

management of the popular assembly. They treated it with respect, and increased its apparent influence in order to turn it to their own advantage. If Elizabeth interfered at an election, it was secretly; if there was any bribery or intimidation, it was denied with the same affectation of abhorrence as at the present time; but James published a proclamation telling his people what sort of men to return. If any person was nominated contrary to his instructions, the borough was to be fined and the member sent to gaol. Parliament deserved a good deal of contempt for its remissness of late years, but this was too much. The pride of city and county revolted against this dictation, and Puritans and Presbyterians were returned in great numbers. The first session was passed in disputes. The king made no secret of his belief in his own perfect supremacy over lords and commons. The commons, unaccustomed to such language from sovereigns they had feared and respected, assumed at last the duty of champions of the nation. "Your majesty would be misinformed," they said, "if any man should deliver that the kings of England have any absolute power in themselves either to alter religion, or make any laws concerning the same, otherwise than, as in temporal causes, by consent of parliament."

The laws against the Catholics were not in the slightest degree relaxed during these destructive onslaughts on the Puritans. The church, which had been originally set apart as a neutral ground, was now a strong-walled battery firing against both. The assault became more furious as the cannonade was more fatal, and at last the patience of the papists could stand no more.[e]

PERSECUTIONS OF THE CATHOLICS, AND THE GUNPOWDER PLOT

The Puritans in their discontent had accused the king of papistry. He persecuted, they said, the disciples, while he favoured the enemies of the gospel. James hastened to rescue himself from the charge. Another proclamation was published February 22nd, 1604, enjoining the banishment of all Catholic missionaries; regulations were adopted for the discovery and presentment of recusants; and orders were sent to the magistrates to put the penal laws into immediate execution. He even deemed it expedient to deliver his sentiments in the Star Chamber, to declare his detestation of papistry, and to repeat his wish that none of his children might succeed him if they were ever to depart from the established church. These proceedings afforded some consolation. If one opening were closed, another was offered to the exertions of the zealots. If they were not suffered to purge the church from the dregs of superstition, they might still advance the glory of God by hunting down the idolatrous papist.

The execution of the penal laws enabled the king by an ingenious comment to derive considerable profit from his past forbearance. It was pretended that he had never forgiven the penalties of recusancy; he had merely forbidden them to be exacted for a time, in the hope that this indulgence would lead to conformity; but his expectations had been deceived; the obstinacy of the Catholics had grown with the lenity of the sovereign; and as they were unworthy of further favour, they should now be left to the severity of the law. To their dismay the legal fine of £20 per lunar month was again demanded, and not only for the time to come, but for the whole period of the suspension; a demand which, by crowding thirteen separate payments into one of £260, exhausted the whole annual income of men in respectable but moderate circumstances. Nor was this all. By law, the least default in these

[1604 A.D.]

payments subjected the recusant to the forfeiture of all his goods and chattels, and of two-thirds of his lands, tenements, hereditaments, farms, and leases. All the cattle on the lands of the delinquent, his household furniture, and his wearing apparel were seized and sold; and if on some pretext or other he was not thrown into prison, he found himself and family left without a change of apparel or a bed to lie upon.

The sums thus extorted from the sufferers formed, most opportunely for James, a fund, out of which he could relieve himself from the claims and clamours of the needy Scotsmen who had pursued him from their own country, and now importuned him for a share in the good things of the land of promise. Of the moneys thus extorted, a considerable portion was known to be appropriated to these adventurers. Nor was this appropriation thought of itself a small grievance at a time when the jealousies between the two nations had grown to a height of which we can form but a very inadequate notion at the present day. The sufferers bitterly complained that they were reduced to beggary for the support of a crowd of foreign beggars; that the last remnant of their property was wrung from them to satisfy the rapacity of the Scottish harpies that followed the court. But they complained in vain.

THE GATE HOUSE, ASHBY, ST. LEGER'S, NOTTS
(Residence of the Catesbys)

Among the sufferers was Robert Catesby, descended from an ancient and opulent family. His father, Sir William Catesby, more than once had been imprisoned for recusancy. Together with several of his friends the son had joined the earl of Essex, and in the ill-directed attempt of that nobleman was wounded, taken, and committed to prison. He had, indeed, the good fortune to escape the block, but was compelled to purchase his liberty with the sum of £3,000. After his discharge he attached himself, through the same motive, to the Spanish party among the Catholics, and bore a considerable share in their intrigues to prevent the succession of the Scottish monarch. When these had proved fruitless, he acquiesced in the general opinion of his brethren, and cherished with them the pleasing hope of indulgence and toleration.

But the delusion soon vanished. Catesby, reverting to his original pursuit, revolved in his mind every possible means of relief. To succeed by insurrection he saw was hopeless; the Catholics were the weaker party, and disunited among themselves; to look for sufficient aid from the princes abroad was equally visionary; the king of France, the king of Spain, and even the pontiff all professed themselves the friends of James. At length there suggested itself to his mind a plan which required not the help of foreigners, nor the co-operation of many associates, but a plan so atrocious in principle and so sanguinary in execution, that it is difficult to conceive how it could be harboured in the mind of any human being—the plan of blowing up the parliament-house with gunpowder, and involving in one common destruction the

king, the lords, and the commons, all those who framed, with the chief of those who executed, the penal laws against the English Catholics.

The person to whom Catesby first opened his mind was an intimate friend, Thomas Winter. Winter was struck with horror at the communication. But Catesby attempted its justification. He sought not, he observed, any private revenge or personal emolument. His sole object was to suppress a most unjust and barbarous persecution by the only expedient which offered the prospect of success.

This was at the time when Velasco, the constable of Castile, had arrived in Flanders to conclude a peace between England and Spain. The two friends, after a long discussion, resolved to postpone their direful purpose till they had solicited the mediation of the Spaniard with their sovereign. With this view Winter repaired to Bergen, near Dunkirk, where a private conference with the ambassador convinced him that, though he might speak in favour of the English Catholics, he would make no sacrifice to purchase for them the benefit of toleration. From Bergen, Winter hastened to Ostend, where he met with Guy Fawkes,[1] a native of Yorkshire, and a soldier of fortune. Fawkes had long served in the Netherlands, had borne an important command under Sir Thomas Stanley, and had visited Madrid in the company of Winter as agent for the exiles of the Spanish party. His courage, fidelity, and military experience pointed him out as a valuable auxiliary.[2] He consented to return with Winter to England, but was kept for some time in ignorance of the part which he was designed to act.

Before their arrival Catesby had communicated the plan to two others, Percy and Wright. Thomas Percy was a distant relation and steward to the earl of Northumberland. He had embraced the Catholic faith about the same time as Catesby, and had shared with him in the disastrous enterprise of Essex. His brother-in-law, John Wright, was formerly a follower of Essex, and noted as the best swordsman of his time. He had lately become a Catholic, and on that account had been harassed with prosecutions and imprisonment. He joined the conspirators, and after a short trial Fawkes was added to the number. All five having previously sworn each other to secrecy, May 1st, received, in confirmation of their oath, the sacrament from the hand of Father Gerard, the Jesuit missionary.[k 3]

After many meetings and much consultation, a house was hired by Percy —who was a gentleman usher of the court—abutting on the houses of parliament, and a hole was resolved on from the back buildings into the vaults under the great chamber of the lords, where the king was to open the session, and where the whole house of commons would be assembled. Interrupted more than once by prorogations and other incidents, they never faltered in

[1 We observe that Faukes always writes his name with u.—LINGARD.*k*]

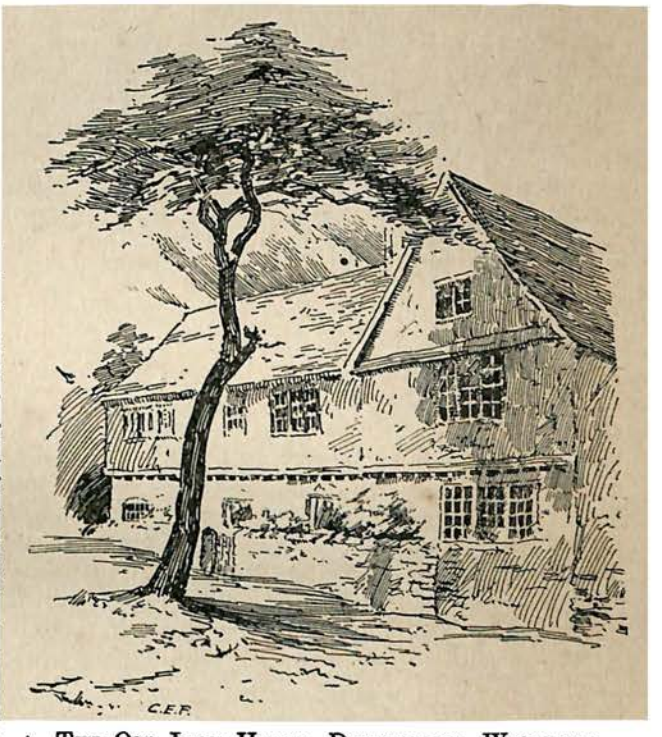
[2 Father Greenway, who knew all the conspirators intimately, describes him as "a man of great piety, of exemplary temperance, of mild and cheerful demeanour, an enemy of broils and disputes, a faithful friend, and remarkable for his punctual attendance upon religious observances." His society is stated, by the same authority, to have been "sought by all the most distinguished in the archduke's camp for nobility and virtue." If this account of his character is correct, we are to look upon this man not according to the popular notion, as a mercenary ruffian, ready for hire to perform the chief part in any tragedy of blood, but as an enthusiast whose understanding had been distorted by superstition, and in whom fanaticism had conquered the better feelings of nature. His language and conduct after the discovery of the plot are characteristic of a resolute fanatic, acting upon perverted notions of right and wrong, but by no means destitute of piety or humanity.—JARDINE.*l*]

[3 This fact was brought to light by the confessions of Winter and Fawkes, who out of the five were the only two then living. But they both acquit Gerard of having been privy to their secret. Winter says that "they five administered the oath to each other in a chamber, in which no other body was," and then went into another room to receive the sacrament.

[1604–1605 A.D.]

their purpose, and having at length, with great labour, effected a communication, and filled the cellar with gunpowder casks, it was resolved that Fawkes, the most resolute of the party, should fire the train on the 5th of November, and effect his escape, if possible, before it reached the barrels; if not, he was quite ready to die in so holy a cause. But one of them had a friend in the house of lords whom he was anxious to save. He wrote a mysterious note to Lord Monteagle, warning him not to attend the opening ceremony. Monteagle was puzzled, and showed it to others; at last it reached the king. James had a natural talent for unravelling plots; he smelled them out even where they did not exist, and had therefore no difficulty in following the scent on the present occasion. The cellars were searched, and there, gloomy and firm, they found Guy Fawkes, match in hand, watching for the expected signal.

Tortures were applied. Fawkes named his confederates, and among them people were shocked to hear of such men as the young and wealthy Sir Everard Digby, Rookwood of Coldham, and Tresham, the writer of the warning to Lord Monteagle. The conspirators had taken flight, and found their way to Warwickshire, where there was a meeting [at the Old Lion Hotel in Dunchurch] of Catholic gentlemen anxiously waiting for the event. They had collected at the house of Sir Everard Digby under pretence of a hunting party on Dunsmore Heath. The first glance at Rookwood's face revealed the dreadful truth. They were all doomed men, and must fly for their lives. The meeting dispersed, and Catesby, Digby, and four or five more took horse and made for Wales, where they expected the Catholics to rise. They were followed by the sheriff and his men. The house they were in—Holbach House in Staffordshire—was surrounded. Preferring immediate death to the lingering agonies of an execution, they presented themselves to their besiegers at the windows, and were shot. Some few appeared, sword in hand, at the door, and the house was set on fire. Rookwood, severely wounded, Digby, Littleton, and Winter were taken prisoners and carried to London, Tresham was arrested in the city, and the plot was at an end.



THE OLD LION HOTEL, DUNCHURCH, WARWICK

Priests, and particularly the Jesuits Garnett and Greenway, were suspected of guilty knowledge, if not of more; but the faithfulness of all except Tresham, and Bates, the servant of Catesby—the only one of ignoble blood concerned in the plan—was proof against every means used to make them implicate their spiritual guides. The traitors confessed the priests' participation in this and other treasons, the weight, however, of Tresham's revelation being

diminished by a retractation of it on his death-bed a few days after; but enough was proved to embitter a hundredfold the national enmity to the old religion. Even the Puritans, subdued and persecuted themselves, urged on more furious laws against the Catholics. The tortured death of all the survivors did not awaken the pity of a single Protestant heart; the crime was too great, the meditated slaughter too remorseless, and the consequences of success in their plans too appalling, to permit any sentiment but horror; and even the merit they claimed as zealous and obedient sons of the only true church was an addition to the hatefulness of their crime.

The king and parliament were therefore left at liberty, as far as public opinion went, to trample on the Catholics as they chose. Parliament accordingly passed sanguinary laws against the preachers of murder and rebellion, and James imposed fines upon the wealthy Romanists, to the great enlargement of his income. He levied a penalty on the earl of Northumberland of thirty thousand pounds, principally because he was chief of the family to which Percy, the conspirator, belonged; and having enriched himself with the spoil, and claimed all the glory of discovering the plot, he ordered a form of prayer and thanksgiving for his providential escape, which defaced the prayer-book by blasphemy and injustice for two hundred and fifty-four years, having only been authoritatively disused in 1859. There was great interest felt in the examination of Garnett, the Jesuit, as he was expected to make revelations compromising many who were still unsuspected. His talents and acquirements also made him a peculiar object of curiosity, and his "skill of fence" at his trial, though it could not save him from the savage insolence of Coke, gained him the admiration of the king. He was condemned and executed with several other Catholics, clerical and lay, and the Roman church took its usual revenge by converting a victim of the law into a martyr of the faith. Garnett was canonised as a saint.[e]

THE NEW PENAL CODE AGAINST THE CATHOLICS

After a long succession of debates, conferences, and amendments, the new code received the royal assent, May 27th, 1606. It repealed none of the laws then in force, but added to their severity by two new bills, containing more than seventy articles, inflicting penalties on the Catholics in all their several capacities of masters, servants, husbands, parents, children, heirs, executors, patrons, barristers, and physicians. (1) Catholic recusants were forbidden, under particular penalties, to appear at court, to dwell within the boundaries, or ten miles of the boundaries, of the city of London, or to remove on any occasion more than five miles from their homes, without a special license under the signatures of four neighbouring magistrates. (2) They were made incapable of practising in surgery or physic, or in the common or civil law; of acting as judges, clerks, or officers in any court or corporation; of presenting to the livings, schools, or hospitals in their gift; or of performing the offices of administrators, executors, or guardians. (3) Husbands and wives, unless they had been married by a Protestant minister, were made to forfeit every benefit to which he or she might otherwise be entitled from the property of the other; unless their children were baptised by a Protestant minister within a month after the birth, each omission subjected them to a fine of one hundred pounds; and if, after death, they were not buried in a Protestant cemetery, their executors were liable to pay for each corpse the sum of twenty pounds. (4) Every child sent for education beyond the sea was

from that moment debarred from taking any benefit by devise, descent, or gift, until he should return and conform to the established church, all such benefit being assigned by law to the Protestant next of kin. (5) Every recusant was placed in the same situation as if he had been excommunicated by name; his house might be searched, his books and furniture, having or thought to have any relation to his worship or religion, might be burned, and his horses and arms might be taken from him at any time by order of the neighbouring magistrates. (6) All the existing penalties for absence from church were continued.

But two improvements were added: (1) It was made optional in the king whether he would take the fine of twenty pounds per lunar month, or in lieu of it all the personal and two-thirds of the real estate; and (2) every householder, of whatever religion, receiving Catholic visitors, or keeping Catholic servants, was liable to pay for each individual ten pounds per lunar month. The first of these two enactments led to an additional and perhaps unintended grievance. Hitherto the power reserved to the king of entering into possession of two-thirds of a recusant's lands could be exercised only in punishment of his default by the non-payment of the fine of twenty pounds per month; but now that it had become optional on the king's part, at any time, whether the fines had been paid or not, the royal favourites were not slow to discover the benefit which it might enable them to derive from the indulgence of the sovereign. They prevailed on James to make over to them a certain number of the most opulent recusants, who, to prevent the two-thirds of their lands from being seized at the suit of the crown, would deem it advisable to compound with the grantees, whatever sacrifices such composition might cost them.

But that which effectually broke the power of the Catholic body in England, by dividing them into two parties marshalled against each other, was the enactment of a new oath of allegiance, for the avowed purpose of drawing a distinction between those Catholics who denied and those who admitted the temporal pretensions of the pontiff. The former, who it was supposed would take the oath, were made liable by law to no other penalties than those which have been enumerated; the latter were subjected to perpetual imprisonment, and the forfeiture of their personal property and of the rents of their lands during life; or, if they were married women, to imprisonment in the common jail until they should repent of their obstinacy and submit to take the oath. When these enactments were published, they excited surprise and dismay. The French ambassador pronounced them characteristic of barbarians rather than Christians; the lords of the council, ashamed of their own work, deliberated on expedients to mitigate their severity; and many Catholics, alarmed at the prospect before them, bade adieu to their native country, while those who remained animated each other to forfeit their liberty, property, and lives, rather than forsake their religion.

COURT LIFE UNDER JAMES

When James prorogued the parliament in 1606 he had been more than three years on the throne, and yet had made no progress in the esteem, had acquired no place in the affections of his English subjects. It was in vain that he sought by speeches and proclamations to earn the reputation of political wisdom; his inattention to business and his love of dissipation provoked remonstrances and complaints. Twice in the week the king of England devoted

his time to the amusements of the cockpit;[1] day after day the chase kept him on horseback from the dawn till the evening; and the fatigue of the chase was always relieved by the pleasures of the table, in which he frequently indulged to excess. The consequence was that questions of great national importance were suffered to remain unnoticed; and not only foreign ambassadors, but even his own ministers were occasionally debarred, during weeks together, from all access to the royal presence. On their knees they prayed him to give more attention to the public business; anonymous writers admonished him of his duty by letters; the players held up his foibles to ridicule on the stage; but the king was not to be moved. He replied that he did not intend to make himself a slave; that his health, which "was the health and welfare of them all," required exercise and relaxation; and that he would rather retrace his steps to Scotland than consent to be immured in his closet or chained to the council-table.[2]

His consort, Anne of Denmark, had brought with her as her dower the Shetlands and the Orkneys, which for the last century had been pawned to the crown of Scotland. This princess could boast of some pretensions to beauty, to which she added considerable abilities and spirit. She hesitated not to avow her contempt for the weakness of the king, and on some occasions presumed even to dispute the royal authority. To display to advantage the grace of her person and the richness of her dress, to shine the first among her ladies in a succession of balls and masks, became her principal study. No expense, no decoration, was spared to give splendour to these entertainments; the first poets of the age were employed to compose the speeches, the first artists to frame the machinery; and Anne herself, with her favourite attendants, surprised and delighted the court by appearing successively in the disguise of a goddess or a nereid, of a Turkish sultana or an Indian princess. There was, however, one drawback from the pleasure of such exhibitions, which will hardly be anticipated by the reader. Inebriety at this period was not confined to the male sex, and on some occasions females of the highest distinction, who had spent weeks in the study of their respective parts, presented themselves to the spectators in a state of the most disgusting intoxication.

James had scarcely recovered from the panic excited by the gunpowder treason when he was alarmed by an insurrection in the very heart of the kingdom. It was provoked by the rapacity of the lords of manors, who had enclosed for their own use large parcels of lands which had hitherto been common, and had thus diminished the usual means of subsistence to their poorer tenants. The practice was begun by those who, having obtained church lands during the Reformation, sought to make the most of their new possessions; and it had been continued to the reign of James, in defiance of popular tumults, legislative enactments, and royal proclamations. There was no grievance which the people felt more keenly, or which they were more disposed to redress by open violence. Suddenly lawless assemblages of men, women, and children were observed in the three counties of Northampton,

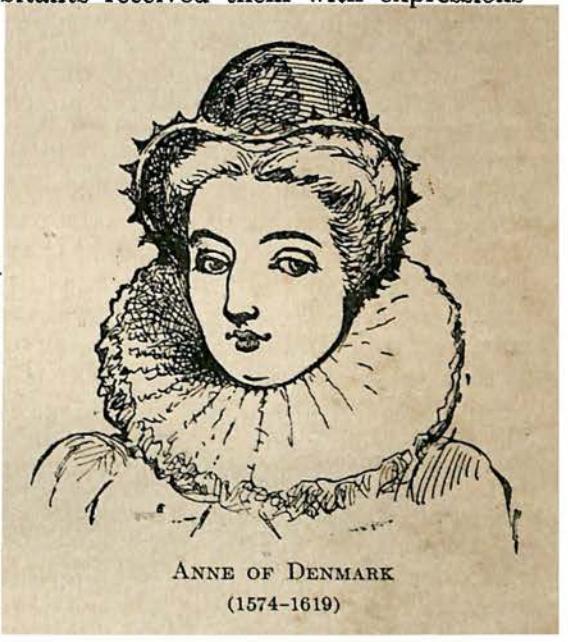
[1] The fee of the master of the cocks, two hundred pounds per annum, was equal to the united salaries of two secretaries of state.

[2] The players represented him in his passion, sometimes cursing his hounds and falcons, sometimes striking his servants, and drinking to intoxication at least once a day.—BODERIE.[m] On one occasion the king's favourite dog Jowler, which had been lost, returned with the following letter tied to his neck: "Good Mr. Jowler, we pray you speak to the king (for he hears you every day, and so doth he not us), that it will please his majestie to go back to London, for els the contry wil be undoon: all our provision is spent already, and we are not able to intertayne him longer."—LODGE.[n]

[1607 A.D.]

Warwick, and Leicester, May 15th. They seldom amounted to less than one thousand men; at Hill Norton, the former estate of Francis Tresham, they reached to three thousand, at Cottesbich to five thousand. They appeared to be under the guidance of certain unknown persons, who were never seen in public without masks; Reynolds, the avowed leader, took the name of Captain Pouch, from an enormous pouch which he carried on one side. This man was an impostor or an enthusiast. He pretended to act under the inspiration of God and with the license of the king; he pronounced himself invulnerable, and declared that he carried in his pouch a spell which would insure success to his followers. He strictly forbade them to use profane words, to employ personal violence, or to perform any illegal act, which was not necessary for the abatement of the new enclosures. They faithfully obeyed his orders.

The park walls were demolished, fences levelled, and dikes filled up. Wherever the rioters appeared the inhabitants received them with expressions of joy, and through fear or affection supplied them with tools and provisions. If any gentleman ventured to remonstrate, he was immediately placed among the labourers and compelled to join in the work of demolition. The insurgents were commanded by proclamation, May 27th, to disperse; but they maintained that their occupation was lawful. Several bodies of horse were gradually formed; they hastened to the disturbed districts and traversed them in every direction, charging, routing, and slaying the insurgents wherever they attempted to make resistance. To the commissioners appointed to punish the guilty, James recommended moderation and pity. Captain Pouch and his chief associates suffered as traitors, because they had appeared in arms against the king; several of his followers as felons, because they had not dispersed at the reading of the proclamation.



ANNE OF DENMARK
(1574–1619)

In the estimation of thinking men the ministers were not less culpable than their sovereign. If he displayed no solicitude to establish himself in the affections of his English subjects, they were thought too willing to indulge him in that indolence and dissipation which transferred to them in a great measure the government of the kingdom. The chief among them were Cecil (who in 1604 had been created Viscount Cranborne, and in the next year earl of Salisbury) and Henry Howard, earl of Northampton, who, from sworn brothers and associates, had at last become rivals in the pursuit of wealth and power. But it was not long before Salisbury secured the ascendancy. His slow and cautious policy, the fertility with which he invented expedients to disguise his own projects, and the sagacity with which he discovered the real or imaginary designs of foreign courts, endeared him to the timid and suspicious disposition of James, and the familiar appellation of "my little beagle" proved the high place which he held in the estimation of the sporting monarch.

EFFORT AT UNION OF ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND

Among the projects which James had formed there was one upon which he had set his heart, but in which he was strongly opposed by the prejudices of his subjects of both nations. His accession had given to England and Scotland the same head; he wished to unite them in one body. Their obedience to a common sovereign had removed the ancient causes of hostility; but the king looked to a more perfect incorporation, which should communicate to all his subjects the same rights, and should make them all amenable to the same laws. It was a magnificent but a premature and therefore an imprudent design. The name of union was received with horror by the Scots, who associated with the sound the idea of national subjection; by the English with scorn, as an invitation given to their poorer neighbours to descend from their mountains and fatten on the good things of the land. The liberality of the king to his Scottish followers had created a strong prejudice against any measure which might draw more of his countrymen into England; and the pretensions of the Scottish nobility to take precedence according to the antiquity of their titles had alarmed the pride of many among the English peers who belonged to new families, the descendants of men ennobled since the Reformation.

By the English parliament the king's proposal was received with coldness, by the Scottish with aversion; nor could the prayer of James obtain from the former nor his threats extort from the latter anything more than the appointment of commissioners to meet and deliberate on the question. These, after several conferences, agreed December 2nd, 1607, that all hostile laws between the two kingdoms ought to be repealed; that the border courts and customs should be abolished; that there should be free intercourse of trade throughout the king's dominions, and that the subjects of each should be naturalised in the other. Though these propositions did not equal the expectations of James, he was content to accept them as a foundation for the superstructure which he meditated, and therefore assumed by proclamation the new style of king of Great Britain.[1] When, however, they were laid before the parliament, the first two only were adopted. The king addressed the commons by letter; he harangued them in person; he detailed the advantages of the proposed measures; he answered their objections; he assured them of his equal attachment to his subjects of each nation. But his eloquence was poured in vain; it only provoked angry discussions, in which his own conduct was not spared, and the foulest aspersions were thrown on the national character of his countrymen. Such language exasperated the pride of the Scots; they scorned a benefit which was grudged to them by the jealousy of their opponents; and the inflexible hostility of the two people compelled the king to withdraw his favourite question from the consideration of either parliament.

He had, however, the means of establishing the naturalisation of all his subjects in both kingdoms by a decision in the courts of law. During the conferences several of the judges had given their opinion that all persons born under the king's obedience[2] were by that very circumstance naturalised in

[1 James I was very fond of calling himself "king of Great Britain," a geographical description which reminds one of Canute's "king of all England." And the same style was freely used by his successors. But the kingdom of Great Britain did not really begin till Anne's Act of Union. The more accurate though rarer style of the Stuarts is "king of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland."—GARDINER.]

[2 From being born after his accession they were called the *Post-nati*.]

all places under his dominion at the time of their birth; a doctrine most important in its consequences; for, though it excluded the generation in existence at his accession, yet it comprehended all that followed it, and would of course confer in a few years the benefit of naturalisation on all the natives of both countries. James was careful to inculcate this doctrine in the proclamation by which he assumed his new title, and it was supported by ten out of eleven judges who were consulted by the house of lords. But the commons refused to submit to their authority; and, to bring the question to an issue, two suits, one in the chancery, another in the king's bench, were instituted in the name of Robert Calvin, a native of Scotland, born since the death of Elizabeth. The right of the *post-nati* was thus established; though the legality of the decision remained still a question amongst the most eminent lawyers, many of whom contended that the opinion of the judges had been influenced by the wishes of the sovereign.[k]

CROWN VS. COMMONS

It is most probable, as experience had indicated, that a demonstration of displeasure from Elizabeth, such as James had shown, would have insured the repentant submission of the commons. But within a few years of the most unbroken tranquillity there had been one of those changes of popular feeling which a government is seldom observant enough to watch. Two springs had kept in play the machine of her administration: affection and fear; attachment arising from the sense of dangers endured and glory achieved for her people, tempered, though not subdued, by the dread of her stern courage and vindictive rigour. For James not a particle of loyal affection lived in the hearts of the nation, while his easy and pusillanimous though choleric disposition had gradually diminished those sentiments of apprehension which royal frowns used to excite. The commons, after some angry speeches, resolved to make known to the king, through the speaker, their desire that he would listen to no private reports, but take his information of the house's meaning from themselves; that he would give leave to such persons as he had blamed for their speeches to clear themselves in his hearing; and that he would by some gracious message make known his intention that they should deliver their opinions with full liberty and without fear.

The speaker next day communicated a slight but civil answer he had received from the king, importing his wish to preserve their privileges, especially that of liberty of speech. This, however, did not prevent his sending a message a few days afterwards, commenting on their debates, and on some clauses they had introduced into the bill for the abolition of all hostile laws. And a petition having been prepared by a committee under the house's direction for better execution of the laws against recusants, the speaker, on its being moved that the petition be read, said that his majesty had taken notice of the petition as a thing belonging to himself, concerning which it was needless to press him. This interference provoked some members to resent it as an infringement of their liberties. The speaker replied that there were many precedents in the late queen's time where she had restrained the house from meddling in politics of divers kinds. This, as a matter of fact, was too notorious to be denied. A motion was made for a committee "to search for precedents of ancient as well as later times that do concern any messages from the sovereign magistrate, king or queen of this realm, touching petitions offered to the house of commons." The king now interposed by a second message, that, though the petition were such as the like had not been read in the house, and

contained matter whereof the house could not properly take knowledge, yet, if they thought good to have it read, he was not against the reading. And the commons were so well satisfied with this concession that no further proceedings were had; and the petition, says the Journal, was at length, with general liking, agreed to sleep. It contained some strong remonstrances against ecclesiastical abuses, and in favour of the deprived and silenced Puritans, but such as the house had often before in various modes brought forward.

The ministry betrayed, in a still more pointed manner, their jealousy of any interference on the part of the commons with the conduct of public affairs in a business of a different nature. The pacification concluded with Spain in 1604, very much against the general wish,[1] had neither removed all grounds of dispute between the governments, nor allayed the dislike of the nations. Spain advanced in that age the most preposterous claims to an exclusive navigation beyond the tropic, and to the sole possession of the American continent; while the English merchants, mindful of the lucrative adventures of the queen's reign, could not be restrained from trespassing on the rich harvest of the Indies by contraband and sometimes piratical voyages. These conflicting interests led of course to mutual complaints of maritime tyranny and fraud; neither likely to be ill-founded, where the one party was as much distinguished for the despotic exercise of vast power as the other by boldness and cupidity.

It was the prevailing bias of the king's temper to keep on friendly terms with Spain, or rather to court her with undisguised and impolitic partiality. But this so much thwarted the prejudices of his subjects, that no part, perhaps, of his administration had such a disadvantageous effect on his popularity. The merchants presented to the commons, in the session of 1607, a petition upon the grievances they sustained from Spain, entering into such a detail of alleged cruelties as was likely to exasperate that assembly. Nothing, however, was done for a considerable time, when, after receiving the report of a committee on the subject, the house prayed a conference with the lords. They, who acted in this and the preceding session as the mere agents of government, intimated in their reply that they thought it an unusual matter for the commons to enter upon, and took time to consider about a conference. After some delay this was granted, and Sir Francis Bacon reported its result to the lower house. The earl of Salisbury managed the conference on the part of the lords. The tenor of his speech, as reported by Bacon, is very remarkable. After discussing the merits of the petition, and considerably extenuating the wrongs imputed to Spain, he adverted to the circumstance of its being presented to the commons.

The crown of England was invested, he said, with an absolute power of peace and war; and inferred, from a series of precedents which he vouched, that petitions made in parliament, intermeddling with such matters, had gained little success; that great inconveniences must follow from the public debate of a king's designs, which, if they take wind, must be frustrated; and that, if parliaments have ever been made acquainted with matter of peace or war in a general way, it was either when the king and council conceived that it was material to have some declaration of the zeal and affection of the people, or else when they needed money for the charge of a war, in which case

[1] James entertained the strange notion that the war with Spain ceased by his accession to the throne. By a proclamation dated June 23rd, 1603, he permits his subjects to keep such ships as had been captured by them before the 24th of April, but orders all taken since to be restored to the owners.—RYMER. He had been used to call the Dutch rebels, and was probably kept with difficulty by Cecil from displaying his partiality still more outrageously.

they should be sure enough to hear of it; that the lords would make a good construction of the commons' desire, that it sprang from a forwardness to assist his majesty's future resolutions, rather than a determination to do that wrong to his supreme power which haply might appear to those who were prone to draw evil inferences from their proceedings. The commons seem to have acquiesced in this rather contemptuous treatment. Several precedents indeed might have been opposed to those of the earl of Salisbury, wherein the commons, especially under Richard II and Henry VI, had assumed a right of advising on matters of peace and war. But the more recent usage of the constitution did not warrant such an interference. It was, however, rather a bold assertion that they were not the proper channel through which public grievances, or those of so large a portion of the community as the merchants, ought to be represented to the throne.

During the interval of two years and a half that elapsed before the commencement of the next session a decision had occurred in the court of exchequer which threatened the entire overthrow of the constitution. It had always been deemed the indispensable characteristic of a limited monarchy, however irregular and inconsistent might be the exercise of some prerogatives, that no money could be raised from the subject without the consent of the estates. This essential principle was settled in England, after much contention, by the statute entitled Confirmatio Chartarum, in the twenty-fifth year of Edward I. More comprehensive and specific in its expression than the Magna Charta of John, it abolishes all "aids, tasks, and prises, unless by the common assent of the realm, and for the common profit thereof, saving the ancient aids and prises due and accustomed"; the king explicitly renouncing the custom he had lately set on wool.

Henry VII, the most rapacious, and Henry VIII, the most despotic of English monarchs, did not presume to violate this acknowledged right. The first who had again recourse to this means of enhancing the revenue was Mary, who in the year 1557 set a duty upon cloths exported beyond seas, and afterwards another on the importation of French wines. The former of those was probably defended by arguing that there was already a duty on wool; and if cloth, which was wool manufactured, could pass free, there would be a fraud on the revenue. The merchants, however, did not acquiesce in this arbitrary imposition, and as soon as Elizabeth's accession gave hopes of a restoration of English government they petitioned to be released from this burden. The administration, however, would not release this duty, which continued to be paid under Elizabeth. She also imposed one upon sweet wines. We read of no complaint in parliament against this novel taxation; but it is alluded to by Bacon, in one of his tracts during the queen's reign, as a grievance alleged by her enemies. He defends it as laid only on a foreign merchandise, and a delicacy which might be forborne.

James had imposed a duty of five shillings per hundredweight on currants, over and above that of two shillings and sixpence, which was granted by the statute of tonnage and poundage. Bates, a Turkey merchant, having refused payment, an information was exhibited against him in the exchequer. Judgment was soon given for the crown. The courts of justice, it is hardly necessary to say, did not consist of men conscientiously impartial between the king and the subject; some corrupt with hope of promotion, many more fearful of removal, or awe-struck by the frowns of power. The speeches of the chief baron Fleming, and of the baron Clark, the only two that are preserved in Lane's *Reports*, contain propositions still worse than their decision, and wholly subversive of all liberty. "The king's power," it was said, "is double—

ordinary and absolute; and these have several laws and ends. All customs (duties so called) are the effects of foreign commerce; but all affairs of commerce and all treaties with foreign nations belong to the king's absolute power; he therefore who has power over the cause must have it also over the effect. The seaports are the king's gates, which he may open and shut to whom he pleases." The ancient customs on wine and wool are asserted to have originated in the king's absolute power, and not in a grant of parliament; a point, whether true or not, of no great importance, if it were acknowledged that many statutes had subsequently controlled this prerogative. But these judges impugned the authority of statutes derogatory to their idol. That of 45 E. 3, c. 4, that no new imposition should be laid on wool or leather, one of them maintains, did not bind the king's successors; for the right to impose such duties was a part of the crown of England, which the king could not diminish.

They extolled the king's grace in permitting the matter to be argued, commenting at the same time on the insolence shown in disputing so undeniable a claim. Nor could any judges be more peremptory in resisting an attempt to overthrow the most established precedents than were these barons of King James' exchequer in giving away those fundamental liberties which were the inheritance of every Englishman. The immediate consequence of this decision was a book of rates, published in July, 1608, under the authority of the great seal, imposing heavy duties upon almost all merchandise. But the judgment of the court of exchequer did not satisfy men jealous of the crown's encroachments. The imposition on currants had been already noticed as a grievance by the house of commons in 1606. But the king answered that the question was in a course for legal determination; and the commons themselves, which is worthy of remark, do not appear to have entertained any clear persuasion that the impost was contrary to law. In the session, however, which began in February, 1610, they had acquired new light by sifting the legal authorities, and instead of submitting their opinions to the courts of law, which were in truth little worthy of such deference, were the more provoked to remonstrate against the novel usurpation those servile men had endeavoured to prop up.

Remonstrances Against Impositions

Lawyers, as learned probably as most of the judges, were not wanting in their ranks. The illegality of impositions was shown in two elaborate speeches by Hakewill and Yelverton. And the country gentlemen, who, though less deeply versed in precedents, had too good sense not to discern that the next step would be to levy taxes on their lands, were delighted to find that there had been an old English constitution, not yet abrogated, which would bear them out in their opposition. When the king therefore had intimated by a message, and afterwards in a speech, his command not to enter on the subject, couched in that arrogant tone of despotism which this absurd prince affected, they presented a strong remonstrance against this inhibition; claiming "as an ancient, general, and undoubted right of parliament to debate freely all matters which do properly concern the subject; which freedom of debate being once foreclosed, the essence of the liberty of parliament is withal dissolved. For the judgment given by the exchequer, they take not on them to review it, but desire to know the reasons whereon it was grounded; especially as it was generally apprehended that the reasons of that judgment extended much farther, even to the utter ruin of the ancient liberty of this kingdom, and of the subjects' right of property in their lands and goods."[h]

FIRST SETTLEMENT OF VIRGINIA

The commerce of the country had become an important source of its wealth; and if the king could tax merchandise without the consent of parliament, the one great restraint upon despotic power would soon be swept away. At this period there were two events connected with commerce far more important to the England of the future than in their immediate consequences, which require especial notice: the colonisation of North America, and the charter to the East India Company. The attempts to colonise North America in the time of Elizabeth had been failures. The adventurers were generally men unaccustomed to labour, and they went to lands where they believed that the fruits of the earth would merely require gathering, as in the golden age, to find that starvation could only be averted by the most incessant toil. Roanoke, the island which Grenville planted under the auspices of Raleigh, had been deserted in 1590; and whether the few colonists had perished, or had been received amongst the friendly Indian tribes, was always uncertain, although Raleigh had never lost hope of discovering them, whilst he could reward any mariners for the search. He had spent, it is said, £40,000 in his noble efforts to plant an English colony on the northern coasts of the New World. He was a state prisoner; he was defrauded of his property by his rapacious sovereign; he was filling his declining years with high contemplation instead of heroic action. But the example of his perseverance survived his misfortunes.

The colonisation of North America was still the hope of generous statesmen and bold mariners. Voyage after voyage was undertaken. Bartholomew Gosnold, having been the first to cross the Atlantic by a direct course in 1602, discovered the promontory to which he gave no dignified name, Cape Cod, and he laid the foundation of the first New England colony on Elizabeth island. Martin Pring, in 1603, surveyed the coast of Maine. George Weymouth, in 1605, ascended the western branch of the Penobscot. The undying spirit of enterprise which Raleigh had first fostered received at length some encouragement from the government. In 1606 James granted the first charters for colonising North America to a London company, and to a Plymouth company. That same year the London or South Virginia Company sent out three ships, with one hundred and five men who were to remain as settlers. The sagacity of Raleigh had pointed out the Chesapeake Bay as a favourable place of settlement. A storm drove these adventurers into that magnificent anchorage. The two headlands were named Cape Henry and Cape Charles; and having ascended a fine river which they named after their king, they planted their colony in a pleasant spot and called it Jamestown.

Newport, the commander of the ships, and John Smith, a man whose name will be ever associated with the colonisation of America, ascended the James River and saw the Indian chieftain Powhatan. The savages were hostile to the strangers; "the emperor of the country," as Powhatan was styled, protected them. But gradually the colonists, unused to manual labour, perished of want and disease. Newport left for England. Some of the leaders had serious contentions. The evil destiny of Roanoke seemed to be coming on Jamestown. But Smith, who was endowed with many of the high qualities of the Elizabethan age, rallied the hopes of the dispirited and calmed the jealousies of the quarrelsome. His fortitude never failed. He restored order, and again went forth in the summer of 1608 for new discoveries. A second body of emigrants came to join the Virginian colony. The London Company required that the ship which brought them should return with gold,

or laden with commodities. The settlers had accomplished no accumulations. It had been difficult to preserve their own existence. The company, with the same ignorance of colonial organisation which prevailed for two centuries, had thought that the unskilled and the idle, who would starve at home, might prosper in another hemisphere. Smith wrote to the corporation that when they sent again they should rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and even diggers up of the roots of trees, than a thousand such as had last come out. But still the energy of the man triumphed. He taught the gentlemen the use of the axe and the spade, and industry slowly achieved its rewards. A new charter was granted in 1609.

The rage for emigration extended. Other ships arrived, with men of broken fortunes and dissolute gallants. Smith still maintained his authority over the useless members of the community. But he was disabled by an accident, and he returned impoverished and enfeebled to England. When he left, there were four hundred and ninety persons in the colony. In six months they were reduced by their idleness and their excesses to sixty. The settlement was about to be abandoned when, in 1610, a new body of emigrants arrived under the leadership of Lord Delawarr, who had been appointed governor of Virginia. There was again a glimmering of prosperity; but ill-health compelled the return of the wise governor to England. In 1611 the council at home exerted itself to prevent the great scheme of American colonisation from utterly failing; and six ships, with three hundred emigrants and abundant supplies, arrived at Jamestown, under Sir Thomas Gates. A distribution of land to each emigrant as his private property gave a new stimulus to industry. The Virginian colony went on to prosper. Its members found more certain riches than mines of gold in the cultivation of tobacco. Their prosperity was confirmed by their free institutions. In 1621 they obtained a representative constitution, in which the object of government was declared to be "the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression."

Such were the vicissitudes which attended the first settlement of the Anglo-Saxon race on the North American continent. There was another colony formed fourteen years later, whose planters went to their task in a solemn spirit. The congregation of separatists from the church of England, who with their pastor, John Robinson, had become exiles in Holland in 1608, had thought much of the settlements in North America.[1] They had obtained a patent from the London Company, and they obtained funds, on very hard terms, from London merchants. They purchased the Speedwell, a vessel of forty tons, and hired the Mayflower, of a hundred and eighty tons. On the 22nd of July, 1620, having left some of the brethren at Leyden, they embarked at Delfshaven. Robinson, their pastor, did not accompany them, but he knelt on the shore as the emigrants ascended the decks of the Mayflower and gave them his blessings and his prayers. This event, so insignificant as it must have seemed at the time, so all-important in the real history of England, now forms the subject of a fresco in the house of lords. After a long and stormy voyage, the Pilgrim Fathers, as they are now affectionately called, reached Massachusetts Bay, at a spot which they afterwards determined to call Plymouth. As Bancroft says: "A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions."

[1 The details of the history of these Pilgrims will be found in the history of Holland, and in the history of the American colonies in Volume xxii.]

CHARTER OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

On the last day of the sixteenth century a charter was granted by Queen Elizabeth to a body of adventurers, styled the Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading to the East Indies. This charter was limited, in its exclusive liberty of trading, to the term of fifteen years, and was to be renewed if the privileges so granted were not found "prejudicial or hurtful to this our realm." A direct commercial intercourse with India had been previously carried on by the Turkey Company; but the maritime trade had been in the possession first of the Portuguese and afterwards of the Dutch. The English could not compete with these rivals, whilst the merchandise in which they trafficked was burdened with the heavier cost of an overland route. The trade of England with the East Indies was henceforth to be carried on by sea. During the reign of Elizabeth the success of the new company was very doubtful. Their privileges were invaded by James at the beginning of his reign. But in 1609 their charter was renewed without limitation of time; several voyages were attended with large profits; and in 1612 the Englishman planted his foot in India,[1] having obtained permission from the Great Mogul to establish a factory at Surat.[d]

AFFAIRS OF IRELAND AND SCOTLAND

One of the most important national events of the reign was the colonisation of the north of Ireland. On the suppression of the rebellion of the Desmonds in the late reign, their immense territories had become forfeit to the crown. A plan of colonisation was adopted, and the lands were parcelled out among undertakers (as they were named) at low rents. The grants, however, were too large and the conditions were not duly complied with; so that though Munster thus received a large accession of English blood (the stock of its nobility and gentry of the present day), the experiment was a failure. After the accession of James, the great northern chieftains O'Neil and O'Donnell fled to Spain, and their territories, amounting to half a million of acres, fell to the crown. The king and Bacon then devised a system of colonisation which was carried into effect by Sir Arthur Chichester, the lord deputy. The grants were to be in three classes of two thousand, fifteen hundred, and one thousand acres. Those who obtained the first were to build a castle and a bawn, or strong court-yard; the next a house of stone or brick and a bawn; the third a bawn only. They were all bound to plant on their lands, in certain proportions, able-bodied men of English or Lowland-Scottish birth, who were to live in villages and not dispersedly. A portion of these lands was also granted to the native Irish. This was a noble plan; and though, like everything designed for the benefit of that unhappy country, the cupidity and injustice of those who sought their profit in oppressing the natives prevented its attaining its object fully, it has been productive of great and permanent benefit; and what was formerly the wildest and most barbarous part of Ireland is now that which in industry makes the nearest approach to England.

In the fifteenth year of his reign (1617) the king had revisited his native realm. The chief object of his visit was to extend his power in matters of

[1 The history of the colonisation of India will be found in Volume xxi.]

religion, and to seek to approximate the churches of England and Scotland. In this last country, between the avidity of the great lords, who had robbed the church of its landed property without shame or remorse, the fanatic spirit of the reformed preachers, and the feebleness of the crown, the ancient system of church government had been unable to keep its ground. Episcopacy had been formally abolished, and the republican form named Presbytery erected in its place. But man is still man, under all forms; and the revolters against spiritual tyranny, pious and well-intentioned as they undoubtedly were, even exceeded the pretensions of their predecessors; and since the days of Becket, Britain had witnessed no such assumptions of immunity from civil jurisdiction as were put forth by Melville, Black, and other champions of the church and opposers of the crown in Scotland. Their conduct, however, having led to a tumult in Edinburgh, in which the king ran some risk, the parliament was induced to pass a law establishing the authority of the crown over the clergy, and the king succeeded in obtaining the consent of the clergy to his appointment of fifty-one of their number to titular prelacies, who were to sit in parliament as representatives of the church. In this state of things James had succeeded to the crown of England.

In 1606 an act of the legislature restored to the bishops a part of their revenues; they were some time after made perpetual moderators of the provincial synods, and they finally (1610) regained all their original powers, the rights of ordination and spiritual jurisdiction being vested in them. When the king visited Scotland (1617) he required that some of the rites of the church of England should be adopted, such as kneeling at the eucharist, giving it to persons on their death-bed, and the practice of confirmation by a bishop. These were rejected by the first assembly which was convened, but the following year means were found for having them received, and the Scottish clergy were thus brought into a reluctant agreement with the church, which they regarded as little better than that of Rome. The state of religion in England during this reign was far from satisfactory. After the death of Archbishop Whitgift (1603) the king had conferred the primacy on Bancroft, bishop of London, a prelate distinguished by his zeal against presbytery and Puritanism. The Puritan ministers underwent the persecution of being silenced, disgraced, and imprisoned, while Bancroft lived; but his successor, Abbot, a far better man, had a leaning toward their opinions, and they now experienced favour rather than the reverse.

Hitherto the Protestants in general had held most of the opinions which are termed Calvinistic, especially on the subject of predestination, or the absolute decrees of the Deity, as it was explained in the writings of St. Augustine; but about this time the milder doctrine of the Greek fathers had been promulgated in Holland by Arminius, from whom it was henceforth named. James, who had been reared in the opposite sentiment, was quite outraged, when Vorstius, who held these opinions, was appointed to a professorship at Leyden. The states, to propitiate him, were obliged to deprive and banish their new professor; indeed, the king hinted that they might as well have committed him to the flames. Yet James himself, and a portion of the prelates and clergy, afterwards adopted the Arminian tenets. It is rather curious, that those who thus became the most strenuous asserters of the freedom of man's will were the great upholders of the doctrines of divine right and passive obedience.[1]

[1] The following anecdote is well knowr: "On the day of the dissolution of the last parliament of King James I, Edmund Waller, out of curiosity or respect, went to see the king at dinner, with whom were Andrewes, the bishop of Winchester, and Neile, the bishop of Dur-

[1610 A.D.]

The liberties of England owe so much to the Puritans that one feels little inclined to dwell on their errors; but justice requires that they should appear in their true colours, and not be suffered to make a monopoly, as it were, of virtue and goodness. In piety and in moral conduct they were, taken on the whole, superior to their opponents; but they were harsh and morose, inquisitorial and censorious, absurdly scrupulous about trifles, and the enemies of all pleasure and innocent recreation. The modes, however, of opposing them that were employed were injudicious. The persecution of them was of a kind calculated rather to annoy and irritate than to suppress, and the publication of the *Book of Sports*, though well intended, did more harm than good. The following was the occasion of it: The Puritans had been gradually converting the Christian Lord's Day into a Judaical Sabbath—not, we may observe, the Sabbath of the Mosaic law, in which, as at all their festivals, the people of Israel were "to rejoice before the Lord," but a gloomy, sullen day of hearing sermons and shunning all innocent recreations; and this, in their usual arbitrary spirit, they would have forced on all, whatever their opinions might be.

The Catholics naturally took occasion to censure the reformed religion for this gloom and morosity, and the king and his clerical advisers thinking differently from the Puritans on the subject, a proclamation was issued, forbidding anyone to prevent the people from having, after divine service, dancing, archery, leaping, vaulting, and other manly and harmless recreations, as also May-poles, May-games, Whitsun-ales, and morris-dances. Bull-baiting, bear-baiting, interludes, and bowls were prohibited. No recusant, however, was to have the benefit of this liberty, which was confined to those who had attended divine service that day. The *Book of Sports*, as it was termed, was ordered to be read out in the churches, but Primate Abbot forbade it to be read in his presence at Croydon, and it only served to give the Puritans an occasion of representing their opponents as being totally devoid of religion.

The houses of commons during this reign were deeply pervaded by the Puritanical spirit,[1] a proof of its prevalence throughout the nation. Hence with their zeal for repressing the abuses of the prerogative and securing the liberties of the people were joined an anxiety for the persecution of the Catholics and a continued effort to extend the rigid principles of their party.[i]

THE GREAT CONTRACT; DISSOLUTION OF PARLIAMENT

The strong remonstrance of the house of commons, in 1610, against impositions upon merchandise, was not a solitary act of public spirit. They had stood up, session after session, to protest against the theories of the king that he was absolute, and to make him comprehend that there was a power supe-

ham, standing behind his majesty's chair. There happened something very extraordinary in the conversation these prelates had with the king, on which Waller did often reflect. His majesty asked the bishops, 'My lords, cannot I take my subjects' money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament?' The bishop of Durham readily answered, 'God forbid, sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils.' Whereupon the king turned and said to the bishop of Winchester, 'Well, my lord, what say you?' 'Sir,' replied the bishop, 'I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases.' The king answered, 'No put-offs, my lord.' 'Then, sir,' said he, 'I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neile's money, for he offers it.' Waller said the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the king."

[1] When in 1621 a bill was brought into the commons for the more strict observance of the Sabbath, Shepherd opposed it; he objected to the word Sabbath, justified dancing on that day by the example of King David, and was for allowing sports on it. For this boldness he was, on the motion of Pym, expelled the house! Such were Puritanical notions of freedom of speech.

rior to his arbitrary will. He had issued proclamations which assumed the character of laws; and they told him it was "the indubitable right of the people of this kingdom not to be made subject to any punishment that shall extend to their lives, lands, bodies, or goods, other than such as are ordained by the common laws of this land, or the statutes made by their common consent in parliament." Whenever the king wanted a subsidy, the commons immediately preferred a petition for redress of grievances. Cecil had a scheme for making the crown to a great extent independent of parliament, by proposing that a fixed annual revenue of £200,000 should be granted, on condition that the king should give up the right of purveyance, and the various profits derived from wardships and other branches of ancient prerogative. The session of 1610 was chiefly employed in negotiations for this object, which was termed "the great contract with his majesty"; but nothing had been settled when parliament was prorogued in July. When parliament met again in October, the commons were out of humour. Not a grievance had been redressed, although a temporary subsidy had been granted in the expectation that some of the evils of which they had complained would have been removed or mitigated. In November James had become tired of the word grievance. He would dissolve parliament. He had been patient, but "he cannot have asinine patience." He was for punishing those members who had uttered offensive speeches, some of which he thought amounted nearly to treason. The parliament was dissolved on the 9th of February, 1611, after having sat nearly seven years.

England had now no foreign policy but that of an almost ignominious neutrality. The cause of Protestantism in Europe, which was at the same time the cause of civil liberty, had lost its great leader when Elizabeth died. The son of Mary Stuart had no opinions but those which resulted from his cowardice or his selfishness. When the reforming ministers lectured him in Scotland, he favoured the papists. Whilst the terrors of the Gunpowder Plot were uppermost in his mind, he was as staunch a Protestant as the sternest Puritan in his parliament. He naturally leaned upon that party in the church of England which supported his doctrine of absolute power. In his contempt for the opinions of his subjects he thrust episcopacy upon the kirk of Scotland. For the rights of conscience he had not the slightest regard. He exhorted the states of Holland to persecute Vorstius, an Arminian professor at Leyden. In 1612 he signed a writ for the burning in Smithfield of Bartholomew Legate, an Arian, whose errors he had vainly attempted to remove by argument. This writ was not a mere formal instrument, but expressed that, the church having delivered the offender to the secular power, as a blasphemous heretic, the king, "as a zealot of justice and a defender of the Catholic faith, and willing to maintain and defend the holy church and the rights and liberties of the same," holds that the said Bartholomew Legate "ought to be burned with fire." One other atrocity of the same kind was committed [the burning of Edward Wightman]—the last of such barbarities[1] which England witnessed.

To the "religious" King James is our present translation of the Bible dedicated. That translation was an excellent work, and it was right to dedicate it to the sovereign who had encouraged the undertaking. But it was in

[1] It seems strange to us that not a word was uttered against this horrible cruelty. When, a few years afterwards, a Spanish Arian was convicted of heresy, he was allowed to linger out the rest of his life in prison. This was bad enough, but it was at least a step in advance. Since the judicial murder of Wightman no such atrocity has disgraced the soil of England.—GARDINER.

the spirit of that dangerous adulation which hid realities from James, as they were hidden from his successor, that he was told in this dedication that his conduct in going forward "with the confidence and resolution of a man in maintaining the truth of Christ, and propagating it far and near, is that which hath so bound and firmly knit the hearts of all your majesty's loyal and religious people unto you, that your very name is precious amongst them; their eye doth behold you with comfort, and they bless you in their hearts as that sanctified person who, under God, is the immediate author of their true happiness." It might be supposed, the king being herein called "the mover and author of this work," that the Bible had not been previously known in England. The translation of 1611 was founded upon the Bishop's Bible of 1568; and that was founded upon Cranmer's Bible; which was founded upon the translations of the Old and New Testament of the earlier reformers—the Tyndale who was burned and the Wycliffe whose ashes were cast into the Avon. In such a work it was the part of true wisdom to deviate as little as possible from the text with which the people had become familiar, and which their forefathers had devoured when it was dangerous to possess it.[d]

THE REIGN OF THE FAVOURITES

Shortly after this commenced a period of favouritism and injustice, for a parallel to which we must go back to the times of Edward II and Richard II. James should have reflected on the dungeons of Berkeley and Pontefract when he devoted himself to his Carrs and Buckinghams. Carr was a Scottish adventurer, who owed his promotion to the beauty of his face and figure. He was loaded with wealth and honours, and was soon lord-chamberlain and viscount Rochester, with all the royal influence in his hands. While this unprincipled minion was fawned on by the king, the fate of the lady Arabella Stuart moved the compassion of the people. She was too near the throne, and had already played too prominent a part in Raleigh's plot to be looked on without anxiety; and when it was found that she had privately given her hand to William Seymour, second son of Lord Beauchamp, and almost her equal in rank by his descent from Mary, duchess of Suffolk, the sister of Henry VIII, the wrath of the timid genealogist knew no bounds. If a child should arise from their union combining the claims of both the parents, he was afraid his own sons, Henry and Charles, might be exposed to trouble; and to prevent so great a calamity he imprisoned the fair culprit and her husband in separate houses. By disguising in man's apparel, Arabella effected her escape June 4th, 1611; Seymour also broke away, and they had appointed a meeting-place abroad. The boat conveying Arabella was taken at sea. She was brought back, locked up, neglected, and harshly used. No interference in her favour was of any avail, and finally James rejoiced in the conclusion brought to his unfounded apprehensions by the insanity and death [after four years' imprisonment, September 27th, 1615] of a kinswoman as beautiful and as unfortunate as his mother herself had been.

Henry, the prince of Wales, was of nobler qualities than either his father or brother, if the early manifestations of his character are to be believed. Brave, ambitious, and generous, he attached many friends to his person, and cast the whole nation into sorrow when he died, November 6th, 1612, in his nineteenth year—the high church party looking forward to a reign of enterprise and war from the martial tastes he showed even in his amusements, and the Puritans anticipating a reign of reform and vigour from the strong Prot-

estantism of his expressions and the regularity and sobriety of his life. In a few months after this gloomy event the princess Elizabeth was married to the prince palatine of the Rhine; and the court was saddened by the absence of so much grace and beauty, not without some misgivings of the dark fortune through which she had to pass, as the neglected daughter of England and throneless queen of Bohemia. Charles was now the hope of the nation, and the father began to look about for a fitting match for the inheritor of his crown. First, however, he was to be the go-between in a love adventure of his creature Carr, now Viscount Rochester, which leaves an indelible stain on all the parties concerned.

A dishonourable affection sprang up between Rochester and the beautiful wife of the young earl of Essex, and the ambition of the guilty woman was directed to sharing the name and fortunes of the favourite. A plea was invented against the husband in order to obtain a divorce, and the advocacy of the king was secured by a fee of £25,000. James argued and canvassed, browbeat the bishops composing the court of inquiry, and threatened Abbot, who refused his consent, with the weight of his displeasure. The majority were won over, and sentence of separation was pronounced. But Rochester had a friend of the name of Sir Thomas Overbury, who strongly dissuaded him from marrying the divorced countess; and when he confided this opposition to his bride, the evil nature of her heart was roused to madness. She vowed the death of Overbury, and before the celebration of her wedding made interest to have him imprisoned in the Tower. She attempted to bribe a good swordsman to slay him in a duel; she then took the surer way of poison, and Overbury was found dead in his room, September 15th, 1613. Meantime the king celebrated the marriage with royal pomp,[1] created Viscount Rochester earl of Somerset, and seemed to be glad of Overbury's end, as delivering him from a rival in the new earl's regard.

From the day of Overbury's death Somerset seemed a miserable man. Cold-eyed and stern-browed the guilty couple looked upon each other; and no one in the haggard and pale Somerset could have recognised the gay and graceful Carr, nor in the brazen and yet subdued partner of his crime the bright and fascinating Frances Howard. Remorse was at work, and made wreck of their happiness and beauty. Nobody, however, would whisper the dark suspicion to the king till it began to be perceived that Somerset's influence was on the wane. One day there appeared at Whitehall a youth of surpassing beauty, whose education in the highest circles of France had given a polish to his manners and motions unknown in the English court. His name was George Villiers,[2] the youngest son of a good but impoverished family in Leicestershire, and the cunning politicians who had brought him to London, and had schooled him in his behaviour on his presentation, saw that the plan was successful, and that Somerset was in their power.

Somerset and his wife were accused of the murder of Sir Thomas Overbury as soon as Villiers was installed. Their accomplices were examined and

[1 James is said to have given his favourite estates, worth a million pounds.—VON RAUMER.*q*]

[2 He was handsome and active, the most elegant dancer, the swiftest runner, etc.; he had the richest wardrobe, the greatest number of love intrigues, was the first who employed men to carry him in a chair, and the first who drove in a coach and six. He amused the king with singing, dances, *fêtes*, processions, and dramatic representations, and when more powerful incentives appeared necessary, was ready to assist in all kinds of indecent and vulgar amusements. Though in some points humbling himself, his pride was unbounded, his rapacity immoderate, and even the king was exposed to his caprice and insolence.—VON RAUMER.*q*]

[1613-1616 A.D.]

tortured. One of these, a beautiful woman of the name of Turner, was a dealer in love philtres to gain the affections; and another, Simon Forman, an astrologer, who foretold the future by the stars. The philtres had degenerated into poison, and Anne Turner was hanged; but her services had been so valuable to the leaders of fashion in that most base and depraved period that many ladies of the highest rank attended her execution in token of regard. Others of the inferior culprits underwent the same fate, and expectation was on tiptoe for the trial, in May, 1616, of the earl and countess of Somerset, by whose orders the crime had been committed. Some inexplicable reason urged the king to avoid the publicity of a legal process. He promised them pardon, life, and riches if they would only confess, and put an end to all further inquiry. But Somerset was firm, and dared the king to proceed. A compromise was at last arranged, by which the prisoners were to appear, sentence was to be pronounced, and the royal pardon instantly bestowed. [The countess pleaded guilty.] Somerset, however, took the double chance of pleading "Not guilty," but was unanimously condemned. He abstained from any attack on James, and was rewarded with a retiring allowance of £4,000 a year, spending the rest of his life in the hateful company of his accomplice and regrets for his fallen estate.[e]

CAVALIER OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

That James should have hesitated to shed the blood of persons with whom he had been on such terms of intimacy is not strange, and hardly censurable. But unfortunately there is room to suspect that this lenity was the effect of fear more than of clemency. The haughty and even menacing demeanour of Somerset, both before and after his conviction, and the mysterious terms in which he expressed his purposes of revenge; the solicitude of the king to have him assured that his life should not be taken, and to have him brought to trial in a more submissive state of mind than he had generally evinced in his present circumstances; and the character of the letters addressed to the monarch by Sir George More, the lieutenant of the Tower, on this subject—all are matters which show that Somerset was possessed of some secret which gave him a power that he was not slow to exercise over the fears of the king. It was to prevent the threatened disclosure that James promised all he could promise with any regard to decency. It should be added that there were menaces used by Overbury towards Somerset of the same nature with those now used by Somerset towards James, and the close confinement to which that person was subject

from the time of his commitment provokes the conclusion that he also was a depository of some dangerous secret, probably the same which was more successfully employed by his patron.

In what the secret of Somerset consisted a future day must disclose. That it related to some iniquitous matter is beyond doubt; nothing short of this could have produced the confidence of the one party or the apprehension of the other.[r] Spedding,[s] the biographer of Bacon, says: "And what was it then that the king had done, of which he so dreaded the discovery? This opened a wide field for conjecture. Any crime would do that was bad enough; and as there was no evidence to guide the guesser toward any one in particular, each chose the one he liked best; preference being generally given to that class of crimes which cannot be named, because in them evidence was less to be expected. With a general presumption like this against him, it would be hard for a man to get through his life without incurring suspicion of something in particular. And the king's conduct in the prosecution of this cause was found to supply some hints for the suspicious." Spedding ridicules the theory of a nameless crime, and believes that James acted normally in this matter. Many other historians, however, do not so absolve him. Gardiner[t] thinks it may have been some secret concerning the granting of Spanish pensions.[a]

In May, 1612, had died Robert Cecil, earl of Salisbury. "He was a good statesman, and no ill member of the commonwealth," says Sir Simonds d'Ewes,[t] but he died amidst "a general hate, almost of all sorts." He had left an empty treasury,[1] which he had vainly attempted to fill by his scheme for a permanent revenue. The constant manifestation of an arbitrary temper on the part of the king, "willing to wound, but yet afraid to strike," made the commons cling with great tenacity to their undoubted power of refusing supplies. Hume[f] has said, with some truth, "except during sessions of parliament, the history of this reign may more properly be called the history of the court than that of the nation." But the exception is a very considerable one. During sessions of parliament we clearly trace how the nation was growing into a power truly formidable to the arbitrary disposition of the king and the selfish indulgences of the court. The parliament which, after an interval of four years, met on the 6th of April, 1614, was called not for any purpose of general legislation, but in the expectation that by proper management it might relieve the king's necessities. Bacon, then attorney-general, Sir Henry Neville, and some others undertook to bring the commons into a gracious frame of mind, by inducing the king to relax some of his claims of prerogative, which were called grievances, and thus to obtain a liberal supply. The scheme could not be concealed, and hence these politicians obtained the name of "undertakers." [2]

The king in his opening speech protested that it was as false as it would have been unworthy of himself that he should employ "private undertakers" who "would do great matters." Bacon laughed at the notion that private men should undertake for all the commons of England. In 1621 James openly acknowledged what he had before denied. Hallam[h] points to this circumstance as showing "the rise of a systematic parliamentary influence, which

[1 Elizabeth, stingy as she was, had scarcely succeeded in making both ends meet, and James, who had the expense of providing for a family, from which Elizabeth had been free, would hardly have been able to meet his expenditure even if he had been economical. He was, however, far from economical, and had given away lands and money to his Scottish favourites.—GARDINER.[u]]

[2 The undertakers were so called because they undertook to secure the return of candidates devoted to the king's interests.]

was one day to become the mainspring of government." Hume says, "so ignorant were the commons, that they knew not this incident to be the first infallible symptom of any regular or established liberty." The commons knew better than the historian, that, whatever might have been attempted under despotic princes, there was an ancient system of "regular or established liberty," which did not require any symptoms for its manifestation. They did not acknowledge what the historian has constantly inferred, that the notion of liberty was a sudden growth of the seventeenth century; "that the constitution of England was, at that time, an inconsistent fabric, whose jarring and discordant parts would soon destroy each other." They opposed the parliamentary influence because they dreaded corruption as much as they hated tyranny. The scheme of the undertakers was entirely unsuccessful. James uttered smooth words and made specious promises; but the commons, with one voice, passed a vote against the king's right of imposing customs at the outports without the consent of parliament. A supply was demanded, under a threat that if it were not given the parliament should be dissolved. The house passed to the question of impositions. There were various bills in progress.

After a session of two months of stormy debate, the parliament was dissolved, without a single bill being passed. It was named "the addled parliament." No other parliament was called till 1621. For eleven years the statute book is a blank. The king was not satisfied with the perilous measure of attempting to govern without a parliament, but he committed to the Tower five of the members of the house of commons who had been most strenuous in their opposition. He had to supply his necessities by fines in the Star Chamber, and by exercises of the prerogative which were galling and oppressive. His first great resource was a benevolence. Oliver St. John declined to contribute, and wrote a letter setting forth his reasons for refusal. He was brought into the Star Chamber, and was fined in the sum of £5,000. The courtiers would think this a mild punishment for one who had presumed to doubt the right of the king to put his hands into the pockets of his subjects —a king who had just told his disobedient parliament, "My integrity is like the whiteness of my robe, my purity like the metal of gold in my crown, my firmness and clearness like the precious stones I wear, and my affections natural like the redness of my heart." Such was the gabble of this ridiculous pedant upon solemn occasions. When he sat at table, with a crowd of listeners, he discoursed largely of his divine right to implicit obedience, and of the superiority of his prerogative over the laws and customs of England.

THE RISE OF VILLIERS; THE FALL OF COKE

By the death of the earl of Northampton, within a week of the dissolution of parliament, the king and his courtiers had an opportunity for a scramble to recruit their finances. The office of lord privy seal having become vacant, the occasion was embraced to effect what we should now call a partial change of ministry. But this change was accomplished in a way that would be rather startling in modern times. Some of the high offices were sold. Sir Fulke Greville paid £4,000 for the chancellorship of the exchequer. Inferior places went to the highest bidder. Somerset had sold the office of cup-bearer to George Villiers. He appears to have forgotten that another might supplant him in the favour of a king who dwelt on "good looks and handsome accoutrements." The cup-bearer was a dangerous rival. "His first introduction into

favour," says Clarendon,[v] "was purely from the handsomeness of his person." The history of the country, to the end of this reign, is in great part the personal history of George Villiers—the adventurer, who had in his capacity of the king's cup-bearer been "admitted to that conversation and discourse with which that prince always abounded at his meals." In a few weeks, continues Clarendon, he mounted higher; "and, being knighted, without any other qualification, he was at the same time made gentleman of the bed-chamber and knight of the order of the Garter; and in a short time (very short for such a prodigious ascent) he was made a baron, a viscount, an earl, a marquis, and became lord high admiral of England, lord-warden of the Cinque Ports, master of the horse, and entirely disposed of all the graces of the king, in conferring all the honours and all the offices of three kingdoms without a rival."

In 1615 Coke opposed his legal knowledge to the preliminary proceedings in a detestable act of tyranny. Edmund Peachum, a clergyman in Somersetshire, had his study broken open; and a manuscript sermon being there found in which there was strong censure of the extravagances of the king and the oppressions of his officers, the preacher was put to the rack, and interrogated "before torture, in torture, between torture, and after torture." He was suspected of treason, but this horrible severity could wring no confession from him. It was doubted whether the sermon itself could be received as an overt act of treason. Bacon was directed by the king to confer with the judges of the king's bench separately; to which Coke objected, as "not according to the custom of this realm." The other judges were tampered with. Coke at length gave an opinion, which evaded the question and did not confirm the king's arguments and that of the other unscrupulous judges that the sermon itself was treasonable. The unhappy man was, however, tried and condemned; but he died in jail. The chief justice again offended by contending that the equitable jurisdiction of the court of chancery ought not to be exercised after a judgment obtained at law. But his greatest offence was in demurring to the authority of a letter which Bacon had written at the king's desire, to direct that the court of king's bench should not proceed to judgment in a case which concerned the validity of the grant of a benefice to a bishop, in connection with his bishopric. Coke said that such a letter should be written to the judges of all the courts; and that being done, he induced them to take the honourable course of certifying to the king that they were bound by their oaths not to regard any such letters, which were contrary to law. The king went into one of his usual fits of rage when his prerogative was questioned, and called the twelve judges before him to answer for their disobedience. They all tamely yielded, with the exception of Coke. He was very shortly after first suspended from his office, and then dismissed.

It is not difficult to imagine, while such scandalous revelations and suspicions were rife as those of the Overbury case; whilst the majority of the judges were slavish; whilst the court of high commission was proceeding in its arbitrary course in matters of religion (a court which, according to an unheeded remonstrance of the commons, took upon itself to fine and imprison, and passed sentences without appeal); whilst the Star Chamber was trampling upon every personal right—that the nation was growing universally disgusted with the government under which it lived. The people had no constitutional organ to proclaim their grievances. Parliaments had been laid aside. The great religious body termed Puritans were offended, in 1618, by a proclamation that all lawful recreations, such as dancing, archery, leaping, May-games, might be used on Sundays after divine service. They associated this injudicious measure—which had a tendency to make the disputes between

the two parties in the church more rancorous—with the king's visit to Scotland to enforce episcopacy upon a reluctant people. After that visit a better provision was made for the parochial clergy, by the passing of an act in the Scottish parliament which compelled the impropriators of tithes to allow a stipend to the resident minister. But the ecclesiastical policy of James in Scotland was not successful; and in 1620 the preachers were inveighing against Episcopal rule, and that general discontent was growing which in a few years broke out in bitter hostility. In neither of the kingdoms could the people be deemed happy or the government paternal.

THE END OF SIR WALTER RALEIGH

Sir Walter Raleigh had been a prisoner in the Tower somewhat more than twelve years. To a man of such activity of mind even imprisonment would not be unhappiness. His wife was permitted to dwell with him. He had access to the lieutenant's garden; and, says Sir William Wade, one of the lieutenants, "he hath converted a little hen-house to a still-house, where he doth spend his time all the day in distillations." Raleigh was the inventor of a famous cordial which went by his name. In an evil hour the tranquil studies and useful diversions of Raleigh were exchanged for schemes which were to renew the energies of his youth. The dream of a gold mine in Guiana never ceased to haunt his imagination. Indians had interviews with him in the Tower; for he had kept up a correspondence, through his agents, with the natives of the country which he had partially explored in 1595. At length he obtained permission to employ the liberty which was promised to be granted to him, through the mediation of Villiers, in again attempting to work the gold mine in whose existence he firmly believed. He was released from his prison on the 20th of March, 1616.

He was now in the sixty-fifth year of his age. But he was one of those who bated no jot of heart or hope. Raleigh risked in this scheme all he possessed in the world. When Lady Raleigh had gone on her knees to James, to beg that her family might not be robbed of the estate at Sherborne, which had been secured to them before her husband's attainder, he exclaimed, "I maun have the land—I maun have it for Carr." Eight thousand pounds had been afterwards obtained as the "competent satisfaction" for an estate worth five thousand pounds a year. This sum, with the produce of a small estate which his wife sold, was all invested in the Guiana project. James stipulated for a share of the profits of the enterprise. But the Spanish ambassador, Gondomar, who had at that time obtained great influence over the king, at first remonstrated, and declared that the expedition was for piratical purposes. Raleigh maintained that his sole object was to settle a country which belonged to England by right of discovery, and to work its gold mines; and Gondomar affected to be satisfied.

Raleigh got together a squadron of fourteen vessels, and he set sail on the 28th of March, 1617, having received a commission by which he was constituted general and commander of the expedition, and governor of the country. It was imprudent in Raleigh to go upon a doubtful adventure without having received a previous pardon, which was to be obtained for money. But it is said that Bacon, who in 1617 had accomplished the prime object of his ambition, the custody of the great seal, said to Raleigh, "The knee-timber of your voyage is money. Spare your purse in this particular; for upon my life you have a sufficient pardon for all that is past already, the king having under

his broad seal made you admiral of your fleet, and given you power of the martial law over your officers and soldiers." The outward voyage was unpropitious. There was sickness in the ships, of which many of the voyagers died. They landed in Guiana on the 12th of November, and on the 14th Raleigh wrote in a hopeful spirit to his wife: "To tell you that I might be king of the Indians were a vanity. But my name hath still lived among them here. They feed me with fresh meat and all that the country yields. All offer to obey me."

In a short time he began to have glimpses of the treacherous nature of the sovereign in whose name he had gone forth to "make new nations." James had obtained from him the most minute details of his plans, and the king had communicated them to Gondomar, who had sent them to his court at Madrid. The king's commander had been promised a free passage through the country. He found it fortified against him. He was himself weak from sickness, and was obliged to be carried in a litter. He sent his faithful follower, Captain Keymis, to sail up the Orinoco with a part of the squadron in the direction of the mine. The instructions which Raleigh had given were not obeyed. The Spaniards attacked his encampment, and a battle ensued. After much slaughter, the English drove back their assailants to the town; and the Spaniards coming out in fresh force, the son of Raleigh was killed. The governor of the town, a kinsman of Gondomar, also fell. The English burned San Tomas, in which they found refining houses and two ingots of gold. But the passes to the mine were defended by too strong a force to enable Keymis to accomplish the great object of the expedition. When he returned with his diminished crew, the reproaches of his commander led the unfortunate man to commit suicide.

RALEIGH'S CELL IN THE WHITE TOWER

The great spirit of Raleigh was crushed. He saw nothing before him but reproach and danger. In a letter to his wife he says: "I protest before the majesty of God that, as Sir Francis Drake and Sir John Hawkins died heart-broken when they failed of their enterprise, I could willingly do the like, did I not contend against sorrow for your sake, in hope to provide somewhat for you to comfort and relieve you. If I live to return, resolve yourself that it is the care for you that hath strengthened my heart." Raleigh conducted his fleet, with mutinous crews, to Newfoundland, and then sailed homeward. On the 18th of March, after his return, Howell wrote: "The world wonders extremely that so great a wise man as Sir Walter Raleigh would return, to cast himself upon so inevitable a rock as I fear he will." Two friends, the earls of Pembroke and Arundel, had pledged their honour for his return, and he would not be a cause of trouble to them. This Arundel acknowledged when Raleigh, on the scaffold, reminded him of the promise that he had made to the earl that he would return.

[1618 A.D.]

Gondomar was now supreme at the English court, negotiating a marriage between Prince Charles and the infanta of Spain. The destiny of Raleigh was in the hands of the malignant Spaniard and the revengeful king. Raleigh was arrested at Plymouth; and after some stratagems to escape to France, and to obtain delay, having feigned madness, he was conducted to his old prison in the Tower. He was examined before commissioners, upon the charge that he fraudulently pretended that he went to discover a mine, when his real object was to make a piratical attack upon the Spanish settlements. He denied these charges with constancy and boldness, but admitted his attempt to escape, and his pretence of mental derangement, which he excused by the desire which every man feels to escape death. Nothing could be obtained which could furnish a new ground of accusation.

It was determined at length that the prisoner should be executed under his former sentence, by a writ of privy seal directed to the judges. But they held that their warrant for execution could not be issued, after so long a time had elapsed since the judgment, without bringing up the prisoner to plead. Raleigh, suffering under an ague, was brought on the 24th and again on the 28th of October to the king's bench at Westminster, and there being asked why execution should not pass against him, he urged that he was discharged of the original judgment by the king's commission for his voyage, which gave him new life and vigour. Execution was granted. Raleigh asked for a little delay, to settle his affairs and his mind. He was brought out of his prison the next morning to die upon the scaffold, in the Old Palace Yard at Westminster. The night before his death he wrote these lines on a blank leaf of his Bible:

E'en such is Time; who takes in trust
Our youth, our joys, and all we have,
And pays us but with age and dust;
Who, in the dark and silent grave,
When we have wander'd all our ways,
Shuts up the story of our days.
But from this earth, this grave, this dust,
The Lord will raise me up, I trust.

The last end of this heroic man was worthy of his great genius. He received the sacrament; he declared his forgiveness of all persons; he manifested the utmost cheerfulness; he gave thanks to the Almighty who had imparted to him the strength of mind never to fear death, and to meet it with courage in the assurance of his love. He breakfasted, and smoked his usual pipe of tobacco. When he came to the scaffold he was very faint, and commenced his speech to the assembled crowd by saying that during the last two days he had been visited by two ague fits. "If therefore you perceive any weakness in me, I beseech you ascribe it to my sickness rather than to myself." His speech was of a manly tone defending himself from slanders which had been raised against him. He implored the bystanders to join with him in prayer to that great God whom he had grievously offended; "being a man full of all vanity, and one who hath lived a sinful life in such callings as have been most inducing to it; for I have been a soldier, a sailor, and a courtier, all of them courses of wickedness and vice." He was asked by the dean of Westminster in what religion he meant to die, and he replied, "In the faith professed by the church of England, hoping to be saved by the blood and merits of our Saviour." It was a bitter morning, and the sheriff proposed that he should descend from the scaffold and warm himself. "No, good Mr. Sheriff, let us despatch, for within this quarter of an hour my ague will come upon me, and if I be not dead before that, my enemies will say I quake for fear." He took

the axe in his hand, kissed the blade, and said to the sheriff, "'Tis a sharp medicine, but a sound cure for all diseases." So died the last of Elizabeth's heroes.

The execution of Raleigh called forth indignation, "not loud but deep," in the English mind. The people felt that he was sacrificed to Spain, against which power, its Jesuits and its inquisitions, he had waged no inglorious warfare. He was sacrificed by a king from whom the bold Protestant spirit was departed, and who remained supine whilst the two great principles which divided Europe were again preparing for a struggle. Thus thought the majority of the nation, at a time of extraordinary excitement in connection with foreign events.

AFFAIRS OF THE PALATINATE

The daughter of James had been married almost six years to the elector palatine. The Calvinists of Bohemia had been in insurrection upon a question of the possession of some lands of the church which were held by Catholics, and the quarrel was under arbitration at the instance of the emperor Matthias when he died. Matthias was also king of Bohemia, and the archduke Ferdinand was chosen emperor. He had been recognised as successor to the throne of Bohemia, but he was a determined zealot of Catholicism; and the Bohemians, who held that their crown was elective, offered it to Frederick, who had been one of the arbitrators to settle the difference which had led to their insurrection. The elector palatine, after some hesitation, accepted the dangerous promotion, and was crowned at Prague, in November, 1619.

The resolve was the signal for a general array of hostile forces throughout Europe.[1] The great battle of Protestantism and Catholicism appeared once more likely to be fought out. Had Elizabeth been alive she would have thrown all her force into the conflict. James at first refused to give any assistance to his son-in-law. The Protestants of England were roused to an enthusiasm which had been repressed for years. They saw the armies of Austria and Spain gathering to snatch the crown from the elective king of Bohemia and to invade the Palatinate. They saw many of the Protestant princes forming an union for his defence. Volunteers were ready to go forth from England full of zeal for the support of the elector. James was professing an ardent desire to Protestant deputies to assist his son-in-law, and at the same time vowing to the Spanish ambassador that the alliance with his Catholic master, which was to be cemented by the marriage of Prince Charles to the infanta, was the great desire of his heart.

At length the Catholic powers entered the Palatinate; and the cry to arm was so loud amongst the English and the Scotch, that James reluctantly marshalled a force of four thousand volunteers, not to support his son-in-law upon the throne of Bohemia, but to assist in defending his hereditary dominions. The scanty assistance came too late. Frederick was defeated by the Austrians at the White Hill near Prague, on the 8th of November, 1620, which decisive battle entirely destroyed his slight tenure of power in Bohemia. He was very shortly after driven from the Palatinate, which was handed over to the tender mercies of the conquerors. The supporters of the elector in Bohemia, a country which had been the refuge of persecuted reformers, were trodden down by the iron heel of Austria. The Puritan party in England considered

[1 The details of the Thirty Years' War, 1618–1648, will be found in the histories of Germany, France, Spain, and Sweden.]

this misfortune, says D'Ewes,[t] as "the greatest blow which the church of God had received since the first Reformation by Martin Luther in 1517." The union of the Protestant princes was broken up. In the words of Von Ranke,[w] "the Catholic principle passed with wonderful rapidity from a moment of the utmost danger to an omnipotent sway over the south of Germany and the Austrian provinces."

It was during the excitement of this conflict, and in the month following the victory of the Austrians at the White Hill, that James adopted one of those arbitrary measures which weak governments resort to in their imbecile desire to control public opinion. On the 27th of December, 1620, says D'Ewes, "I saw and perused a proclamation set out by his majesty, inhibiting or forbidding any of his subjects to discourse of state matters, either foreign or domestic; which all men conceived to have been procured by the count of Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador." That Englishmen should, at the bidding of an insolent government, cease interchanging their thoughts was as impossible as that they should cease thinking. Their thoughts broke out in signs not to be mistaken. The Spanish ambassador, who dwelt in the bishop of Ely's house in Holborn, was obliged to have a guard of soldiers to protect him.

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1621 AND BACON'S IMPEACHMENT

It was in this excited temper of the nation that the king at length called a parliament, which met on the 30th of January, 1621.

James was now in a gracious humour. He had something to ask of the parliament: "I have reigned eighteen years, in which time you have had peace," he said, "and I have received far less supply than hath been given to any king since the Conquest. The last queen, of famous memory, had, one year with another, above a hundred thousand pounds per annum in subsidies." James did not attempt a comparison between the manner in which the queen of famous memory spent her subsidies in the defence of her country, and in the support of Protestantism in Europe; while he was lavishing thousands upon Hay and Somerset and Villiers, impoverishing the crown and degrading the nation. Clarendon,[v] speaking of the reigning favourite of 1621 and his host of dependents, said that the demesnes and revenues of the crown were sacrificed to the enriching of a private family; "and the expenses of the court so vast and unlimited that they had a sad prospect of that poverty and necessity which afterwards befell the crown, almost to the ruin of it."

The parliament of 1621 was in no complacent mood. James said to them, "I have often piped unto you but you have not danced." They gave him a small subsidy in return for unusually gracious speeches, and then went boldly about the redress of grievances. They revived the use of the terrible word "impeachment," which had gone out of men's mouths for nearly two centuries. Monopolists were the first attacked with this constitutional weapon. One of the greatest of them, Sir Giles Mompesson, finding that the government which had granted him his patents for gold and silver thread, and for licensing inns and alehouses, would not stand up in his defence, fled beyond sea. The Sir Giles Overreach of Massinger's *New Way to Pay Old Debts* was Sir Giles Mompesson, and the Justice Greedy of the same popular play was Sir Francis Michell. The real Overreach and the real Greedy were degraded from knighthood, were fined, and were banished. Higher delinquents began to tremble. Yelverton, the attorney-general, was connected with the prevailing corruption, and when detected denounced Villiers as his enemy. The

judge of the prerogative court was impeached for venality; and the bishop of Landaff for being accessory to a matter of bribery. It was an age of universal abuses. Local magistrates were influenced by the pettiest gifts, and were called "basket-justices"—a name which in the next century was applied to the stipendiary justices of Bow street.

Upon the highest branch of this rotten tree sat Francis Bacon, Viscount St. Albans, the great lord chancellor. His contemporaries were impressed with his versatile abilities and his majestic eloquence, but they were disgusted by his profusion, and they had little confidence in his honesty. The greatness of his intellect was to be appreciated in other ages, and his faults were then to be slightly regarded while the eyes of all men were to be dazzled by the splendour of his genius. His contemporaries, with one accord, resolved that no excuse should interfere with his degradation, for what he himself called his frailty in partaking of "the abuses of the times." He was charged by the commons, before the lords, with twenty-two acts of bribery and corruption. He attempted no defence. He saw that the court would not shield him, even if it had the power. He made a distinct confession in writing of the charges brought against him; and when a deputation from the peers asked if that confession was his own voluntary act, he replied, "It is my act, my hand, my heart. O my lords, spare a broken reed." The sentence of the parliament was that the viscount St. Albans, late lord chancellor, be fined £40,000; be imprisoned in the Tower during the king's pleasure; made incapable to bear office in the commonwealth; never to sit in parliament, nor to come within the verge of the court. The king remitted the fine, and released the fallen man after an imprisonment of a few days.

It is vain to attribute Bacon's fall to the malevolence of Coke or the intrigues of Villiers. The house of commons saw that the time had come for striking at the root of some of the most flagrant of official corruptions, and Bacon, though perhaps not more guilty than many others, was struck down as a signal example to lesser offenders. Spedding,[x] the editor of Bacon's philosophical works, pointing out that the chancellor admitted the taking of presents, as he himself had taken them, to be indefensible, adds that he always denied he had been an unjust judge; or, to use his own words, "had ever had bribe or reward in his eye or thought when he pronounced any sentence or order." With regard to the degree of moral criminality, these questions are proposed: "(1) What was the understanding, open or secret, upon which the present was given or taken? (2) To what extent was the practice prevalent at the time? (3) How far was it tolerated? (4) How did it stand with regard to other abuses prevailing at the same time?" If these points could be satisfactorily ascertained the most merciful conclusion at which we could arrive would be the opinion of Bacon himself: "I was the justest judge that was in England these fifty years; but it was the justest censure in parliament that was there these two hundred years."

If the stern severity of the house of commons, in which the peers went along with them, towards every order of delinquents, from the griping usurer to the prodigal chancellor, demands our respect, we must regard with equal abhorrence the same popular assembly when carried away by a passionate fanaticism into an act of vindictive cruelty. The house was in a fever about the Palatinate; and when it became known that a Roman Catholic barrister, Edward Floyd, had expressed his joy that "Goodman Palsgrave[1] and Goodwife Palsgrave" had been driven from Prague, there was no punishment too

[1 The palsgrave or pfalzgraf was the ruler of the Palatinate.]

[1621 A.D.]

terrible to be inflicted upon the delinquent—whipping, the pillory, boring of his tongue, nailing of his ears, were small justice for such an offence. The house went beyond its powers in passing a heavy sentence upon Floyd without hearing him. He appealed to the king, denying the accusation against him; and the commons were asked by the council how they took upon them to judge offences which did not interfere with their privileges. The house paused, and Floyd was arraigned before the lords, who confirmed the sentence, with additional severities. Whipping, which was a part of this sentence, was remitted on the motion of Prince Charles. The unhappy man underwent the other unjust punishment—to pay a fine of £5,000 and to be imprisoned for life.

"There is surely no instance," says Hallam,[h] "in the annals of our own, and hardly of any civilised country, where a trifling offence, if it were one, has been visited with such outrageous cruelty." Let us not forget, as we proceed in tracing the history of this nation, that the passions of a parliament have been as marked, if not as frequent, a source of injustice as the despotic tendencies of a king; and let us feel that a due balance of the powers of the respective estates cannot be so happily preserved that prerogative and privilege may be kept equally innoxious, except under the guidance of an enlightened public opinion.

The king and the parliament had been proceeding in apparent harmony, when they were adjourned over the summer [to await the results of the fruitless mission of Lord Digby, special ambassador to Vienna]. The court had manifested no zeal about the question of the Palatinate; but the commons made a solemn protestation, which was entered in the journals, that they would spend their lives and fortunes in the defence of their religion, and of the cause of the elector. The houses met again, after an interval of five months, on the 20th of November. It was announced that troops had been sent for the defence of the Palatinate under Sir Horace Vere. The commons voted a small subsidy, which was totally inadequate to any vigorous exertions. The clamour for warlike operations was not seconded by any liberality which could rouse James to exertion. The parliament had no confidence in a king who shuddered at a drawn sword. His natural temperament and his policy were in complete accord, and it was perhaps well for the country that they were so. Had his son Henry been on the throne, who proposed the Black Prince and Henry V as his models, England might have put herself at the head of a great religious war; but she would have wasted that strength which enabled her, in another quarter of a century, to wage a greater battle at home for civil and religious liberty, without losing her power of commanding the respect of every government in Europe.

England had in this year an opportunity to draw the sword in a necessary quarrel—the suppression of the outrages of the Barbary pirates. Spain had agreed to co-operate in an attack upon Algiers, but she sent a very insufficient force to join the English flag. James went about this salutary work in his timid and parsimonious way. He directed the commander of his fleet, Sir James Mansell, not to risk his ships. The Algerians, having had only a few boats burned, defended their harbour, and Mansell came home with nothing achieved. The English merchantmen were now the prey of the African pirates, and the country bitterly complained of the national losses and the national dishonour. When the parliament reassembled, it was in no conciliating humour. Lords Essex and Oxford had returned from the Palatinate, and proclaimed that the country of the elector and the Protestant cause were lost for want of timely aid.

As we have seen, the two houses were afraid to trust the expenditure of money in incapable hands. They could not understand how James was affecting a desire to contend against the power of Spain and Austria, when he was negotiating, in secret as he believed, for the marriage of his son to the daughter of the most Catholic king. During the recess, a leading member of the commons, Sir Edwin Sandys, had been committed to the Tower; but it was protested that the commitment was unconnected with the privileges of the house. His bold manner of speaking in parliament was undoubtedly his offence. The commons passed over this matter; but they drew up a petition, prepared by Coke, against the growth of popery, urging that Prince Charles should marry one of his own religion, and that the king should turn his attention towards that power which had first carried on the war in the Palatinate. That power was Spain.

JOHN SELDEN
(1584-1654)

James had heard of this motion, and he anticipated the receipt of the petition[1] by sending a violent letter to the speaker, commanding the house not to meddle with any matter which concerned his government or the mysteries of state. He informed them also that he meant not to spare any man's insolent behaviour in parliament. The commons returned a temperate answer, in which the king was told that their liberty of speech was their ancient and undoubted right. James replied that their privileges were derived from the grace and permission of his ancestors and himself. Some excuses were made for the expressions of the king, which were called a slip of the pen.

The commons deliberately recorded their opinions, in a memorable protestation, on the 18th of December, 1621, in which they solemnly affirmed that the liberties and jurisdictions of parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; that the affairs of the king and the state, of the defence of the realm, and of the church of England, the making of laws, the redress of grievances, are proper subjects of debate in parliament; that in handling such business every member of the house hath, and of right ought to have, freedom of speech; and that every member hath like freedom from all impeachment, imprisonment, and molestation, except by the censure of the house itself. There were great men concerned in this protestation—Coke, Pym, Selden. Eminent peers, for almost the first time in the history of the country, took part with the commons against the crown. The king dissolved the parliament, and imprisoned the earl of Oxford and the leading members of the commons.[d]

Gardiner[j] thus sums up the results of this parliament of 1621: "The houses had not sat in vain. They had rescued from oblivion the right of impeach-

[1 When the deputation of twelve came to James with the petition, he exclaimed in jest, "Bring stools for the ambassadors!" Gardiner[j] doubts the old anecdote that he called out in his broad Scotch on seeing them, "Here be twal' kings coming!"]

ment, and had taught a crowd of hungry and unscrupulous adventurers that court favour would not always suffice to screen them. They had made judicial corruption almost impossible for the future. Yet the highest of their achievements had not been of a nature to be quoted as a precedent, or to be noted down amongst the catalogue of constitutional changes. Far more truly than any member of that house dreamed, a crisis had come in which Protestantism was to be tried in the balance. There was a danger greater than any which was to be dreaded from the armies of Spinola or the policy of Maximilian—a danger lest moral superiority should pass over to the champions of the reactionary faith. And it was at such a crisis that the English house of commons placed itself in the foremost ranks of those who were helping on the progress of the world. Cecil spoke truly when he said that their declaration would do more good than if ten thousand soldiers had been on the march."[a]

The struggle which was to be fought out in the battle-field, twenty years afterwards, was already commenced in a most unmistakable manner. It was a contest for first principles. England was to be a constitutional monarchy or a despotism.

The parliament being dissolved, James again resorted to a benevolence —a voluntary contribution of the people, as the courtiers pretended. Its voluntary character may be understood from a little incident: "A merchant of London, who had been a cheesemonger, but now rich, was sent for by the council, and required to give the king £200, or to go into the Palatinate and serve the army with cheese, being a man of eighty years of age."

PRINCE CHARLES IN SPAIN (1623 A.D.)

The king, who publicly declared that "he would govern according to the good of the common weal but not according to the common will," went on with his Spanish negotiation in utter defiance of the public feeling. His son-in-law was now a refugee at the Hague, with his queen—a favourite of the English—and their family. Their misfortunes, as well as the defeat of the principle which they represented, excited the warmest sympathy. In no point of policy was there any concord between the government and the people. In February, 1623, London was startled with the extraordinary news that the prince of Wales and Villiers, now marquis of Buckingham, had gone off privately for Madrid. The negotiation for the marriage with the Spanish princess had been nearly concluded by the earl of Bristol, a special ambassador to the court of the young king Philip IV, the brother of the infanta. Only a dispensation from the pope was waited for, and James had himself written to his holiness to urge the favour. He promised all sorts of toleration, and, to give an earnest of his disposition, suddenly released from prison a large number of popish recusants, to the great anger of the Puritans.

The motives for the strange proceeding of the prince and the favourite remain a mystery. Clarendon[v] holds that Villiers originated the scheme to gain favour with the prince, who had been long jealous of him. The king was at first greatly opposed to the adventure, which was not without its danger. Smith seems to be a favourite name for disguised princes. Charles was John Smith, and the marquis Thomas Smith. They were accompanied by Sir Richard Graham. They got to Dover, after some awkward inquiries, and on the 7th of March the "sweet boys and dear ventrous knights, worthy to be put in a new romanso," as James termed them, arrived at Madrid.

Howell,[y] one of the most amusing of letter-writers, was then in the Spanish capital, and he describes how "to the wonderment of all the world, the prince and the marquis of Buckingham arrived at this court." He tells how they alighted at my lord of Bristol's house; how Mr. Thomas Smith came in at first with a portmantle, whilst Mr. John Smith stayed on the other side of the street in the dark; how Bristol brought in the prince to his bed-chamber; how the marquis the next day had a private audience of the king of Spain; how the king came to visit the prince; how the royal family went out in a coach, the infanta having a blue ribbon about her arm that the prince might distinguish her as he took the air on the Prado; and how when the lady saw her lover her colour rose very high.

The prince and his companion were seven months absent from England. To attempt to follow out the course of the intrigues that took place during this period would be far beyond our limits; nor do we conceive that, however amusing may be the relations of court festivities, the bull-fights and the tournaments, the processions and the banquets, with which the heir of England's throne was received, they are necessary to be here detailed.[1] That Charles was conducting himself with that duplicity which belonged to his nature is agreed on all hands. He was ready to promise, according to Von Ranke,[w] not only toleration for the Roman Catholics in England, but that he would never engage in any hostile measure against the church of Rome, but, on the contrary, would endeavour to bring about a unity in one faith and one church. In August James made oath to certain articles which had been agreed upon: that the infanta with her suite was to be allowed the exercise of her religion; that the early education of her children should be intrusted to her; that even if they should remain Catholic their right of succession should not be interfered with. The king also promised not to trouble the Catholics in the private exercise of their religion, nor to impose any oath against their faith, and to endeavour to obtain from parliament a repeal of all penal laws against them.

If the marriage had taken place and these conditions had been observed, England would infallibly have been plunged into civil war. As it was, after a long course of deceit either to the court of Spain or to the people of England, or to both, Charles and Buckingham returned home. The ministers of Spain had interposed many vexatious delays whilst Charles was at Madrid, and had attempted to take advantage of his presence. He made engagements which he would not have ventured to fulfil; and he sanctioned misrepresentations for his vindication when he returned to England. Buckingham was jealous of the earl of Bristol, and he conceived a dislike of the Spanish court, to which his insolent manners and his gross licentiousness were displeasing. His personal resentments, and perhaps the tastes of the prince, destroyed the web of policy which James had been so long weaving. The king had been quite willing to surrender all the outworks which defended England against a new invasion of papal supremacy, in his desire for a marriage which would give his son a princess with a great dowry, and secure, as he fondly expected, the restoration of his son-in-law to his hereditary dominions. The people would have made no compromise with Spain, and they would have boldly sought to settle the affairs of the Palatinate by the sole argument which the Catholic powers would have regarded, success in arms.

[1 It was contrary to Spanish court etiquette for Charles to see the princess except in public. Once he leaped over a wall into a garden where she was, and she fled screaming. Her confessor had said, "A comfortable bedfellow he will make! he who lies by your side and will be the father of your children is sure to go to hell."]

THE PARLIAMENT OF 1624 AND THE DEATH OF JAMES I

When the prince and Buckingham returned home, and the marriage treaty was broken off, there was universal rejoicing. The duke became immediately popular, and in his confidence in the altered tone of public feeling he persuaded the king to summon a parliament. It met on the 19th of February, 1624. The houses confided in Buckingham's artful representations of his conduct in the transactions with Spain, and he was hailed by Coke, in the commons, as the saviour of his country. The king was all graciousness. It was resolved that a grant to the extent of £300,000 should be made, for the specific purpose of recovering the Palatinate; and the war was thus necessarily a war against Spain, united as she was with the other branch of the house of Austria in holding the dominions of the elector and in endeavouring to destroy Protestantism in Europe. In this session of three months a great good was sought to be accomplished by the passing of a statute which declared all monopolies to be contrary to law, and all such grants to be void (21 Jac. I, c. 3). The struggle to effect this object had been a long one. The promises of the crown had been constantly broken; but now, by a solemn act of parliament, the exclusive privileges to use any trade and to sell any merchandise were declared to be contrary to the ancient and fundamental laws of the realm, and all grants and dispensations for such monopolies to be of none effect. How carefully the statute was respected will be seen in the next reign.

In this last parliament of James there was unquestionably a better understanding between the crown and the representatives of the people—a practical concord that, under a new king, might have been improved into a co-operation for the general good, if the altered condition of society had been understood by both parties. The commons had now acquired a full confidence in their own strength. They impeached Cranfield, earl of Middlesex, lord-treasurer of England, for bribery and other misdemeanours. He was convicted, after a trial before the peers, conducted by managers on the part of the commons, was fined £50,000, and was declared incapable of sitting in parliament. Buckingham's jealousy of the lord-treasurer's power is held to have contributed to this result. The king warned his son and his favourite that they might live to have their fill of parliamentary impeachments, but he could not resist the united force of public justice and private intrigue. From the time of the failure of the Spanish treaty, the monarch who claimed to be absolute felt that he was powerless. He had lost even the respect of his son; his insolent minion despised him.

He was forced into war against his will, and the war brought him no honour, whilst it absorbed his revenues. An army of twelve thousand men was raised in England for the service of the elector palatine. Half the number were lost from sickness by being embarked in foul and crowded ships; and their commander, Count Mansfeld, was not strong enough to undertake any offensive operations. England was not in any very glorious attitude. The people became discontented; and their discontents were not lightened when another negotiation was set on foot for the marriage of Prince Charles with Henrietta Maria, a princess of France, in which country Catholicism was again becoming intolerant and persecuting.

In March, 1625, King James was taken ill at Theobalds. He died on the 27th of that month, in the fifty-ninth year of his age, and in the twenty-third year of his reign.[d]

LINGARD'S ESTIMATE OF JAMES

James, though an able man, was a weak monarch. His quickness of apprehension and soundness of judgment were marred by his credulity and partialities, his childish fears, and habit of vacillation. Eminently qualified to advise as a counsellor, he wanted the spirit and resolution to act as a sovereign. His discourse teemed with maxims of political wisdom, his conduct frequently bore the impress of political imbecility. If in the language of his flatterers he was the British Solomon, in the opinion of less interested observers he merited the appellation given to him by the duke of Sully,[1] that of "the wisest fool in Europe." Balfour[z] thus described his appearance: "He was of a middle stature, more corpulent throghe his clothes than in his bodey, zet fatt enouch: his clothes euer being made large and easie, the doubletts quilted for steletto proofe, his breeches in grate pleits, and full stuffed. He was naturally of a timorous dispositione, which was the gratest reasone of his quilted doubletts. His eyes large, euer roulling after any stranger cam in his presence, in so much as maney for shame have left the roome, as being out of countenance. His beard was werey thin; his toung too large for his mouthe, and made him drinke werey vncomlie, as if eatting his drinke, wich cam out into the cupe in each syde of his mouthe. His skin vas als softe as tafta sarsnet, wich felt so because he neuer washt his hands, onlie rubb'd his fingers ends slightly vith the vett end of a napkin. His legs wer verey weake, hauing had (as was thought) some foule playe in his youthe, or rather before he was borne, that he was not able to stand at seuin zeires of age; that weaknes made him euer leaning on other men's shoulders."

It was his misfortune, at the moment when he took into his hands the reins of government in Scotland, to fall into the possession of worthless and profligate favourites, who, by gratifying his inclinations, sought to perpetuate their own influence; and it is to that love of ease and indulgence which he then acquired that we ought to attribute the various anomalies in his character.

To this we see him continually sacrificing his duties and his interests, seeking in his earlier years to shun by every expedient the tedium of public business, and shifting at a later period the burden of government from himself to the shoulders of his favourites. It taught him to practise, in pursuit of his ends, duplicity and cunning, to break his word with as much facility as he gave it, to swear and forswear as best suited his convenience. It plunged him into debt that he might spare himself the pain of refusing importunate suitors, and induced him to sanction measures which he condemned, that he might escape from the contradiction of his son and his favourite. To forget his cares in the hurry of the chase or the exercise of golf, in carousing at table, or laughing at the buffoonery and indecencies practised by those around him, seems to have constituted the chief pleasure of his life.

Wilson[bb] says, "He loved such representations and disguises in their maskaradoes as were witty and sudden: the more ridiculous the more pleasant." Of the nature of these sports the reader may judge from the following instance. A sucking pig, an animal which the king held in the utmost abhorrence, was swathed as an infant about to be christened; the countess of Buckingham, disguised as the midwife, brought it wrapped up in a rich mantle; the duke attended as godfather, Turpin, in lawn sleeves, as minister; another brought a silver ewer with water; but just as the service commenced, the

[1 Gardiner[u] credits this *mot* to King Henry IV of France.]

pretended child betrayed itself by its cry, and the king turned aside, exclaiming, "Away, for shame!"

In temper James was hasty and variable, easily provoked and easily appeased. During his passion he would scream, and curse, and indulge in blasphemous or indelicate allusions; when his passion was cooled, he would forgive or sue to be forgiven.[1] Though he was no admirer of female beauty, he is charged with encouraging the immoralities of Somerset and Buckingham; and the caresses which he heaped on his favourites, joined to the indelicacy of his familiar correspondence, have induced some writers to hint a suspicion of more degrading habits. But so odious a charge requires more substantial proof than an obscure allusion in a petition, or the dark insinuation of a malicious libel, or the reports which reached a foreign and discontented ambassador.[2]

From his preceptor, Buchanan, James had imbibed the maxim that "a sovereign ought to be the most learned clerk in his dominions." Of his intellectual acquirements he has left numerous specimens in his works; but his literary pride and self-sufficiency, his habit of interrogating others that he might discover the extent of their reading, and the ostentatious display which he continually made of his own learning, though they won the flattery of his attendants and courtiers, provoked the contempt and derision of real scholars. Theology he considered as the first of sciences on account of its object, and of the highest importance to himself in quality of head of the church and defender of the faith. But though he was always orthodox, his belief was not exempt from change. For many years his opinions retained a deep tinge of Calvinism; this was imperceptibly cleared away by the conversation of Laud and Montague, and other high churchmen; and before the close of his reign he had adopted the milder, but contrary, doctrines of Arminius. To the last he employed himself in theological pursuits; and to revise works of religious institution, to give directions to preachers, and to confute the heresies of foreign divines, were objects which occupied the attention and divided the cares of the sovereign of three kingdoms.[3]

Besides divinity there was another science with which he was equally conversant, that of demonology. With great parade of learning, he demonstrated the existence of witches and the mischiefs of witchcraft, against the objections of Scot and Wierus; he even discovered a satisfactory solution of that obscure but interesting question, "Why the devil did worke more with auncient women than others." But ancient women had no reason to congratulate themselves

[1] James, according to Wilson,[bb] demanded of Gibb some papers which had been delivered to his care. Gibb, on his knees, protested that he had never seen them. The king cursed, and even kicked him, and the indignant page left the court. It was then discovered that the papers had been intrusted to another; and James instantly sent to recall Gibb, and, falling on his knees, asked his pardon.

[2] That, for the amusement of the king, decency was shamefully outraged in the orgies at Buckingham house cannot be doubted—it is confirmed by the conduct of the favourite at Madrid in presence of the prince Cabala; but we may be allowed to hope that the picture in the despatches of Tillières has been too highly coloured by the prejudices of the ambassador or of his informant. The king's partiality for Spain, and the Spanish match, was a constant source of vexation to that minister, and prompted him to exaggerate and misrepresent.

[3] In the autumn of 1624, the archbishop of Embrun came to England by order of the king of France, and had several conferences with James and Buckingham respecting the treaty of marriage. In one of these, the king assured the prelate that he had nothing more at heart than to establish liberty of conscience in his dominions, and that for this purpose he had devised a meeting of English and foreign (probably French) divines to be holden at Dover or Boulogne, who should issue a declaration on which so important a concession might be founded. This seems to be all that can be fairly concluded from the words of the king, as related by the archbishop, though he certainly inferred from them that James wished to effect a reunion between the two churches, and to hold this theological assembly as a preparatory measure.

on the sagacity of their sovereign. Witchcraft, at his solicitation, was made a capital offence, and from the commencement of his reign there scarcely passed a year in which some aged female or other was not condemned to expiate on the gallows her imaginary communications with the evil spirit. Had the lot of James been cast in private life, he might have been a respectable country gentleman: the elevation of the throne exposed his foibles to the gaze of the public, and that at a time when the growing spirit of freedom and the more general diffusion of knowledge had rendered men less willing to admit the pretensions, and more eager to censure the defects, of their superiors. With all his learning and eloquence, he failed to acquire the love or the esteem of his subjects; and though he deserved not the reproaches cast on his memory by the revolutionary writers of the next and succeeding reigns, posterity has agreed to consider him as a weak and prodigal king, and a vain and loquacious pedant.[k]

Bayne's[cc] estimate of James does not differ greatly from this. He characterises the monarch as "cowardly and unrighteous," but his estimate has peculiar interest, because he finds a physiological explanation of what he terms a "piebald character." He declares that the king was "a spoilt child, in a deplorably literal sense, before he was born"; that nature seems to have intended him to be the ablest of all his line since the days of Robert Bruce; but that what "Carlyle might call 'black art,' intervened; and the child, born three months after the shock received by Mary Stuart from the drawn swords of Rizzio's murderers, was physiologically a wreck." The explanation, it should be added, is highly debatable on physiological grounds.[a]

THE STATE OF ENGLAND AT THIS TIME

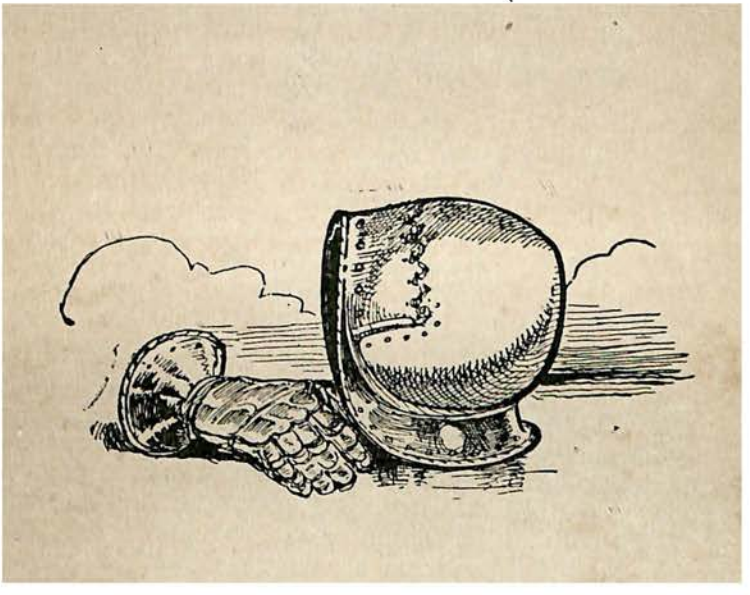
Beaumont, the French ambassador, wrote to his court: "I discover so many seeds of disease in England, so much is brooding in silence, and so many events seem inevitable, that I am inclined to affirm that for a century from this time this kingdom will hardly abuse its prosperity, except to its own ruin. I can assure your majesty that you have more reason to reflect on King James' absurd conduct, and pity his subjects, than to dread his power. The courage of the English is buried in the tomb of Elizabeth. What must be the situation of a state and of a prince whom the clergy publicly abuse in the pulpit, whom the actors represent upon the stage, whose wife goes to these representations in order to laugh at him, who is defied and despised by his parliament, and universally hated by his whole people!

"His vices debilitate his mind; when he thinks to speak like a king he proceeds like a tyrant, and when he condescends he becomes vulgar. He endeavours to cover, under specious titles, disgraceful actions; and as the power to indulge in them abandons him, he feasts his eyes when he can no longer gratify his other vices. In general, he concludes by resorting to drinking. Nothing is done here in a regular and reasonable manner, but according to the pleasure of Buckingham, an ignorant young man, blinded by court favour and carried away by passion. The most important and urgent business cannot induce this king to devote a day, or even an hour to it, or to interrupt his pleasures. He does not care what people think of him or what is to become of the kingdom after his death. I believe that the breaking of a bottle of wine, or any such trifle, affects him more than the ruin of his son-in-law and the misery of his grandchildren."

We would willingly ascribe some of these expressions to the dislike of a foreigner, or the excessive severity of a gloomy-minded observer. Yet Bur-

[1625 A.D.]

net[dd] himself says: "No king could be less respected, and less lamented at his death. England, which acted so great a part, and whose queen, Elizabeth, was the arbitress of Christendom and the wonder of her age, sank under his government into utter insignificance, and King James was the laughing-stock of his age. While hungry writers at home bestowed on him the most extravagant praises, all foreign countries looked upon him as a pedant without judgment, courage, and firmness, and as the slave of his favourites." His death was certainly considered by most persons as a happy event, and very few presaged that the indestructible germs of greater convulsions would soon spring into life with redoubled energy.[q]



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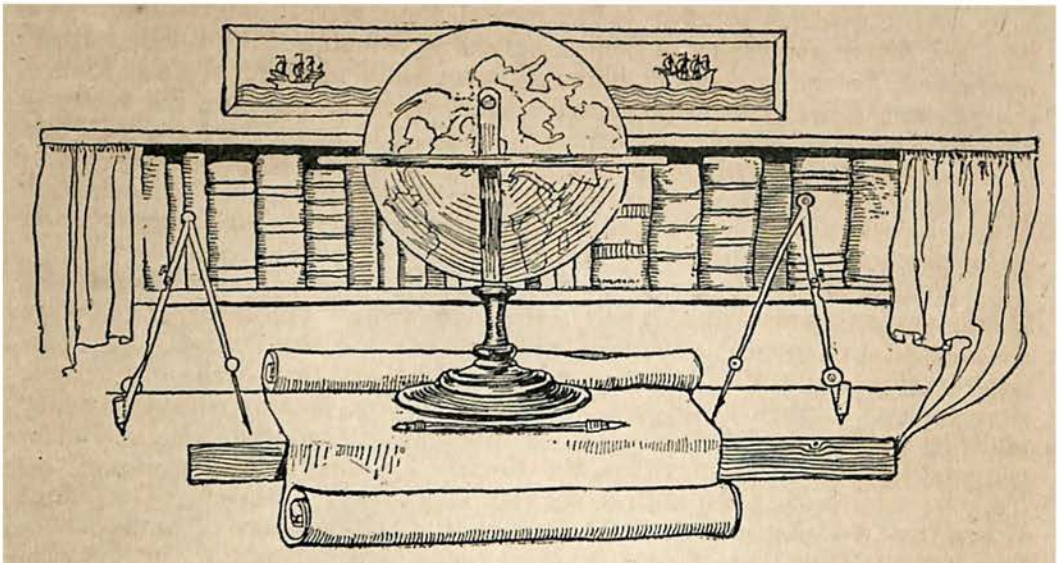


CHAPTER XVII

COMMERCE AND LETTERS, AND A REVIEW OF THE CONSTITUTION

[*Ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

COMMERCE

THE commerce of England in this age, notwithstanding the impediments placed in its way by the ignorance or cupidity of the government, continued to increase. Towards the close of Elizabeth's reign the customs were farmed at £50,000 annually. In 1613 the total of this branch of revenue exceeded £148,000, and in 1622 it amounted to more than £160,000. In 1613 the customs from the exports exceeded those from the imports by about one-third. In 1622 complaints respecting the decline of trade had become loud and general; and not without an apparent cause, as the comparison of the exports and imports of the year presents a balance against the nation of £300,000. Several causes had contributed to this result. The Dutch had so far improved their woollen manufactures as to compete successfully with English merchants in the foreign markets. This staple portion of English commerce was further injured by disputes which arose between separate traders and the company of merchant-adventurers. At the same time England's almost total neglect of the herring and cod fisheries, while the Dutch were occupying themselves in such undertakings with the greatest ardour, tended to increase the wealth and the naval power of Holland, at the expense of England.

All the more important branches of commerce during this age were carried on through the medium of companies; and these chartered bodies might be found not only in the metropolis but in many parts of the country, as at Bristol, Southampton, and Exeter. The company of merchant-adventurers in the last-named place claimed their privilege in part on account of the ignorance of a great number of persons who took upon them "to use the science, art, and mystery of merchandise." But a more substantial argument in such

[*ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

cases was the necessity of a larger capital than private adventurers could furnish. During the reign of James, associations of this nature were formed, or revived, for the purpose of founding colonies or marts in Russia, France, the Levant, Newfoundland, Virginia (including in those times the whole of English America), Western Africa, and the East Indies. We have seen how far the spirit of monopoly, which pervaded these enterprises, was extended by the vices of the government to the domestic trade, every kind of occupation or manufacture from which money might be extorted being brought under royal patents for that object.

It was not always the case, however, that the privileged bodies were strictly joint-stock companies, though before the close of this reign they had generally assumed that character. The profits obtained by the Dutch East India Company at this juncture, who were making head rapidly against the Portuguese, were such as to yield a dividend varying from year to year between twenty and fifty per cent. The enterprise of England reduced the price of Indian commodities full three-fourths to the English consumer. The profits of this trade were of course great both to the company and the country. The export of less than £40,000 to India led to an export of the produce of that country to England valued at more than five times that amount. The heaviest vessel employed in this trade in 1614 was somewhat less than fifteen hundred tons. The vessels employed in the entire commerce of England were, including great and small, about a thousand, but it was matter of frequent complaint that English coals, and other productions, were carried to different parts of the world by foreign vessels.

Pacific as was the reign of James, the English ships of war increased under that monarch to double the number left him by his predecessor, though even yet they were little more than twenty. In 1623 the interest of money in England was reduced by law from ten to eight per cent. By a law passed twenty years before, the exportation of corn was forbidden when below £1 6s. 8d. per quarter. This law restricted the exportation of other grain after the same manner. The tonnage and poundage, of which so much mention is made in this period of history, consisted, the former of a payment of so much per ton on the wine imported, and the latter of one shilling on every twenty shillings' worth of goods exported or imported, with exceptions as to a few specified articles. In 1608 James was induced to make an experiment with regard to the staple of English commerce—woollen cloths—which should be noticed in this place, as showing the still imperfect state of English manufacture with respect to that article, and also the great evil of allowing commercial regulations to depend on the will of the crown or of its ministers. English artisans manufactured English wool into cloth, but it was still conveyed to Holland to be dressed and dyed. James listened to a merchant who proposed that the dressing and dyeing should be done at home, and that England should no longer allow herself to be despoiled in so great a degree of the fruit of her labours by Holland.

A proclamation was accordingly issued, which prohibited the exportation of cloth in the white, as it was called—a measure which destroyed the existing charter of the merchant-adventurers in regard to that article, and which was so much resented by the Dutch and German traders that they resolved not to admit the new English cloths among them as a matter of merchandise. Added to which, as might have been expected from the suddenness of the change, the English dressing and dyeing not only proved to be much inferior to the Dutch, but much more expensive. By this means some myriads of industrious people were exposed to idleness and want, and the English monarch,

whose sole object was to create a monopoly that might assist in rendering him independent of parliament, was compelled, by degrees, to abandon his scheme. Every channel of industry was liable to be thus disturbed by these royal interferences, and these were in fact so frequent that the age of James I has sometimes been described as "the Reign of Proclamations."

STATE OF LONDON

These proclamations were issued in some instances against eating flesh during Lent; sometimes for the purpose of calling on the nobles and country gentlemen to retire from the capital, that the good order and hospitality of their times might not be neglected; and more frequently to secure improvements in certain parts of the metropolis, and to regulate the number and quality of the houses that might be erected within its walls or precincts. It may deserve notice that, in the third year from James' accession, St. Giles' in the Fields was still a village at some distance from the city, an act being passed in that year requiring that St. Giles' and Drury lane should be made passable by being paved. About the same time, the distance of a mile, which had separated Westminster and the city, began to be covered with decent houses, instead of the thatched and mud-walled dwellings which had hitherto been strewed over the space since so well known by the name of the Strand. Another circumstance which bespoke the increasing population and wealth of the capital was the supplying it with fresh water by the formation of the New River, traversing a course of fifty miles, and crossed by more than two hundred bridges. This great work was completed in 1609.

James, in one of his proclamations, required all houses raised within the walls of the city to be built with brick or stone—the thickness of the walls, the height of the stories, and the form of the windows being also described; and persons neglecting these instructions, or building within two miles of the city gates without special permission, were threatened with such censures as the Star Chamber had the power to inflict. The principal reasons assigned for prohibitions of this nature both by Elizabeth and James were the fear of mortality in the case of infectious disorders, the probable want of provisions adequate to the support of so great a multitude, and the difficulty of providing a police numerous enough to detect the vicious or to put down insurrection. Hitherto the Thames had not been navigable farther than within seven miles of Oxford. Towards the close of this reign that remaining extent was made thus available, to the great advantage of both cities—the state of the roads being such as to make land-carriage very tedious and costly. These facts, relating to the growing importance of the capital, are introduced as furnishing the most certain indication with regard to the general improvement of the country. It is amusing to find the ministers of James and Elizabeth complaining of the head as having become in their day greatly disproportioned to the body.

MANNERS OF THE COURT

From the state of commerce and of the capital at this period, we pass to notice the complexion of manners in the court and in the nation at large. With respect to the manners of the court, there was much in the sex and still more in the character of the late sovereign which served to impose an attention to decency and decorum on the persons admitted to her presence. But when this check was removed, the frivolous and vicious tendencies among the rising

[*ca.* 1603-1625 A.D.]

members of not a few leading families, which had been with difficulty restrained, broke forth as through a loosened embankment. James was no sooner settled in his new dominions than his characteristic fondness for ease and indulgence resumed its influence over him, and as small a portion of time as possible was given to the cares of government. The court presented a succession of costly and fantastic spectacles, partly in compliance with the taste of the monarch, but more, perhaps, with that of the queen.

In these masks there were many indications of learning and genius, and sometimes nearly as many of indecency and bad taste, though their sins against taste, it must be confessed, were less those of individuals than of the times. Theatrical performances of this nature had never been so much in fashion as during this reign. Jonson, the great dramatist, frequently employed himself in composing them. Their want of all natural dramatic interest, and of anything that could be called dialogue, except as sustained by a few professional assistants, was supplied in some measure by the fabulous and romantic character of the persons, the objects, and the scenes which made up the courtly spectacle. Gods and goddesses rose from the deep, or descended from the skies, and passed and repassed, amidst the scenic presentation of earth or heaven in pageant grandeur; and in these appearances sang appropriate songs, or gave utterance to mythological or allegorical compliments. The parts of most show, but requiring the least skill to perform, were sustained by the ladies and gentlemen of the court, who not unfrequently became visible, drawn by dolphins or mermaids, or commanding the services of winged dragons.

BEN JONSON
(1573-1637)

Childish as we may deem these representations, it is evident that Jonson laboured in the production of them with no ordinary pleasure. "Strains of the highest poetry of which his muse was capable animate his masks," says Miss Aiken,[b] "while their number and their unfailing variety excite not only admiration but wonder. The glowing sentiments of virtue and heroism with which they abound reflect still higher honour on the poet, but they might almost be regarded as a covert satire on the manners of the court, for which this Samson of learning was compelled to perform his feats of agility and strength." The indecency adverted to, as sometimes connected with the masks of James I, consisted much more in the mode of exhibiting them than in the productions themselves. Our best account of these amusements is from the pen of Sir John Harington.[h]

SIR JOHN HARINGTON'S ACCOUNT OF A COURT FÊTE

"In compliance with your asking, now shall you accept my poor account of rich doings. I came here a day or two before the Danish king came, and from the day he did come until this hour I have been well-nigh overwhelmed

with carousal, and sports of all kinds. The sports began each day in such manner and such sort as had well-nigh persuaded me of Mohammed's paradise. We had women, and indeed wine too, of such plenty as would have astonished each sober beholder. Our feasts were magnificent, and the two royal guests did most lovingly embrace each other at table. I think the Dane has strangely wrought on our good English nobles, for those whom I never could get to taste good liquor, now follow the fashion, and wallow in beastly delights. The ladies abandon their sobriety, and are seen to roll about in intoxication. In good sooth, the parliament did kindly to provide his majesty so seasonably with money, for there has been no lack of good living, shows, sights, and banquetings, from morn to eve.

"One day a great feast was held, and after dinner the representation of Solomon's Temple and the coming of the queen of Sheba was made—or, I may better say, was meant to have been made—before their majesties, by devise of the earl of Salisbury and others. But alas! as all earthly things do fail to poor mortals in enjoyment, so did prove our presentation hereof. The lady who played the queen's part carried most precious gifts to both their majesties, but forgetting the steps arising to the canopy, overset her caskets into his Danish majesty's lap and fell at his feet; though I rather think it was in his face. Much was the hurry and confusion; cloths and napkins were at hand to make all clean. His majesty then got up, and would dance with the queen of Sheba; but he fell down and humbled himself before her, and was carried to an inner chamber and laid on a bed of state, which was not a little defiled with the presents of the queen, which had been bestowed on his garments, such as wine, cream, beveridge, cakes, spices, and other good matters. The entertainment and show went forward, and most of the presenters went backward, and fell down, wine did so occupy their upper chambers.

"Now did appear in rich dress, Faith, Hope, and Charity. Hope did essay to speak, but wine rendered her endeavours so feeble, that she withdrew, and hoped that the king would excuse her brevity. Faith was then alone, for I am certain she was not joined with good works, and left the court in a staggering condition. Charity came to the king's feet, and seemed to cover a multitude of sins her sister had committed; in some sort she made obeisance, and brought gifts, but said she would return home again, as there was no gift which heaven had not already given his majesty. She then returned to Faith and Hope, who were both sick in the lower hall. Next came Victory, in bright armour, and by a strange medley of versification did endeavour to make suit to the king. But Victory did not triumph long, for after much lamentable utterance she was led away like a silly captive, and laid to sleep on the outer steps of the ante-chamber. Now Peace did make entry and strive to get foremost to the king; but I grieve to tell how great wrath she did discover unto those of her attendants, and, much contrary to her semblance, most rudely made war with her olive branch, and laid on the pates of those who did oppose her coming.

"I will now in good sooth declare to you, who will not blab, that the gunpowder fright is gone out of all our heads, and we are going on hereabouts as if the devil was contriving every man should blow up himself by wild riots, excess, and devastation of time and temperance. The great ladies go well masked, and indeed the only show of their modesty is in concealing their countenance; but alack! they meet with such countenance to uphold their strange doings, that I marvel not at aught that happens. I do often say, but not aloud, that the Danes have again conquered the Britons, for I see no man, or woman either, that can now command himself or herself."[c]

GENERAL STATE OF SOCIETY

Now this description, it will be remembered, is not that of a morbid Puritanism, but one coming from a man whose temper and habits were in nothing alien from the usual gaieties of a court; nor was there anything in the conduct of James towards the writer that can be regarded as disposing him to look on the English court at this time with an eye of prejudice.

Added to the intemperance described, and to the many secret or open vices attendant on it, was the practice of gaming, which the king not only encouraged on all occasions by his presence, but by frequent participation. The temperament of James, and other causes, made him almost insensible to the attraction of women; but he had always much to do with intrigues relating to them as prosecuted by others, a memorable instance of which we have in the affair of the countess of Essex. It is not a trivial portion of the guilt attaching to that detestable transaction which rests upon the sovereign; and the difference of natural constitution makes the encouragement given to licentiousness by a Charles II almost excusable when compared with the same conduct in a James I. In brief, the leading characteristics of the English court under the first of the Stuarts may be said to have been frivolity, intemperance, looseness of principle generally, and especially an habitual opposition to everything connected with the liberty of the subject, and to every graver view of religion; and all these traits in the court resulted in no small degree from the character of the monarch. There were, no doubt, exceptions to this order of things, but they were mere exceptions.

LONDON MANNERS

Something of the spirit of society in the metropolis at this time may be perceived in the nature of those public ordinaries which now became common in the city and its neighbourhood. Those tables were soon known as a place of very general resort to persons in the middle and higher classes of society, and scenes where they contributed with singular success to deprave each other. The repast in those places was too generally followed by inebriation; in this state the less suspecting were lured to the board of the gamester, and, in the end, often became victims of the sharper and the money-lender, perhaps of the duellist. Debauchery of every description followed in the train of these evils. In such schools a large portion of the cavaliers of the next reign were formed. It is amidst the growing prevalence of such manners that contemporary writers—themselves no precisionists in religion—begin to publish their complaints with respect to "the notorious debauchery of the Episcopal clergy."

Already the term Puritan had become a designation of reproach which the profligate were pleased to cast on every appearance of conscientiousness, whether relating to the affairs of this world or the next. "Under that term," says Osborne,[d] "were comprehended not only those brain-sick fools who opposed the discipline and ceremonies of the church and made religion an umbrella to impiety, but such as out of mere honesty restrained the vices of the times were branded with this title. Neither was any being charged with it, though of the best relation, thought competent to preferment in church or commonwealth; which made the bad glory in their impiety, and such as had not an extraordinary measure of grace, ashamed of any outward profession of sanctity. Court sermons were fraught with bitter invectives against these

people, whom they seated far nearer the confines of hell than papists. To avoid the imputation of Puritanism—a greater sin than vice in the way of preferment—our divines, for the generality, did sacrifice more time to Bacchus than to Minerva, and being excellent company, drew the most ingenious laity into a like excess."

Dean White,[e] who was no Puritan, but a prelatist of a different order from "the generality," above described by Osborne, addressed himself to a London auditory in the following terms: "No sin is so great but it is among us, and the greatest sins many times either least punished or not at all. And this course is so general that he begins to be counted very precise that will not swear and swagger with the worst. The torrent of these things is so strong that it seems manifestly to tend to the dissolution of society. Three things maintain society: religion, justice, and order. Religion is pitifully violated by atheism, blasphemy, heresy, and horrible profaneness. Justice is destroyed by oppression, rapine, bribery, extortion, and partiality. Government and order are profaned by contention. The walls of Babylon," he exclaims, "might be kept in repair for as little cost as our women are; when a lady's head-dress is sometimes as rich as her husband's rent-day." The men, he remarks, were in this respect little better, and the evil was altogether so desperate that he could not hope to see it controlled. As to drunkenness, it is described as so general "through the kingdom," that the Germans were likely "to lose their charter" in that kind of indulgence. In general, these pulpit representations should not be applied to the purposes of history without some material deductions. But in this instance the report of the layman from his study and of the clerk from his rostrum are to the same effect.

White complains of the city theatres as being scenes of the greatest disorder and profanity; and the secretary Winwood at the same time writes, "The players do not forbear to present upon their stage the whole course of this present time, not sparing either king, state, or religion, in so great absurdity, and with such liberty, that any would be afraid to hear them." It is somewhat singular, and perhaps to his credit, that James should so far have permitted this license.[1] But a piece called *Eastward Ho!* produced by Jonson, Chapman, and Marston, contained a satirical passage on the Scotch residents in England, which gave so much offence to persons about the sovereign, that the authors were committed to prison and in danger of losing their ears, or of having their noses slit.[2] The free satirical temper of the drama at this time was, in part, an effect of the spirit of the age, and reacted on that spirit, upon the whole, with advantage.

We know not how far the incentives of the theatre may have contributed to the excesses of those bands among the London populace, who, under the name of Roaring Boys, and Roysters, and other designations, beset the streets of the city at night, assailing the peaceable inhabitants, and spreading general

[1] James' love of wit, or of what he took for it, had something to do with his forbearance in this respect. Howell[l] in one of his letters writes that the king, while listening to the reading of an abusive satire upon his court, declared once and again that the author should "hang for it"; but when the concluding couplet came,

> Now God preserve the king, the queen, the peers,
> And grant the author long may wear his ears!

the monarch exclaimed, "By my soul, so thou shalt for me; thou art a bitter, but thou art a witty, knave."

[2] Jonson's mother is said to have procured poison for the purpose of taking it herself and administering it to her son rather than see him subject to so ignominious a punishment. But James had too much respect for the poet to make it probable that he would proceed to such extremities.

[*ca.* 1603-1625 A.D.]

alarm. But so much of turbulent material was there in the capital, and so manifestly feeble was the government, that these disgraceful uproars seemed to bid defiance to all possible attempts to suppress them.

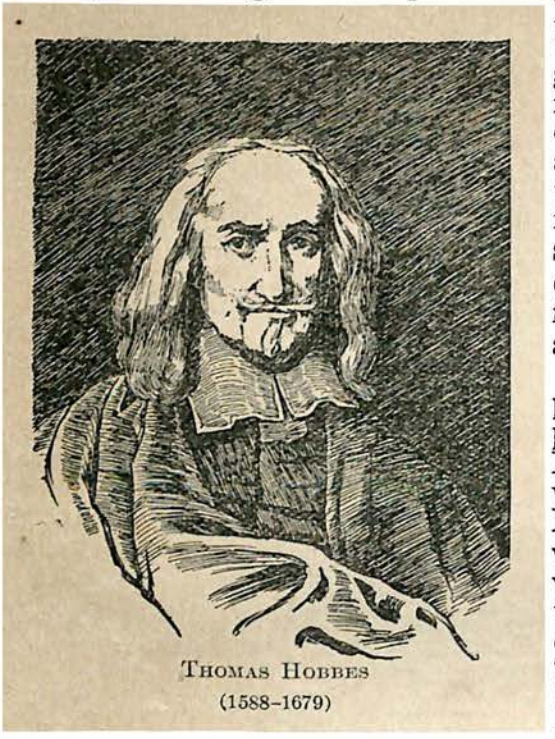
We have said nothing with respect to the frivolity and corruption of the court that is not borne out but too manifestly by facts; and society, especially in the capital, became seriously tainted by its complicated vices; but it so happened that, throughout the reign of James I, if we except what is indicated in the proceedings of the lower house of parliament, the impurities of the social state, as forming the most patronised portion of it, were constantly floating on the surface, and accordingly appear to be much more considerable as compared with the mass than they really were. There was an undercurrent, deep and powerful, with which these light and filthy properties had little connection. This is placed beyond all reasonable doubt by the character of the men who were sent to parliament, not only from the boroughs and cities, but from the counties, and by the general struggle of the next reign in favour of the principles of which those men were the unwearied advocates. For this, however, the people were indebted, under the favour of heaven, to themselves, not to the house of Stuart.

STATE OF LITERATURE

But if the influence of the court was so far limited with respect to the morals and spirit of the nation, it is not less gratifying to perceive that there were circumstances which conferred a similar exemption on literature. Not that this matter, any more than the natural sense of justice and moral propriety, was without its injuries from that source. The great fault of the prose-compositions at this period was in a quaint pedantic mannerism; while in the poetry these blemishes were increased by an affected adulatory language in reference to the fair and the powerful; and, in productions for the theatres, by a frequent, and often, it would seem, a studied indecency. This last fault, which is too broadly and frequently indulged to be endured by any modern auditory, is said to have been no more prominent than was imperatively demanded by the taste of the play-goers; so much so, that pieces by authors who seem most censurable on this account are reported to have failed simply in consequence of their not being sufficiently adapted to the prevailing taste for grossness and obscenity.

Shakespeare, though by no means innocent in this respect, is much less an offender than any man of his time; but it seems to have required all his genius to gain for him impunity in so far refusing to cater for such appetites. The inference to be deduced from this fact with respect to the condition of a large portion of society in the metropolis is too obvious to need pointing out. But admitting these grave exceptions, and some others of less weight, there remains enough in the productions of the English mind, from about the middle of the age of Elizabeth to the beginning of the civil war, to render it certain that, with respect to the achievements of original genius, this is the brightest period in the history of the English people. It was not an age of the most refined taste, nor was its knowledge so extended, or in all respects so skilfully exhibited and applied as in later times; but no other half century had done so much to discover and accumulate those precious materials with which the taste and the reason of man were meant to be conversant, nor so much, in fact, to improve those faculties themselves.

The momentous freedom conferred on the human mind by the Reformation, the sharp collision of its powers immediately consequent on that event, and the fashion of patronising literary men which obtained in the court of Elizabeth, were among the more proximate causes of this brilliant era in literary history. The works produced during this interval, though partaking of the greatest variety, all bear a sort of family impress, and intimate the operation of causes at once prevalent and powerful. One remarkable feature in them is, that whatever their faults may be, they were not themselves exotics, but almost uniformly characterised by an untrammelled freedom, by a singular fearlessness, and by a large share of originality.



THOMAS HOBBES
(1588–1679)

Among the prose writers whose productions contribute to render this period so illustrious are Sidney, Hooker, Raleigh, and Bacon, with whom it commenced; and Hall, Hobbes, Taylor, and Clarendon, with whom it closed—all men whose minds were formed at this juncture, though the principal works of some of them did not appear until afterwards. The poetry, however, of this age, beginning with Spenser and ending with Milton, is more remarkable than its prose. It embraces the whole of that class of writers who are known under the name of the "old dramatists." These include the names of Greene, Marlowe, Lyly, Legge, Lodge, Shakespeare, Daniel, Beaumont and Fletcher, Marston, Chapman, Middleton, Jonson, Field, Dekker, Webster, Ford, Rowley, Massinger, Suckling, Heywood Phillips, and Heming, not to mention others.

THE ARTS

England at this time had no school of art, and her science existed in embryo rather than in any advanced state. From the accession of the house of Tudor, the patronage of sovereigns and of the nobility had served to attract foreign artists and to diffuse a considerable taste for painting. Sir Anthony More (Attoni Moro) visited this country for the practice of his art in the reign of Philip and Mary, and was followed by several painters of talent from Holland and Flanders, until the day when Rubens and Vandyke were so much employed in depicting the leading men. Elizabeth discovered a fondness for the possession of pictures; and was surpassed in her zeal in this way by Lord Buckhurst. Music also was deemed an important branch of general education with both sexes.

Inigo Jones is almost the only name in architecture at the period under review, and of him it is not a little to say that, if inferior to Sir Christopher Wren in mathematical and general knowledge, and in native expanse of mind, he has been described by some as upon the whole the superior of that artist in

[*ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

taste, and as more of an architect by education, and though unequal, he was certainly capable of imparting to his works some features both of beauty and grandeur. His principal works are seen at Greenwich, in the chapel at Whitehall, and in the hall and chapel of Lincoln's Inn; but the water-gate at York House is regarded by many as his most beautiful production.

LORD BACON AND SCIENCE

With respect to the natural sciences, nearly everything relating to their state during this period may be found in the writings of Francis Bacon. It was reserved to the genius of that extraordinary man to direct the scientific mind not only of his country, but of Christendom, into the true path of knowledge; to call the attention of men from metaphysical abstraction to the facts of nature; and in this manner to perform the two most important services that could be rendered to the future world of philosophy—first, by indicating how much it had to unlearn and how much to acquire; and, secondly, by pointing out the method in which the one process and the other might be successfully conducted. This was not to be done, except by a mind well informed as to the existing state of scientific knowledge, and one which might furnish from the stores of its own intelligence many of the seeds of positive improvement. But the object of Bacon was less to effect a marked progress in any one field of inquiry, than to show how the whole might be cultivated so as to exclude the thorn and the briar, and to make the soil productive in a hundred fold.

FRANCIS BACON
(1561–1626)
(From an old print)

The conclusions admitted into the Baconian system of knowledge were all to be deduced from the ascertained facts of the physical universe, and from these facts selected in sufficient numbers, and so far examined and compared, as to impart to the conclusions deduced from them the character of certainty and law. The dependence, accordingly, of this system on the most rigid and comprehensive processes of experiment has obtained for its illustrious author the title Father of Experimental Philosophy. Not that experiment—the examination of nature's self—the interrogating, as it is called, of her appearances, had been hitherto wholly neglected. The name of Roger Bacon and the history of alchemy are enough to show the contrary; and while Galileo was the contemporary of Francis Bacon, Kepler, Tycho Brahe, and Copernicus were among his predecessors; and Gilbert had investigated the laws of magnetism upon the purest principles of rigorous induction. But, unhappily, the experiments made were, generally speaking, so isolated, so devoid of comprehensiveness and system—and, above all, the metaphysics of the Schoolmen were allowed to dominate so injuriously over the whole region of physical things—that the rays of truth which had been elicited by this means were too often made to do the office of the *ignis fatuus*, rather than any better service.

Hence what the age of Luther was in regard to religious faith, the age of Bacon was in regard to the whole domain of natural science. Both had their precursors, but both had so great a work to perform as to be justly esteemed the parents of the mighty revolution which followed them. Boyle, Locke, and Newton have their place among the illustrious progeny of our great scientific reformer; while on the Continent the progress of the human intellect during the two most enlightened centuries in the history of mankind has only served to render it certain that the name of Bacon will never cease to attract the homage of civilised humanity.

REVIEW OF THE ENGLISH CONSTITUTION

Before we proceed to the important reign of Charles I, it may be proper to advert in this place to various matters relating to the time of his predecessor, some of which have been touched upon but lightly, if at all, in the preceding narrative. Much has occurred in the preceding chapter to show the state of the English constitution and government during this period. The two great principles of the constitution with which its freedom in all respects is mainly connected are, first, that Englishmen should not be taxed without their consent virtually given through the medium of their representatives in the national council; and, secondly, that the concurrent voice of lords and commons in parliament assembled should be necessary to the adoption of every regulation having the force of law. Long before James ascended the throne both these principles had been established by many enactments, and they were generally acknowledged, though not so completely as to have been secure from occasional attempts to break in upon them, even down to a comparatively recent period.

The great provision which required that no tribute should be exacted from the property of the subject without consent of parliament, was sometimes infringed by the government in calling for certain contributions under the name of a loan or a benevolence. These loans were obtained by means of royal letters, called privy seals, addressed to the persons required to become contributors; and the sums thus obtained were not only obtained without interest, but could not be recovered by any process of law—a benevolence was distinguished from a loan as being a gift to the crown. As there was no law to authorise either kind of exaction, so there was no direct punishment that could be inflicted on such as refused to part with their money when thus solicited. But the government, by quartering soldiers on such persons, or by forcing them to go on some distant mission for the crown, possessed the power of making such acts of disobedience both inconvenient and costly.

From a period considerably earlier than the accession of the house of Tudor, it had not been pretended that this method of raising money was the constitutional one, the plea on such occasions being that of necessity or peculiar emergency, to which the cumbrous movement of assembling the council of the nation was not applicable. Besides the provisions against all such exactions so expressly made in the Great Charter, it was enacted in the twenty-fifth year of Edward III "that no person should make any loan to the king against his will, because such loans are against reason and the franchise of the land." Even in the tyrannical reign of Henry VIII an effort to raise money in contempt of this prohibition led the people generally to remark that "if men should give their goods by a commission, then were it worse than the taxes of France, and so England should be bond and not free." So

[*ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

loud indeed were the complaints occasioned by this proceeding that Henry deemed it prudent to recall his warrants, and obtained the needed assistance by a vote of parliament.

It would have been quite in accordance with Elizabeth's high notions concerning her prerogative had she shown a disposition to obtain her supplies in this manner; but it is to be observed here that through the course of almost half a century during which that princess occupied the throne, she abstained from soliciting a single benevolence, and that not more than two instances occur of her obtaining loans, both of which were solicited to meet a pressing state of affairs, and both were honourably repaid. To avoid such applications to her people, Elizabeth is known to have given twelve and even fifteen per cent. for the loan of money on her own responsibility.[1] James, we have seen, was much less scrupulous in this respect. Indeed, to obtain money by such means was the almost constant employment of his ministers, though, happily, with only a moderate share of success.

But it was not merely by soliciting loans under the name of privy seals, or gifts under the name of a benevolence, that the English government had sometimes obtained pecuniary aid from the subject without consent of parliament. In the earlier period the duty laid upon merchandise at the ports, now known by the name of the customs, was sometimes imposed, though contrary to an express provision of the Great Charter, by the sole authority of the crown; and while this power was in any measure conceded to the government, the authority of parliament, as the medium of taxation, was necessarily imperfect. James and his ministers availed themselves of every precedent, however remote, in favour of such exercises of the prerogative. With what success this was done has already appeared; an instance from the reign of Mary, which upon examination totally failed, being the only semblance of a precedent to be adduced in favour of this pretension on the part of the crown from the time of Edward III, a space of more than two centuries.

It was not by such means, but principally by the sale of monopolies, that Elizabeth contrived to replenish her treasury beyond the extent in which she judged it prudent to ask the assistance of her parliament. On this subject her parliaments uttered loud complaints, and not without considerable success.[2] Such, then, was the state of the first great provision of the constitution on the accession of the house of Stuart—it was the law and usage of the realm that its property should not be taxed without consent of parliament. The second great principle relates to the legislative power of parliament. This was less perfectly understood and secured than the former, but by no means so imperfectly as it has been sometimes represented. In the reign of Henry VIII a royal proclamation possessed nearly the whole force of a statute; but the servile enactment which had conceded this extravagant authority to that

[1] It thus appears there had been just five attempts to raise money in the manner adverted to before the accession of the house of Stuart, only one of which can be said to have been made with success. Yet Hume *j* states that Elizabeth often raised money in this way, and describes the practice as so common in the history of the English government that scarcely anyone thought of questioning it. The benevolence adverted to by this writer as declined by Elizabeth in 1585 was an ordinary parliamentary supply, of which the term benevolence had long been and still continued to be the frequent technical designation. [Gardiner *k* points out that Elizabeth actually returned to her subjects a subsidy voted in 1566 and already collected.]

[2] Elizabeth, in prospect of her coronation, sent to the custom-house prohibiting the export of any crimson silk, until her own wants in that article were supplied. This pitiable act of the great queen has been described as a specimen of the freedom with which English sovereigns could employ their prerogative to lay on embargoes and to extort money from traders. But so far was the queen from regarding herself as only doing a thing of course in this instance, that the persons required to see her pleasure accomplished were enjoined "to keep the matter secret."

monarch was rescinded in the next reign. In the reign of Elizabeth, however, proclamations were frequent, principally in consequence of the long intervals between the meetings of parliament. So long as these royal announcements were founded on existing laws, they were, in the language of Sir Edward Coke, "of great force," and their operation might be highly beneficial; but the evil was, that they sometimes made that to be an offence which the law had not so made, and led to the infliction of penalties in some cases which the law did not warrant.

The dangers attendant on foreign relations, and those domestic animosities which continued through the whole reign of the last of the Tudors, made it almost necessary that something like this temporary power of legislation should be vested in the government, lest any sudden juncture of affairs, for which existing enactments might not be found to have sufficiently provided, should prove fatal to the state. Elizabeth sometimes abused the confidence thus reposed in her discretion, but very rarely, and her subjects always regarded this branch of her authority with peculiar jealousy. James issued proclamations in greater number than his predecessors, often assuming the full tone of the legislator; but the degree in which his injunctions were obeyed depended on the matter to which they referred, and on the temper of the moment in which they happened to be published. The Star Chamber was the court where offences against proclamations were especially cognisable.

But a circumstance remains to be mentioned which has much more the appearance of an infringement on the authority of parliament—we allude to the practice of the sovereign in interfering with its debates, and requiring the suspension of discussions with respect to any measure unacceptable to the court. The king is not supposed to know what has been doing in either house until the result of successive deliberations has been placed before him in the shape of a bill, to which his assent is solicited that it may become a law. In the age of Elizabeth and James it was otherwise, royal messages, having respect to the matters under consideration, being not unfrequently sent to the upper or lower house, and of such a nature as to disturb very materially the independence of its proceedings. But it should be added, that so early as the reign of Henry IV the commons obtained a law which promised them freedom from such interruption; and that it was only on particular questions, as the succession, or ecclesiastical affairs, that even Elizabeth ventured to meddle thus with the course of things in the lords or commons—nearly sixty bills on ordinary subjects having regularly passed both houses in 1597, to which her assent was refused at the end of the session. It must be observed also that this usage was not of a kind to affect existing enactments, its principal effect being to express the dissent of the crown during the progress of a measure, instead of its being deferred, as at present, until the deliberations of parliament have been brought to a close.

Enough has appeared in the reign of James I to show how imperfect was the administration of justice at this period, particularly in cases where any state interest or the passions of the court were concerned. In ordinary proceedings between man and man, the course prescribed by the law was respected; except where the cause was of so much importance as to expose the judges to the influence or the bribes of some powerful litigant. But among the laws designed to protect the liberty and property of the subject, there was no one which might not be made to give way when the plea resorted to was the welfare of the state. And how many were the matters which might be dealt with as having a relation to that object. The judges held their seats but during good behaviour; and the jury, if they dared to return a verdict

[*ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

contrary to the wishes of the government, were liable to be brought into the Star Chamber, where to retract their judgment was the only means of escaping from heavy fines, and from imprisonment determined in its nature and duration by the pleasure of that tribunal.

It is true the instances in which juries were so treated were not frequent; but so long as this state inquisition was allowed to spread itself in this manner like an incubus over all the ordinary courts of justice, the most valued securities held forth by the law were liable to be put in abeyance. The judge, as the creature of the court, too commonly shared in its virulence, whenever it appeared as a prosecutor; and the terrors which presented themselves to the eyes of a jury were sufficient to prevent their acting in the spirit of that institution—as a barrier against oppression.[1] It must not, however, be supposed that the administration of justice which was required by the law or usage of the times adverted to was in all respects the same with what is familiar to us. If correct views with respect to the history of English jurisprudence are to be formed, it is of the first importance to distinguish between those failures of justice which resulted from the character of the judge and of those who acted under his directions, and such as may be fairly traced to the then imperfect state of the law.

It was not so much the imperfect state of the law in regard to cases of treason which led to the condemnation of Raleigh, as the terrors of a power which had often proved to be stronger than the law. As much legal technicality might have been urged in defence of the proceedings against Raleigh as in the case of most of those persons whose lot it was to be brought to trial as state prisoners during the preceding reigns; but in saying this we leave the jury under the charge of pusillanimous injustice, and we have to trace that injustice to the vice and tyranny of the government. Even in the age of Elizabeth, it was not until the state prisoner appeared at the bar and listened to his indictment that he became fully aware of the charge against him; and then he was not only required to plead instantly, but had to extract the matters of accusation from the maze of legal subtleties with which they were interwoven.

He might deny the charge, but the verbal or written depositions of absent parties, and parties often of the most suspicious character, were admitted as evidence against him, while on his own part he was not permitted to adduce any witness to attest his innocence, or to impeach the witnesses of the crown. He had not the assistance of counsel, and had at the same time to guard against a multitude of ensnaring questions pressed upon him by the counsel for the crown, and by the judges. If pronounced guilty, his life and property were at the mercy of the sovereign; and if acquitted by the jury, they received their punishment in the Star Chamber, while he was remanded to his prison until some new ground of proceeding against him should be made out, or to continue there as long as it should be the pleasure of the government.

Some of these practices were not contrary to law as it then existed. There are others, however, which were well known to be illegal. But what did it avail that the law proclaimed the injustice of the government, if the government, in its spirit of usurpation, was strong enough to deprive the subject

[1 So Hallam says: "Some of those glaring transgressions of natural as well as positive law rendered our courts of justice in cases of treason little better than the caverns of murderers. Whoever was arraigned at their bar was almost certain to meet a virulent prosecutor, a judge hardly distinguishable from the prosecutor except by his ermine, and a passive, pusillanimous jury. Those who are acquainted only with our modern decent and dignified procedure can form little conception of the irregularity of ancient trials."]

of the power necessary for using it in his defence? Nothing, for example, was more certain at this period than that the application of torture was contrary to law, yet nothing was more common than the use of it in these state prosecutions.

The practice of dealing with state delinquents by way of parliamentary impeachment, which was revived under James, and the improvements introduced in the mode of conducting such prosecutions subsequent to the trial of the earl of Middlesex, were important acquisitions in favour of more regular government, the high court of parliament being much more independent than the ordinary courts of law. The stream of national justice was farther purified by the many prosecutions on charges of bribery and corruption.

Under governments so much disposed toward encroachment on popular freedom as were those of the house of Tudor, it was not to have been expected that the liberty of the subject would always be held sacred, inasmuch as the powers of arresting obnoxious persons at pleasure, without being obliged to assign any cause for such acts, or being under the necessity of bringing such persons to trial, is that to which arbitrary princes have generally clung with the utmost tenacity. During the reign of James, individuals were liable to arrests of this nature. But these commitments, which generally took place on the most vague pretences, were not very frequent, except in the case of some popular members of the lower house. They were, however, sufficiently numerous to be regarded with alarm as precedents of the most dangerous description. Elizabeth had shown a resolute inclination to indulge in this species of tyranny; but even her judges were united in declaring it to be the law of the land that no subject should be deprived of his liberty without a specified and lawful cause; and consistently with this declaration, they opposed the justice of the law, from time to time, to the passions of the court, by releasing many persons who had been illegally committed.

Nothing could be more pitiable than the attempt to vindicate the conduct of the court in this respect in the memorable debate concerning it soon after the death of James. On that occasion the generous provisions of Magna Charta, and of many subsequent statutes, were adduced, and to these the defenders of arbitrary power had absolutely nothing to oppose save certain instances of violence in the conduct of successive governments which those laws had been expressly framed to prevent. It was natural that James should be more disposed to copy the irregularities of his predecessors in this respect, than that he should bow to the spirit of freedom which pervaded ancient statutes. The great check on such acts was in the rising spirit of liberty among the people, which, during the sittings of parliament, spoke out without restraint in the lower house. But we have seen that even this medium of resistance was not sufficient to restrain the conduct of the government in all cases within the limits of the constitution.

The means, however, which enabled the government of those times to invade the privileges of the subject with most success were found in the constitution and the usurpations of the courts of Star Chamber and High Commission—the former being, in its abused and corrupted state, a species of inquisition, employed to awe down every appearance of insubordination in the state, and the latter being instituted to perform the same office with regard to the church. But expedient as such a provision may have been in these rude and unsettled times, the state of society in England when the sceptre passed from the Tudor to the Stuart dynasty was such as to preclude the necessity for so dangerous an engine of power. Nothing, however, was farther from the intention of

James and his successor than that the court of Star Chamber should cease to exist, or that it should become at all less arbitrary or less active than in preceding reigns.

The court of High Commission was instituted to ascertain and correct all heresies and disorders subject to ecclesiastical authority. According to the commission issued in 1583, this tribunal consisted of forty-four persons, including twelve prelates, and the majority of the privy council, besides the members chosen from among the civilians, and the clergy generally. It devolved on these persons to inquire from time to time, either by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, or by such other lawful means as they could devise, with respect to all contempts and offences contrary to the acts of Supremacy and Uniformity. It was their province to take cognisance of seditious books, heretical opinions, false rumours or talks, and slanderous words, and of a variety of offences against good morals; and in so doing they were accustomed to examine suspected persons upon oath, and punished contempt of their authority not only by the sentence of excommunication, but by fines and imprisonment; and it was determined by the commissioners that these serious penalties might be inflicted by any three of their number, one of them being a prelate. The court of High Commission, therefore, was a kind of national bishops' court, with enlarged powers, embracing those questions of religion and morality which had pertained to the jurisdiction of the clergy during the Middle Ages. From all the provincial bishops' courts an appeal lay to this superior tribunal. It should be added, that the creation of this court was the act of the first parliament under Elizabeth, and that five commissions relating to it had been framed before that of 1583.

As these commissioners were selected in nearly equal numbers from the laity and the clergy, it was to be expected that their jurisdiction would not prove to be purely of an ecclesiastical character. Had the penalties awarded by these functionaries been restricted to excommunication in the case of the laity, and deprivation in the case of the clergy, the former sentence alone exposed the person on whom it was pronounced to many weighty grievances as a subject. But to this means of enforcing obedience these guardians of the ecclesiastical state added direct fines and imprisonment; and it was this encroachment of a jurisdiction which should have been strictly ecclesiastical, on the province of the courts of law, which rendered the court of High Commission so much an object of dislike with the friends of liberty generally. During the reign of James, the Puritans, and every succeeding house of commons, did themselves honour by the temper and intelligence with which they exposed and resisted the usurpations and the dangerous usages of this power. Nor should we forget to mention the patriotic conduct of Sir Edward Coke in this respect. The commons, indeed, would have abolished this instrument of arbitrary rule, but the utmost that could be at present accomplished was to limit its excesses.[1]

We have had occasion to notice the complaints of the commons during the reign of James with respect to the partial enforcement of the laws against Catholics; and this practice of the crown in enforcing certain statutes very much at its discretion, and in sometimes conferring on individuals a dispensation from the penalties of particular enactments, was an irregularity in the working of the English government that could not be too seriously deplored.

[1] In the forty-second year of Elizabeth, one Simpson killed an officer of the commission court who attempted to make a forcible entry into his house by virtue of a warrant from that authority, and the judges acquitted him, declaring that he had only availed himself of the protection of the law. The tyranny of this court reached its highest point under Charles I.

It must always be admitted that somewhat of a dispensing power pertains to the crown so long as the king is allowed to pardon criminals, and is not bound legally to prosecute in any particular instance. But under the Tudor princes this power was not confined to such narrow limits, though, according to Sir Edward Coke, "all grants of the benefit of any penal law, or of power to dispense with the law, or to compound for the forfeiture, are contrary to the ancient fundamental laws of the realm." This was no doubt the view of the case generally entertained during the age of Elizabeth, and, in consequence, the occasional abuses of this nature which occurred were exceedingly unpopular.

Hooker,[f] whose views on such a topic must be entitled to the greatest deference, remarks: "I cannot but choose to commend highly their wisdom by whom the foundation of the commonwealth has been laid, wherein though no manner of person or cause be unsubject to the king's power, yet so is the power of the king over all, and in all limited, that unto all his proceedings the law itself is a rule. The axioms of our regal government are these: *lex facit regem*—the king's grant of any favours made contrary to the law is void; *rex nihil potest nisi quod jure potest*—what power the king hath, he hath it by law: the bounds and limits of it are known, the entire community giveth general order by law, how all things publickly are to be done, and the king, as the head thereof, the highest in authority over all, causeth, according to the same law, every particular to be framed and ordered thereby. The whole body politic maketh laws, which laws give power unto the king; and the king having bound himself to use according to law that power, it so falleth out that the execution of the one is accomplished by the other."

It has been justly said that this writer's account of the origin of society absolutely coincides with that of Locke. He affirms that without the consent of a primary contract, "there were no reasons that one should take upon him to be lord or judge over another; because, although there be, according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men, a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of a servile disposition; nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary—the lawful power of making laws to command whole politic societies of men, belonging so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority received at first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny.

"Laws they are not, therefore, which public approbation has not made so. But approbation not only they give, who personally declare their assent by voice, sign, or act, but also when others do it in their names, by right originally, at the least, derived from them. As in parliaments, councils, and the like assemblies, although we be not personally ourselves present, notwithstanding our assent is by reason of other agents there in our behalf. And what we do by others, no reason but that it should stand as our deed. Against all equity it were that a man should suffer detriment at the hands of men for not observing that which he never did either by himself or others, mediately or immediately, agree unto."

It will occasion less surprise that the author of the *Ecclesiastical Polity* should express himself thus, when it is remembered that these views had been published long before, not only by Aylmer, but by a writer possessing more of a kindred spirit with the great defender of the Anglican church.

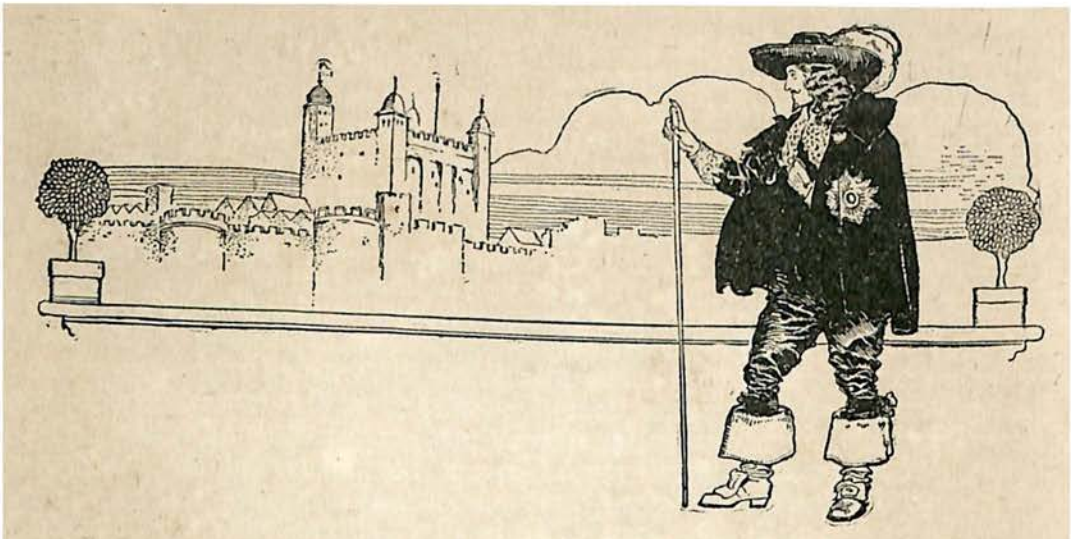
[*ca.* 1603–1625 A.D.]

This writer was Sir Thomas Smith,[g] a lawyer and a philosopher, who held the office of principal secretary to Edward VI and Elizabeth. "The most high and absolute power of the realm of England," he says, "consisteth in the parliament. Upon mature deliberation every bill or law, being thrice read and disputed upon in either house, the other two parts, first each apart, and after the prince himself, in presence of both the parties, doth consent unto and alloweth that is the prince's and whole realm's deed: whereupon justly no man can complain, but must accommodate himself to find it good and obey it. That which is done by this consent is taken for law.

"The parliament abrogateth old laws, maketh new, giveth order for things past, and for things hereafter to be followed, changeth right and possessions of private men, legitimateth bastards, establisheth forms of religion, altereth weights and measures, giveth form of succession to the crown, defineth of doubtful rights whereof is no law already made, appointeth subsidies, tailes, taxes, and impositions, giveth most free pardons and absolutions, restoreth in blood and name, as the highest court condemneth or absolveth them whom the prince will put to that trial. And, in short, all that ever the people of Rome might do, either in *centuriatis comitiis* or *tributis*, the same may be done by the parliament of England, which representeth and hath the power of the whole realm, both the head and the body."

The Puritan leader Cartwright, Hooker's great antagonist, expressed himself on the nature of the English constitution in the following terms: "In respect of the queen it is a monarchy, in respect of the most honourable council it is an aristocracy, and having regard to the parliament which is assembled of all estates it is a democracy."

These passages will suffice to show what the great principles and theory of the English constitution really were, in the judgment of the best informed men, during the reign of Elizabeth and James. That the conduct of the rulers was sometimes at variance with these principles is confessed, but the great point to be observed here is, that the usurpations of a government do not alter the nature of a constitution.[h]



CHAPTER XVIII

CHARLES I AND BUCKINGHAM

[1625–1629 A.D.]

> LET events speak and the mighty forces be revealed which, rising from and increasing upon one another for centuries, now stood face to face and mingled in a stormy conflict which gave birth to fierce and bloody outbursts, of the utmost moment in the decision of problems important to all Europe. The British Isles had been of old the outer margin or even beyond the outer margin of civilisation; they were now one of its chief centres, and, thanks to their recent union, one of the grand powers of the world; though it is clear that the elements of the population were as yet by no means fused and unified.—VON RANKE.[b]

CHARLES I was born at Dunfermline, in Scotland, on the 19th of November, 1600, and, like Queen Elizabeth, was twenty-five years of age on his accession to the throne. In his youth he was weakly and self-willed, but strengthened his constitution by temperance, and gradually acquired much skill in bodily exercises. In consequence of a local defect it was difficult for him to speak fluently, and he was so destitute of gracefulness and affability that he was not able even to confer favours in an engaging manner. As he had not interfered in public affairs as prince royal, perhaps from obedience to his father, and had never expressed any decided opinions, most persons expected he would now act with double energy, and only a few attributed his former reserve to want of decision and firmness. The person who expressed the greatest apprehensions was the palatine ambassador Rusdorf:[c] "If," said he, "the new king trusts entirely to the direction of one man, and disdains sincere advice; if, like his father, he neglects business, gives ear to informers and calumniators, raises disputes with his people, and looks upon concession as disgraceful, he will become contemptible to his enemies, bring shame upon his friends, and entirely ruin the tottering state."

At the beginning, however, the contrary of all this took place. The persons belonging to the new court were required to be strictly moral in their

[1625 A.D.]

conduct; fools and buffoons, whom James had loved to have about him, were kept at a distance; able men were employed, and artists and men of learning encouraged. The king read and wrote several languages, possessed a knowledge of history, divinity, and mathematics, and a taste for all the fine arts. Though Charles was born in Scotland, the English considered him as one of their own countrymen, and his dignified deportment could not fail to please when compared with the loquaciousness of James and his predilection for unworthy favourites.[d]

Charles I was proclaimed king on the day of his father's death. The possessor of the crown was changed. The administration of government was unaltered. Buckingham was still the first in power, with equal influence over the proud and dignified Charles of twenty-five as over the vain and vulgar James of fifty-nine. We are told by Mrs. Hutchinson[e] that "the face of the court was much changed in the change of the king"; that the grossnesses of the court of James grew out of fashion. The general change could have been little more than a forced homage to decency whilst Buckingham was the presiding genius of the court of Charles; but from the first the king exhibited himself as "temperate, chaste, and serious." A letter written within a few weeks of his accession says, "Our sovereign, whom God preserve, is zealous for God's truth; diligently frequents and attentively hearkens to prayers and sermons; will pay all his father's, mother's, and brother's debts, and that by disparking most of his remote parks and chases; will reform the court as of unnecessary charges, so of recusant papists." At the beginning of this reign the people must have had a reasonable expectation of being religiously and quietly governed.

The marriage of Charles with the princess Henrietta Maria of France [sister of Louis XIII] was the result of the treaty made in the previous reign, and it was concluded by proxy even before James was laid in the tomb at Westminster. There were bonfires in London for the marriage on the 3rd of May. On the 7th Charles was the chief mourner at the funeral of his father. The young queen arrived at Dover on the 12th of June. She came at a gloomy time, for London was visited with pestilence. Although the bonfires had been lighted in London for the king's marriage, the union with a Roman Catholic princess was in itself offensive; and Charles had given indications of concessions to the papists which were distinctly opposed to the existing laws. Although he vailed his crown to the lords and the commons when he first spoke from the throne, he had roused the suspicions of the sturdy band who had resisted the despotic attempts of his father. He defied public opinion by granting special pardons to Roman priests, without the intervention of the law. There was a restrictive code, harsh and unjust, no doubt, but not to be dispensed with by an exercise of the prerogative. Buckingham had led the parliament into the sanction of a war, but his popularity was fast passing away.[f]

Buckingham had been commissioned to fetch the princess from Paris. An immense number of very costly dresses and a train of five or six hundred persons had manifested his vanity rather than the power and wealth of England. On the 22nd of June, 1625, Charles, then twenty-six years of age, was married at Canterbury to Henrietta, who was then sixteen; and it was expected from the highly moral character of both that the marriage would be happy. Soon, however, occasion for mutual complaint arose: in the first place, Henrietta thought that she had not been received with as much pomp and respect as was her due, and was angry that she was made to sleep in an old state bed of Queen Elizabeth's. Soon afterwards she had a dispute with Bucking-

ham because he desired to force his wife's sister and niece upon her, and with the king, because he meddled in all, even the most trifling details of her domestic economy. On the other hand, Charles had reason to complain of the unkindness and violent temper of his wife. In the sequel, however, contrary to all expectation, she not only lived in harmony with her husband, but her influence increased to such a degree as to give rise to great complaints.

CHARLES' FIRST PARLIAMENT (1625 A.D.)

The embarrassments of the treasury, caused by the inconsiderate profusion of James, and the Spanish war which had been so rashly commenced, induced the king to summon his first parliament on the 18th of June, 1625, at which ninety-seven lords and four hundred and ninety-four commoners were present. Charles, in his opening speech, briefly described the state of public affairs, spoke of the aid required for the war and of his zeal for the Protestant religion. The lord-keeper, Williams, having dwelt on these subjects at greater length, to which the speaker of the house of commons returned a polite answer, adding a request for the "maintenance and preservation of the rights of parliament," the lord-keeper again spoke, and said, "that with respect to the last point the king confirmed all their privileges without exception, because he knew that the commons would themselves punish any abuses."

Charles believed that after such a confidential and satisfactory declaration the parliament would immediately proceed to fulfil all his wishes. He was therefore greatly astonished when it refused to grant more than two subsidies [£140,000], a sum wholly insufficient for his great and notorious wants, as well as for the war, which had been approved and almost forced by the two houses.

This conduct proceeded from various motives, some particular and some general. Among the former was dislike of Buckingham, vexation at the marriage of the king with a Roman Catholic princess, the oppression of the Puritans, their being unused to make large grants, etc. All these special motives coincided in one central point, namely, that a considerable number of very prudent and energetic men were convinced that advantage should be taken of the right of granting supplies to remove the defects that had hitherto existed in the public institutions, and to establish a more firm and free constitution.

While one party, therefore, saw the highest political wisdom and the final object of all government in the absolute preservation of everything that existed, the second party was not disposed to be satisfied with merely maintaining the existing institutions, but desired to extend its rights; and the king, who ought to have found and supported the true medium between two dangerous extremes, did not enter on any strict examination of the several points, but saw only treason and rebellion in every attempt to retain or to alter against his will, and to call in question the unlimited extent of his power. What Elizabeth, by the great energy and versatility of her mind, always found means to adapt to existing circumstances, the Stuarts endeavoured to carry by insisting on certain abstract notions, without regard to unfavourable circumstances—not perceiving that by their partial inferences from the divine unlimited rights of kings equally dangerous conclusions of the sovereignty of the people might be drawn.

A disastrous plague, which carried off many thousand persons in London, made it necessary to suspend the sittings of parliament. ["While we are now speaking," said one member, "a bell is tolling every minute."] When

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parliament met again at Oxford, on the 4th of August, the king caused the state of affairs to be laid before it, together with the account of his expenditure, as well as of the debts left by James [£300,000]. He then added, "Consider, I beg you, that the eyes of all Europe are turned upon me, and that I shall appear ridiculous if you abandon me. Consider that this is my first attempt; if it fails it will be forever injurious to my honour; and if this consideration does not move you, think of your own reputation, and deliver me from a situation in which you have engaged me, that it may not be said that you had quite deceived me. In fine, three of the best orators, honour, safety, and ability, equally advise the prompt settlement of these affairs."

When the debates on granting the supplies began on the 6th of August, some were of opinion that they ought only to consider the necessity of the moment, to proceed with forbearance, and not, by new complaints, give occasion to dissensions. Others replied that the grievances which had not been remedied should be again urged, the management of the public revenue hitherto be inquired into, and the church and religion more regarded than temporal affairs. When Edward Clarke observed on this occasion that some speeches had been made with unreasonable acrimony, the loudest marks of disapprobation were expressed, and he was compelled to receive upon his knees the sentence of the house, which condemned him to imprisonment.

During the subsequent days many points were brought forward, such as the strict execution of the laws against Roman Catholicism, the Jesuits, Roman Catholic worship, education abroad, insufficient religious instruction, etc., for which reason the king, on the 10th of August, again urged the hastening of the supplies, and promised that, in case there should not be sufficient time for the discussion of all other matters, he would call the parliament together again in winter.

When, after this application, some members again alleged that justice and honour required a speedy grant, and that delay only increased the evil and the embarrassment, the house voted two subsidies, towards which, however, the Roman Catholics were to pay double. The king passed the bill, but proved that it was insufficient, on which the parliament, without directly denying this assertion, resolved, on the 11th of August, before any further discussion on pecuniary matters, to investigate the grievances, which it appeared would chiefly relate to the administration of the ministers and the influence of Buckingham.

To avoid this danger, or at least this mortification, the king dissolved the parliament on the 12th of August. Before the members of the lower house broke up they declared before God and the world that they would always remain faithful subjects to their most gracious king, and were ready to consider and remedy all grievances in a parliamentary manner, as well as to grant all the necessary supplies. They begged the king always to depend on the true and cordial attachment of his poor commons, and to look upon them as the greatest earthly support and security of a just sovereign, and those as calumniators of the people and enemies of the state who should dare to affirm the contrary.

To this official declaration were added reproaches of various kinds; the parliament had indeed approved in general the war with Spain, which, however, did not justify the bad conduct of the campaign and the injudicious expenditure of money. Still less was it to be excused that ships were lent to France to enable it the more easily to subdue the Protestants in La Rochelle,[1]

[1 A disgraceful transaction had taken place which was well calculated to make the commons very cautious of granting further supplies. Seven ships had been lent to the king of France,

and that forced loans were required, which was contrary to the established rights of parliament and to the coronation oath, which says, "The king shall maintain all laws, rights and customs."[d]

To counteract the influence of parliament and to show the injustice of its want of confidence in the government, some bold and showy enterprise was to be undertaken. A great fleet was to be fitted out against Spain. The cost of the expedition was to be provided for without asking supplies from a parsimonious and suspicious house of commons. Writs were issued under the privy seal, demanding loans from private persons, and chiefly from those who had presumed to think that grants of money and redress of grievances should go together. If a loan was refused by a person of station and local authority, he was struck out of the commission of the peace. By these and other arbitrary means a fleet of eighty sail was despatched from the Downs in October, under vague instructions to intercept the Spanish treasure ships and to land an army on the coast of Spain.

The command of this armament was given to a landsman, Lord Wimbledon. The ten thousand English troops who had been set on shore near Cadiz accomplished no greater feat than plundering the cellars of sweet wines, where many hundreds of them being surprised and found dead drunk, the Spaniards came and tore off their ears and plucked out their eyes. The gallant commander now led his disorderly men back to their ships to look after the rich fleet that was coming from the Indies. While he was thus master of those seas, the rich fleet got safe into Lisbon. A contagious disease broke out in one ship, and the sick men being distributed amongst all the other ships, some thousands died before an English port was again made. Parliament was not to be propitiated by Buckingham's great scheme for raising money by the same process that was so successful in the hands of the Drakes and Frobishers. During twenty years of weak and corrupt government the race of naval heroes had died out.

THE STUBBORN SECOND PARLIAMENT

A new parliament met on the 6th of February, 1626. The proceeds of the forced loans were gone, and an effort to pawn the crown jewels to the Dutch had failed. The constitutional mode of raising money must again be resorted to, however unwillingly. The parliament now assembled has been called a "great, warm, and ruffling parliament." It saw that the government of England by a rash and presumptuous minion—whose continued influence was not obtained by his talents or his honesty—was incompatible with the honour and safety of the country.[f]

In order, however, that the leaders of the former opposition and the adversaries of Buckingham might not be again elected, they had been nominated sheriffs, or nominated to other offices, which petty, suspicious proceeding rendered it impossible for them to exercise their influence in one place, but increased it in the other, and confirmed many in their resolution to obtain influence and importance by opposing the measures of the government.

The speech with which the lord-keeper Coventry opened this second parliament in the name of the king, on the 6th of February, 1626, contained fewer facts and explanations of the state of affairs, than rhetorical phrases

which had been engaged under pretence of serving against Austria. They were employed against the French Protestants who were defending themselves at La Rochelle. When Frenchmen were taken on board the English sailors deserted.—KNIGHT.f]

From a Carbon Print by Braun, Clement & Co.

CHARLES I

(From the painting by Anthony Vandyke, in the Louvre)

[1626 A.D.]

which were not even happily chosen, but indicated, or even plainly expressed, dangerous principles. Thus it gave great offence that he said, "there is an immense interval between the highest elevation of the majesty of a powerful monarch and the submissive respect and humility of a loyal subject. That exalted majesty condescends to admit the meanest of his subjects, or rather to invite them to consult with him," etc.

Instead of beginning by granting the supplies as the king wished and hoped, the parliament appointed several committees to make accurate inquiries relative to war, taxes, administration, monopolies, religion, etc., and to draw up a statement of grievances. Even on this occasion it was observed that formerly under Elizabeth every enterprise had succeeded, and glory had been spread over the kingdom. Now, nobody would risk his money or his person, through well-founded distrust of the new and entirely different system of government.

Nearly at the same time Pym, president of the committee of religious affairs, complained of two books written by the king's chaplain, Montagu, because they contained expressions concerning the pope, image-worship, transubstantiation, etc., which seemed to be entirely incompatible with the principles of the English church. Instead of suffering the affair to take its course the king looked on it as an attack upon himself, and thought himself called upon to defend his chaplain, which only increased the irritation. Montagu was in the end summoned before the house of commons and severely reprimanded, because his book was contrary to true religion, and tended to the dishonour of the king and to confusion in church and state.

Meantime Charles wrote to the speaker of the house of commons, "that as every delay was very injurious, and the necessity was evident, he wished that the grant of supplies might be accelerated as much as possible." The house, in its polite answer, declared: "We beg your majesty to be convinced that there never was a king more beloved by his people, and no people ever more desirous to increase the honour and greatness of its sovereign. Your majesty will certainly receive graciously the faithful and necessary advice of your parliament, which can have no other object than to serve your majesty and the kingdom, by our denouncing the evils which led to your majesty's necessities and the complaints of the people; while we, at the same time, propose means to remedy them. Confidently relying on their future removal, we unanimously declare, though we depart from the former proceedings of parliament, that we will support your majesty with supplies in such a manner and so amply that you will be safe at home and formidable abroad. We will also hasten this affair, as your majesty's urgent wish and present circumstances require."

Though, on the one hand, these friendly promises were very welcome to the king, he could not avoid, on the other, feeling some uneasiness at the continued inquiry of the house of commons into the conduct of the administration, which in particular threatened the duke of Buckingham. In returning thanks to the parliament Charles added, "If you connect the grants of the supplies with the statement of your grievances, I consider this as an intimation and not as a condition. In order, however, to answer this point, I tell you I am as ready as my predecessors to listen to your grievances, provided that you endeavour to find remedies for defects really existing, and do not merely look for the express purpose of discovering some grievance.

"You must know also that I will not permit my officers to be questioned or called to account by you, and least of all those who are in high posts and about my person. Formerly it was asked, 'What shall be done for the man

whom the king delighteth to honour?' Now, some persons take trouble to inquire what can be done against the man whom the king thinks fit to honour. Formerly you extolled Buckingham; for what reason will you now accuse him? He is still the same, and has done nothing without my express command. I wish you to hasten in granting the supplies, for every delay will be most injurious to yourselves, and if any evil arises from it, I think I shall be the last to feel it."

This letter of the king was liable to many objections. It was evident that he claimed the grant of supplies as an unconditional right, but considered the redress of grievances as a secondary consideration and a matter of favour; that in certain respects he placed himself in respect to the parliament in a position which, if not hostile,[1] was yet constrained and unsuitable, while he so identified himself with his servants and officers that there could be no idea of their responsibilty, or even of an examination of their administration, without offence to the king himself.

In this state of things the house of commons believed itself called upon to perform its duty in two points at the same time; it therefore provisionally voted three subsidies and three-fifteenths to put an end to the embarrassments of the treasury, but added that the bill should not be passed till the king had heard and answered the grievances of the parliament. The house likewise continued its inquiries into the conduct of the administration, in which Turner, and Coke in particular, declared most decidedly against Buckingham.

The king persisted in considering all this as an improper attack on his government and that of his father. He therefore summoned the parliament to Whitehall on the 28th of May, 1626, and thanking the upper house, expressed his approbation of its proceedings. He regretted that he could not say the same of the lower house, and had summoned it for the purpose of reproving it for its errors and unparliamentary conduct. He hoped, however, that they would all return to the right way after the lord-keeper had clearly proved that they had been wrong.

To this speech the king added that he had conducted the foreign affairs according to the wishes of the parliament, and formerly no person had been more in favour with the house than Buckingham. Delays and dissensions must necessarily be attended with the most fatal consequences; a friendly disposition, on the other hand, would encourage him to go with the parliament. Coke had said it was better to be ruined by a foreign than a domestic enemy; he, the king, thought that it was more honourable for a sovereign to be attacked, nay, entirely destroyed, than to be despised by his subjects. "Consider"—so Charles concluded his address—"that the calling, the duration, and dissolution of parliament depend entirely on my power; accordingly, therefore, as I find them to produce good or evil fruit, they will continue or cease to be."

These declarations, which not only called in question some hitherto undisputed rights of the parliament, but threatened the annihilation of the main foundations of the English constitution, gave rise to such loud complaints, both in and out of parliament, that he caused his own speech and that of the lord-keeper to be explained by Buckingham in a more temperate sense. The commons in their answer refuted each of the accusations made against them, proved their right to accuse persons in office, and promised speedily to take some resolution respecting the supplies, though, according to ancient custom, this was always the last business to which parliament attended.

[1] Even Disraeli *a* relates that Charles, so early as 1626, said in the council that he hated the name of parliament.

THE IMPEACHMENT OF BUCKINGHAM (1626 A.D.)

About this time, when many persons hoped that all parties would follow the right middle course which had been pointed out, various circumstances and ill-judged measures concurred to increase the public discontent. Lord Bristol, who had been kept in prison for two years on account of his conduct in Spain, without any legal proceedings having been commenced against him, complained to the house of lords that no summons had been sent to him to attend its sittings. On the intervention of the lords a summons was sent to him; the lord-keeper, however, added that the king wished he should make no use of it, but under some pretext keep away from the house. Lord Bristol sent this letter to the house of lords with an observation that his old enemy, Buckingham, had obtained this demand, but that he intended to prove that the duke had done wrong to the present and to the late king, to the state, and to the parliament. The king and his favourite were so indignant at this boldness that an accusation of high treason was made in his majesty's name against Lord Bristol, which he victoriously refuted.

This affair encouraged the house of commons to draw up articles of impeachment against Buckingham, and to present them on the 8th of May to the upper house. The chief articles referred to the union of many offices in his person, ill conduct of the war, extortion, the sale of judicial offices, the procuring of titles of honour for his relations, the squandering of the public money, his presumption in administering medicine to King James,[1] etc. Buckingham was certainly able to refute some of the articles of accusation. Yet the commons justly felt that the whole administration had taken a bad direction, of which Buckingham was the chief cause, and that the responsibility of ministers is often greater in reference to certain errors which lead to important results than in respect to isolated crimes.

The king caused two members of the house of commons, Sir Dudley Digges and Sir John Eliot, to be arrested, because they had expressed themselves in an unbecoming manner respecting him, on the presentation of the articles of impeachment against Buckingham to the upper house. Digges in the introduction (which was thought a masterpiece of eloquence) compared England with the world, the king with the sun, the house of commons with the earth and sea, the lords with the planets, the clergy with the fire, the judges with the air, and Buckingham with a comet. Bacon, Middlesex, and others had been previously accused in a similar manner. It appeared, however, from the investigation, that false reports had been made to the king, and he was obliged to set the two members at liberty.

On the other side, a Mr. Moore was thrown into prison by the house of commons on a complaint by the king, because he had said, "We are free, and must remain so, if the king will preserve his kingdom." After discussing what a tyrant can do, he had, however, added, "Thank God, we have no cause to fear anything of the kind; we have a pious and just king." Four days afterwards Charles granted the release of Moore, but had in the mean time involved himself in a dispute with the house of lords, by committing the earl of Arundel to the Tower without examination, and without assigning any reason. The lords declared that such conduct was not allowable, and could not be adopted except in cases of high treason, or when a person refused to give security for his conduct.

[1] This implication that Buckingham had poisoned James is generally admitted to be a pure calumny.]

Though everybody knew that Charles was angry with the earl merely on account of some expressions in the house of lords, the king affirmed that he had sufficient reason, and would one day make it known. If the lords believed and called him a gracious king, they ought to confide in him. This turn and conclusion appeared so unsatisfactory to the house of lords, the violation of judicious laws was so evident, and the danger to the safety of all so great, that the house resolved, on the 2nd of June, since every remonstrance was disregarded, not to enter upon any other matter till this was settled. Thus the king found himself obliged to give up his precipitate resolution, and to set the earl at liberty on the 8th of June.

On the same day Buckingham defended himself before the house of lords, and on the following day the king again called on the commons to hasten the supply. He said "that in case of their refusal or longer delay he must call God to witness that he was not to blame." The commons drew up an answer in which they justified their conduct; objected to the levying of tonnage and poundage, and requested the dismissal of Buckingham.[1] But before they could present it, or the lords make an urgent application to the king for the prolongation of the parliament, he dissolved it on the 15th of June, and endeavoured to justify his conduct by a public declaration. The dissolution of the first parliament, he said, took place chiefly because contagious diseases were then spreading: to the second parliament the king had stated the existing dangers and the pressing wants of the treasury. But instead of considering means to remedy them, the commons suffered themselves to be misled by some violent men who had in view only their personal plans and objects; and after the receipt of the last royal letter had caused a remonstrance to be drawn up which unjustly accused a peer of the realm, offended the dignity of the king and his father, and contained a complete denial of all supplies. The king hence found himself compelled, after mature deliberation, to dissolve the parliament.

The substance of the remonstrance of which the king complained was the following: "The king has been induced by false representations to the measures which he has adopted, and the dissolution of the first parliament, for instance, was not so much on account of contagious disorders as Buckingham's fear of a just accusation. Formerly the examination of grievances always preceded the voting of the supplies; now the power and the influence of Buckingham was our chief grievance, and the investigation of it naturally cost much time. Then a new interruption was made by the arrests of two members of the house of commons, who were obliged to prove their innocence and to claim their rights. Besides this, the arbitrary levying of tonnage and poundage not granted by parliament gave the more ground for alarm, as it is directly contrary to the laws of the kingdom. The house of commons, therefore, only did its duty in turning its attention to all these things, and requests the king not to prefer one man to all other men, and to the public concerns, but to dismiss Buckingham. It will then devote itself with zeal and confidence to all the other business, especially to the supplies."

The king, disregarding these arguments, believed that the right and power were on his side; he therefore ordered the remonstrance to be seized and burned wherever it might be found, and the earl of Arundel to be arrested.

In reference to all these measures and events an impartial observer, Rusdorf,[c] the palatine ambassador, writes: "The king has dissolved the parliament before any business whatever was finished in order to save his favourite from

[1 It was reported to Charles that Eliot had dubbed Buckingham "Sejanus." "Then," said Charles, "I must be Tiberius."]

[1626 A.D.]

inquiry.[1] Thus offending innumerable worthy people, he chooses rather to please one man than to give way to the people and the estates of the kingdom in a just and legal manner. The king does and orders nothing without Buckingham, who governs without restraint, while all the other councillors are subject to him, or are intimidated, or rejoice when things go ill, because the favourite will then be more speedily ruined. Buckingham, with the greatest folly, makes use of the king's friendship only for his own advantage, while he offends many persons and neglects the true interests of the country. Hence the king is hated, and the English government appears everywhere remiss as an ally, proud towards friends, violent without power and wisdom."

Cardinal Richelieu expresses himself in equally severe terms respecting Buckingham: "He is of mean origin, ill-educated, without virtue and knowledge. His father was insane, his elder brother so mad that it was necessary to confine him; he himself fluctuates between reason and folly, is full of irregularities, and is carried away by his passions. The folly of an enemy, guided by no rules, is almost more to be feared than his wisdom, because the fool does not act on the principles which are common to all other men. Reason has no touchstone when opposed to such an one, for he attempts everything, prejudices his own interests, and is restrained by nothing but downright impossibility."

The events that soon succeeded proved how correctly Richelieu had judged of the duke; a more prudent statesman would at this moment have tried every means to effect a reconciliation between the king and the parliament in order to obtain means to carry on the war with Spain, or he would have made peace with Spain, to be enabled to do without the parliamentary grants. Instead of this, Buckingham and his partisans dreaded every approach to reconciliation between the king and parliament, and looked upon the continuation of the Spanish war as an affair of honour; nay, not satisfied with this twofold great error, he most absurdly engaged England—which already carried on the Spanish war without energy—in another war with France.[d] The king, with the impeachment hanging over the head of Buckingham, had commanded the University of Cambridge to elect the obnoxious minister to its chancellorship, then vacant. There was a spirited resistance to this ill-timed act of power; but the election of the duke was carried by a small majority.

THE FORCED LOAN, AND THE WAR WITH FRANCE, (1626-1627 A.D.)

Thus had Charles dismissed two parliaments within fifteen months of his accession to the throne. The commons had declared their intention to grant five subsidies—"a proportion," says Clarendon,[h] "scarce ever before heard of in parliament." But they were required to grant them without their complaints being listened to; and the king, by his passionate resolution to dissolve, was again left to unconstitutional devices. "That meeting," continues Clarendon, "being upon very unpopular and unplausible reasons dissolved, these five subsidies were exacted throughout the whole kingdom with the same rigour as if, in truth, an act had passed to that purpose. Divers gentlemen of prime quality in several counties of England were, for refusing to pay

[1 The inquiry which Charles, for appearance' sake, caused to be instituted against Buckingham before the Star Chamber, was of no importance whatever; and the whole proceedings were subsequently quashed because the king declared that he was convinced of the innocence of the accused.]

the same, committed to prison with great rigour and extraordinary circumstances."[1]

But it was not the "divers gentlemen of prime quality" only who resisted these arbitrary exactions. "On Monday," says a contemporary, Joseph Mede,[i] "the judges sat in Westminster Hall to persuade the people to pay subsidies, but there arose a great tumultuous shout amongst them, 'A parliament! a parliament, else no subsidies!'" There were five thousand whose voices shook that roof with their protest against tyranny. The name of subsidy being found so likely to conjure up a spirit that could not readily be laid, commissioners were sent out to accomplish the same result by a general loan from every subject, according to the proportion at which he was rated in the last subsidy that had been granted by parliament. The pretensions of the crown were advocated from the pulpit, and the disobedient were threatened with more than temporal penalties.[f]

Thus Dr. Sibthorp said, in his sermon: "Only the king gives laws and does what he pleases; where his command is there also is the power, and who dare ask him, What doest thou? When princes order anything which subjects cannot perform, because it is contrary to the commands of God or to the laws of nature, or in itself impossible, they must suffer the penalty of their disobedience without murmur, complaint, or resistance; they must manifest passive obedience where active is impracticable."

In this spirit Dr. Mainwaring preached before Charles: "The king is not bound to observe the laws of the kingdom respecting the rights and privileges of the subjects. Every royal command, for instance, in respect to taxing and loans, binds the consciences of the subjects on pain of eternal damnation. He who resists commits a great sin against the law of God and the supreme power of the king. He is guilty of impiety, disloyalty, and rebellion; for the consent of parliament is not necessary for the imposing of taxes, etc."

We would willingly look upon such expressions as mean flatteries of servile court chaplains, or as the unmeaning results of partial theories, had not Charles reprimanded and dismissed from his office Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury, because he would not allow the sermon by Sibthorp to be printed; had he not subsequently rewarded Mainwaring in a manner which gave offence, and elevated him to the Episcopal dignity.[d]

But the denunciations of the servile portion of the clergy were probably less efficacious than the examples of men of station and influence being committed to the Fleet and the Gatehouse, for their steady refusal of an illegal demand; of tradesmen and artificers being dragged from their homes for imprisonment or for forced service in the army or navy; of licentious soldiers, who had returned from the miserable expedition to Spain, being quartered in the houses of those who knew their rights and dared to maintain them. Five of the more distinguished of the gentlemen who had been committed to prison sued the King's Bench for a writ of habeas corpus.[2] The writ was granted; but the warden of the Fleet made a return that they were committed by a warrant of the privy council, by the special command of the king, but which warrant specified no cause of imprisonment. The argument upon this return was of the highest importance to establish what Hallam[j] calls "the

[1 So little was received, however, that people said it was like fishing with golden hooks, or cultivating the land with ivory ploughs or silver spades. And, in fact, begging and plundering were employed almost from house to house.—VON RAUMER.[d]]

[2 This was called "the Five Knights' Case." The judges did not venture to decide whether the king had the right to imprison without stating the cause, but the men were shortly released after being remitted to prison.]

fundamental immunity of English subjects from arbitrary detention." It was not that the judges decided against the crown, but that the discussion of the question eventually led to the establishment of the principle by the statute of Charles II. The arguments of Selden and Noy for the liberty of the subject were heard in the court of King's Bench with shouting and clapping of hands; but they had a far higher influence. They sank into the hearts of the people, and sent them to ponder the words of Selden, "If Magna Charta were fully executed, as it ought to be, every man would enjoy his liberty better than he doth."

In the orders that were issued to the deputy-lieutenants and justices to enforce these exactions, the king affirmed that he was threatened with invasion. This was in July, 1626. The alarm of invasion was probably only a pretext, says Hallam, "in order to shelter the king's illegal proceedings." Another fleet was sent to sea under the earl of Denbigh, and there was another series of neglects and disasters. But there was a growing cause of quarrel with France, as well as with Spain, which would very speedily render the prospect of invasion not so improbable.

In the early days of their union, as we have already seen, the king and queen did not live without serious disagreements. In November, 1625, Charles wrote to Buckingham, who was in Paris, desiring that the duke would communicate to the queen-mother the king's intention "to put away the Monsieurs"—the numerous priests and other attendants of Henrietta. At length Charles made up his mind to get rid of these enemies of his happiness, as disagreeable to his people as to himself. On the 7th of August, 1626, he writes to Buckingham: "I command you to send all the French away to-morrow out of the town. If you can, by fair means; but stick not long in disputing. Otherwise force them away, driving them away like so many wild beasts, until you have shipped them." In four days they were landed in France. The queen, according to the gossiping Howell,[k] "broke the glass windows and tore her hair." He adds, "I fear this will breed ill-blood 'twixt us and France"; and he was right.

In October came over Marshal Bassompierre, as a special ambassador, to remedy these misunderstandings. In a letter to the king of France describing this interview, Bassompierre relates the spirited speech which he made to Charles when asked by him why he did not execute his commission to declare war. "I told him that I did not hold the office of herald to declare war, but that of marshal of France to conduct it whenever your majesty should resolve upon it." In a very short time there was war with France. It has been usual to ascribe this outbreak of hostility between two courts connected by marriage solely to the presumption and licentiousness of Buckingham. "He had the ambition," says Clarendon,[h] "to fix his eyes upon, and to dedicate his most violent affection to, a lady of a very sublime quality, and to pursue it with most importunate addresses." This lady was Anne of Austria, the queen of Louis XIII. She was a neglected wife, and heard with too much levity the flatteries of the handsome duke. These familiarities had taken place when Buckingham went to France to bring over Henrietta. It had been intimated to him that he had better decline such attempts if he would escape assassination; but he swore, adds Clarendon, "that he would see and speak to that lady in spite of the strength and power of France."

The historian of the Rebellion does not exhibit the court of England in a very favourable light when he ascribes the origin of a great war to the profligacy of so unworthy a person as George Villiers. But such an assumption is calculated to hide the real cause of this war—the broken faith of England

to France upon the most important points of the marriage treaty. In defiance of public opinion James and Charles had solemnly agreed that the French princess should have the education of her children till they were twelve years old. Henrietta wrote to the pope to protest that if her marriage were blessed with lineage she would "make no choice of any but Catholic persons to nurse and bring up the children that may be born of it." It is clear that the court of France expected from this secret treaty not only toleration for Roman Catholics, but an open encouragement, which the king, however bound by his promise, could not venture to grant.

The explanation which the able historian of the popes offers of the origin of this war is far more satisfactory than the ordinary solution. Pope Urban VIII, says Von Ranke,[l] represented to the French ambassador how offensive it was to France that the English by no means adhered to the promises made at the marriage. Either Louis XIII ought to compel the fulfilment of these engagements, or wrest the crown from a heretic prince who was a violator of his word. To the Spanish ambassador the pope said that Philip IV was bound to succour his kinswoman, the queen of England, who was suffering oppression on account of her religion. On the 20th of April, 1627, a treaty was signed between the French minister, Richelieu, and the Spanish minister, Olivarez, by which it was agreed that the two powers should unite in an invasion of England. It was also agreed that in the event of conquest the pope should have Ireland and govern it by a viceroy. "While the Catholic powers were devising this vast plan of an attack on England," says Von Ranke,[l] "it fell out that they were themselves surprised by an attack from England."

COSTUME OF EARLY SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

This solution of an historical problem, the cause of the French war, is far more consistent with probability than Hallam's[j] theory of Charles' "alliance with the Huguenot[1] party in consequence merely of Buckingham's unwarrantable hostility to France, founded on the most extraordinary motives." The treaty between France and Spain had become known to the Venetian ambassador at Paris, and it was not likely that the knowledge would not have been communicated to the English government, with which the Venetians held friendly relations. It is creditable to the statesmanship of Buckingham that he resolved to anticipate the projected attack upon England by a strenuous aid to the French Protestants, who were asserting their religious freedom in the ancient stronghold of the reformers, La Rochelle. The policy of the war was calculated to redeem the

[[1] Gardiner[m] credits the war to Charles' sense of obligation to defend the Huguenots in La Rochelle, since Louis had promised to admit them to terms. Previously to this the king of Denmark, trusting to English supplies that never came—including a promised subsidy of £30,000 a month—had been crushed in a battle at Lutter, thus deferring the recovery of the Palatinate still further.]

odium into which Buckingham had fallen. The conduct of the war, under his own generalship, only brought on him a deeper public indignation.

On the 27th of June, 1627, whilst Cardinal Richelieu was preparing to besiege La Rochelle, Buckingham set sail from Portsmouth with a fleet of a hundred ships, carrying six or seven thousand land forces. At the latter end of July he appeared before La Rochelle, and proffered his assistance in the defence of the town. The inhabitants, perhaps remembering that English ships had been previously lent to France to be employed against them, had a natural distrust of the proffered friendship, and declined to open their gates to the duke. It was then determined to occupy the adjacent island of Rhé. Buckingham and his forces landed, having driven back the troops which opposed him. But he wanted the skill of a general, though his personal courage cannot reasonably be doubted. His plans were unformed. He remained inactive whilst the French threw reinforcements and provisions into their forts. He besieged the principal fort of St. Martin without success; and at the time when further aid from England was expected, raised the siege and retreated towards his ships. "The retreat," says Clarendon,[h] "had been a rout without an enemy; and the French had their revenge by the disorder and confusion of the English themselves, in which great numbers of noble and ignoble were crowded to death or drowned." [1]

The people had their joke upon this disastrous expedition, for they called the isle of Rhé "the isle of Rue"; but there was something more enduring than popular sarcasm. There were mutinies, after Buckingham's return in the autumn, in the fleet and army. The people refused to suffer the soldiers to be billeted on them, and opposed an impress of fresh forces. Martial law was proclaimed, and many were executed; "which," says Clarendon, "raised an asperity in the minds of more than of the common people." The general discontent was increased by an inland army being retained during the winter. Sir Robert Cotton represented to the king that this was an unexampled course; that Elizabeth, even in 1588, adopted no such measure; and that the people considered that this army was kept on foot to "subject their fortunes to the will of power rather than of law, and to make good some further breach upon their liberties at home, rather than defend them from any force abroad." There was a general disaffection throughout the country. "This distemper," says Clarendon,[h] "was so universal, that the least spark still meeting with combustible matter enough to make a flame, all wise men looked upon it as the prediction of the destruction and dissolution that would follow. Nor was there a serenity in the countenance of any man, who had age and experience enough to consider things to come." [f]

THE THIRD PARLIAMENT SUMMONED

At length the celebrated historian and antiquary, Cotton, plainly declared on the 29th of January, 1628: "Two things are wanting, money and popularity. But these two things cannot well be separated, on which account that great statesman, Lord Burghley, said to Queen Elizabeth, 'Gain the hearts of your subjects and you will have their hands and their purses.' The present mode of obtaining money is contrary to the laws, becomes daily more difficult, and besides produces but very little. The king ought there-

[1 Out of six thousand eight hundred soldiers, less than three thousand reached England again. A letter of the day says, "Since England was England, it received not so dishonourable a blow."]

fore to remove all doubts on religious affairs, to introduce rigid economy, not to maintain a standing army in the country to excite suspicion, and Buckingham should make himself popular by being the first to propose the maintenance of the public liberty and the calling of a parliament."

As the distress was urgent, and the duke easily and willingly persuaded himself that he could in this manner forever turn the opinions of parliament in his favour, the king, by his advice, summoned it to meet on the 26th of March, 1628, and set above seventy persons at liberty who had been arrested for refusing to contribute to the forced loan. Twenty-seven of them were immediately elected into the house of commons, and brought with them, if not passion and a desire of revenge, yet the firm resolution to adopt every means to render such inroads on property and personal liberty impossible for the future.

The king, in his opening speech, said: "The times call for actions and not for words, therefore I will say but little, and wish, as kings ought to be patterns for their subjects, that you may imitate me in this and quickly come to a decision. The danger threatens all, the necessity is notorious, and I have called a parliament to provide means for our own safety and the preservation of our allies. Everyone must now act according to his conscience; wherefore, if, which God forbid, you should not do your duty, and refuse to contribute to what the state needs in these times, I am bound, for the discharge of my conscience, to employ those other means which God has placed in my hands to save what the folly of some individuals otherwise brings near to destruction. Do not take this as a threat, for I disdain to threaten any except my equals, but as an exhortation, from him who by nature and duty is chiefly concerned for your preservation and your happiness. I will willingly forget and forgive what is past, provided that you follow my directions and do not fall again into the former erroneous courses."

As soon as the king had ended his speech, the lord-keeper detailed more circumstantially the state of domestic and foreign affairs. "His majesty," said he, "has applied to the parliament for a grant of money, not because it is the only, but because it is the best mode; not because he has no other means, but because it is most agreeable to his goodness and to his wishes for the welfare of his people. If it should fail, necessity and the sword of the enemy will compel him to take other means. Therefore do not forget the direction which his majesty has given you; I repeat it, forget it not."

Even the warmest friends of the king could not but confess that these speeches were devoid of all friendliness and courtesy, and touched in a tone of ill-humour upon things which it would have been better to have passed over in silence. Those who saw the matter in a graver and more unfavourable light said, "At a moment when the king is forced from his illegal course by extreme distress for money, and parliamentary assistance alone can save him, when there are many grounds for bitter complaints, he speaks in the tone of an absolute monarch, again threatens with illegal measures, and calls in question the rights of parliament, which is the centre of the English constitution."

The majority of the true friends of their country in the house of commons, without suffering themselves to be frightened into servile submission or provoked to violent opposition, resolved to proceed with temper, and in such a manner that the king should have no pretext to dissolve the parliament or to adopt other arbitrary measures. According to their preceding manner, however, together with the deliberations on the public wants, they entered on discussions relative to the administration, billeting of soldiers, forced loans,

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arrests, and other grievances. Some very remarkable speeches were delivered on these subjects.

Sir Robert Phillips used strong language: "In the ancient festival of the Saturnalia," he said, "the slaves had for one day liberty of speaking and acting. Not so in England, where everyone is free for life. What avail useless words about rights and privileges in parliament if it is speedily dissolved, and nobody secure at any other time of his person and property?"

"Now," said Benjamin Rudyard, "it must be decided whether parliaments shall live or die. It is not well-being, but existence, that is at stake."

Sir Thomas Wentworth, afterwards earl of Strafford, who had himself been imprisoned for refusing to contribute to the loan, bitterly complained of the conduct of the administration, and then continued: "It is not the king, but bad projectors have extended his rights beyond their due proportion, which formerly constituted the harmony of the whole. They have reduced the crown to poverty, by consuming the revenue in advance; they have established a privy council which imprisons us at its pleasure. What have they robbed us of, or rather what have they left us, with which, after our property has been annihilated, we can assist the king? Till liberty is secured no new grants must be made."

The members of the house of commons, who were more clear-sighted, were by no means disposed to a breach with the king at this moment, so that even Pym said, "Deeds are better than words. Let us therefore hasten our resolutions on the supplies." Accordingly, on the 11th of April five subsidies were voted, a sum not indeed sufficient to meet all the wants, but larger than had hitherto been granted, and even than the king himself expected. He said, therefore, "On this day I have risen higher in the estimation of all Christendom than if I had gained some battles. I love the parliament, I take pleasure in it, and promise that all shall enjoy as much liberty as ever was enjoyed under the best king of the country."

As the grant of the five subsidies was only a provisional vote and no time fixed when the money should be levied, and as the discussion of the grievances went on at the same time, the king urged them, on the 10th of April, after so good a beginning, to decide the question of the supplies quickly, and in preference to all other matters. The commons on the same day drew up an answer, of which the following is the substance: "It is an ancient right of parliament to determine the order in which the matters before it shall be treated, and especially to deliberate on the grievances before matters of taxation. We therefore request the king not to listen to partial insinuations, but to rely on what will shortly be laid before him."

The first law which was presented to the king by the house of commons on the 14th of April related to the redress of abuses in billeting of soldiers. He replied to the speaker: "It is not the time to enter into discussions on the privileges of the house, but to do what the occasion calls for. I am no less regardful than you of the maintenance of your liberties, but delays may equally endanger your rights and mine. I shall answer your request in due time."

The house, however, was the further from suspending its deliberations upon the grievances, as it seemed unreasonable that the king delayed indefinitely his answer to a simple petition, and yet desired the grant of money to be made immediately in order then, as they feared, to dissolve the parliament. The more easily to remove, as he hoped, all these doubts, the king, in an unusual manner, went himself to the house on the 28th of April, and declared through the lord-keeper "that he gave his word inviolably to main-

tain the Magna Charta, and all the confirmations of it, as well as all the rights of the people, and to govern according to the laws. In this royal word and promise they would find as much security as in any law, and he requested them to be satisfied with it."

However satisfactory this promise appeared, it contained nothing that was not already comprised in the coronation oath, which had not prevented all abuses. The principal object was to remove doubts and abuses by precise legal enactments that the interpretation and application might not depend on personal goodness or arbitary will.

In the debates upon the royal message, which began on the 2nd of May, different opinions were expressed with increased warmth. Some said, "We have already laws enough, and it is sufficient if they are executed." Others exclaimed, "Our liberties have been more violated within a short time than in two centuries preceding." "The king's goodness," said Wentworth, "is sufficient for the moment, but affords no security for the future." At length, after the house had decided, the speaker made an address to the king on the 5th of May. It was in terms polite, grateful and full of confidence: "Only in consequence of much experience the house ventured to request that the king would suffer his promise to be reduced to the form of a bill, and would then confirm it, in which it was by no means intended to overthrow the ancient laws or to limit the king's power, but only more clearly to fix those laws and the mode of their execution."

The king hereupon replied through the lord-keeper: "That he had expected an answer by deeds, not a delay by words. In every explanation of the laws he hazarded a limitation of his rights, and wherefore all this, if they expressed their assurance that they trusted his word? He would confirm Magna Charta and the laws connected with it, but exhorted them to do quickly what they intended to do, as his resolution speedily to dissolve them was known to them."

In the debates in the house on the following day, the secretary, Cooke, again observed, "That the king's word, in fact, bound him more than a law, for it also engaged his affection, his judgment, and his honour." The great lawyer, Sir Edward Coke, was of a different opinion, and said: "General promises are not sufficient for the removal of special grievances. A verbal declaration is, in the parliamentary sense, not the word of the king, and messages from him cannot determine the nature of our proceedings and the rights of parliament. I have no distrust of the king's word, but let him declare it in the legal manner, that all succeeding kings may be bound by it. Let us therefore state our wishes in a petition of right which the king may then confirm, and thereby show confidence in the parliamentary sense of the term."

THE PETITION OF RIGHT (1628 A. D.)

This was accordingly done, Sir Edward Coke taking the lead. The petition of right was sent to the house of lords on the 8th of May, and on the 12th it received a letter from the king in which he endeavoured to prove how much he had hitherto yielded, and again offered to confirm the old laws.

The validity of these, however, was so clearly understood that a new confirmation of them seemed scarcely necessary, and the house was least of all disposed to be restrained from all further improvement of the legislation. Though the lords were far from rejecting the petition of right, they made an addition to it which gave occasion to new and long debates in the lower house.

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It was to this effect: they would leave entire the sovereign power with which the king was intrusted for the protection, safety, and happiness of his people. Pym declared upon this that he knew very well how the word sovereign might be applied to the person of the king, but not to his authority. Sir Edward Coke said, "This addition destroys the whole bill." The expression, too, was quite unusual, and appeared to place the power of the king above all laws. Sir Thomas Wentworth added, "If this addition is adopted, matters will be worse than they were before." The most singular arguments were adduced in favour of this addition; for instance, that otherwise the children of Irish rebels could not have been confined in the Tower for life. Still more must we be surprised that Sir Edward Coke observed on this occasion, that this had been for the benefit of the children so confined, for otherwise they would have become Catholics. Thus the most zealous friends of civil liberty often conducted themselves in those times as the bitterest enemies of religious liberty.

After the debates were concluded, Mr. Glanville explained the views and motives of the lower house to the house of lords, and induced the lords unanimously to withdraw their addition, and the petition of right received the assent of both houses. The following is the substance of it:

(1) No taxes, loans, benevolences, etc., shall be ordered and levied without the consent of parliament.

(2) No person shall be arrested, condemned, or deprived of his property, without the allegation of the reasons, according to the laws of the land and by judgment of his peers.

(3) Soldiers shall not be arbitrarily billeted on the citizens, contrary to the laws, and no citizen shall be tried and punished by martial law.

(4) No one may interrupt or suspend the course of the laws in individual cases, or create extraordinary courts of justice.

After some further attempts of the king entirely to prevent this bill had failed, it was presented to him on the 2nd of June, 1628, and he answered: "It is my will that justice be administered according to the laws and customs of the kingdom, and that my subjects have no ground to complain of a violation of their true liberties, to the preservation of which I feel myself in my conscience as much bound as to the maintenance of my prerogatives." This answer did not advance the business in any manner, because it was not in a parliamentary form, by which a bill is converted into a law. Meantime, impatient at the complaints which were made on this occasion in the lower house, the king ordered them not to discuss things which implied or might lead to reproaches against him, his government, or the officers of state, but to terminate their business without delay, it being his intention to dissolve the parliament on the 11th of June.

This command, which fixed an arbitrary limit to the proceedings of parliament, or appeared to reduce them to mere passive grants of money, excited so much astonishment and such deep-felt grief that it was a long time before anyone ventured to break silence. At length John Eliot said: "Our sins must be very great, for with what zeal and what affection have we endeavoured to gain the heart of the king. False reports must have drawn upon us this mark of his displeasure."

At this moment, just as Eliot was going to enter into a more particular discussion of the conduct of the ministers, Allen, the speaker, very unexpectedly declared that he had orders to interrupt everyone who should speak unfavourably of persons in the king's service. On which Dudley Digges exclaimed, "If we are not to speak of such things in parliament, we had better go home than remain mute and idle here." Nathaniel Rich said,

"We must not be silent, for we might indeed thereby save ourselves, but plunge the king and state into ruin. We must, together with the lords, present our remonstrance to the king." "The king," continued Kirton, "is as good a king as ever was, but the enemies of the state have prevailed with him, to extirpate whom, it is to be hoped, there will be no want of hearts, arms, and swords."[1] "It is not the king," said Coke, "who forbids us to discuss the affairs of state, but the duke of Buckingham."

Hereupon it was resolved that no member of parliament had lost sight of the respect which was due to the king. But before the further discussions, which were chiefly directed against Buckingham, were terminated, a royal order came for both houses to adjourn immediately. A subsequent very vague declaration of Charles was the less calculated to satisfy the house of commons, because it had received news of the raising of troops in foreign parts. Charles and his favourite at length thought that, not entirely to lose the supplies, and to prevent an accusation of the duke, the refusal hitherto made should be revoked.

COSTUME IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I OF ENGLAND

On the 8th of June, after a new representation from the commons, the king called both houses, and said: "My former answer was so maturely weighed and approved by so many prudent persons that I could by no means conjecture it would not satisfy you. To avoid, however, every equivocal interpretation, and to show you that I have no reservation, I will satisfy you with respect to the words as well as the substance."

After the bill had been again read the king gave his sanction by the customary and legal form, *soit fait comme il est desiré*. He then added: "This sanction contains no more than I meant to give by the preceding, for it was intended to include in it all your liberties, as, according to your own assurance, you neither can nor will abridge my prerogatives. My principle is that the liberties of a people always strengthen the rights of a king, and that the latter are chiefly intended to defend the former. You now see how ready I have always been to fulfil your wishes; on my side I have done what depends on me, and if the parliament should notwithstanding not end happily, it will be your fault, and not mine."

As a proof of its unmixed joy and gratitude, the house of commons granted on the 12th of June, without reserve, the five subsidies previously voted, and

[1 Then was presented a scene such as the tame patriotism of modern times may have difficulty in comprehending. Mr. Alured thus describes it in a letter quoted by Rushworth: n "Sir Robert Phillips of Somersetshire spake, and mingled his words with weeping. Mr. Pym did the like. Sir Edward Coke, overcome with passion, seeing the desolation likely to ensue, was forced to sit down when he began to speak, by the abundance of tears." The speaker begged to retire; and the house went into committee. Then Coke rose, and, with a solemnity befitting his advanced age, denounced the duke of Buckingham as the author and cause of all the miseries of the country. There was something in that passion of tears against which the habitual obstinacy of Charles could not contend.—KNIGHT.]

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the king thought that now all was ended on both sides, and that no motive for further deliberation and resolutions remained. The commons, on the other hand, were convinced that it was not sufficient theoretically to lay down certain principles and confirm privileges, but that it was their right and duty to make practical use of them, and to proceed to particulars (unless all they had done were to be in vain) and examine what abuses in the administration might be redressed. By doing this they would equally consult the advantage and honour of the king and that of his subjects.

Accordingly the prosecution of Mainwaring for the above-mentioned sermon was continued before the upper house, and he was sentenced to be excluded forever from all offices in the church, to pay a fine of £1,000, to make a recantation and apology, to remain in prison at the pleasure of the house, and his sermon to be seized and burned. In the order issued by the king for the execution of the last resolution it was said, to take away all occasion and pretext for scandal and offence, Mainwaring's sermon should henceforward be neither printed nor sold, but given up; for though he had meant well, yet through ignorance of the laws he had drawn upon himself the censure of parliament and the condemnation of his book.

A Representation to the king was more important and comprehensive, in which the house of commons stated its grievances. They related to the arrogance and influence of the Roman Catholics, to the too great force of the standing army, the raising of recruits in foreign countries, the levying of taxes not voted, the conduct of the war and of foreign affairs, the decay of the fortresses, the decline of trade, and the excessive and pernicious influence of the duke of Buckingham. The king, displeased at this Representation, answered that though he saw that they understood less of all these things than he did himself, he would, however, take the contents of their Representation into his consideration. He also persisted in saying that he took everything upon himself that had been done by Buckingham and the other ministers; they were innocent, for they had in all cases acted by his orders.

The house of commons, not moved by these observations, which did the greatest harm to the king himself, requested him to recall a proposal of the 3rd of February, 1628, respecting the levying of the excise, because it was inconsistent with the rights of the parliament and with the Petition of Right. In the same spirit and for the same reasons, the house remonstrated against the duties of tonnage and poundage which had not been granted by parliament.

The king, who saw in all this only pernicious innovations and improper interference in his rights, summoned both the houses on the 26th of June, 1628, and said in substance: "My lords and gentlemen, it may appear strange that I put an end to this session before the passing of many bills. I will therefore, though I am accountable for my actions to God alone, acquaint you with the motives of my conduct. All know that the house of commons lately presented a remonstrance to me, the propriety of which every person may judge of, and the value of which I will not here examine, as I am convinced that no wise man can approve it. I have since had positive information that a second remonstrance is preparing to deprive me of tonnage and poundage (one of the principal resources of the crown) under the pretext that I had renounced it by confirming the Petition of Right. This is so much to my disadvantage that I am compelled to close this sitting some hours sooner than I intended, for I am not inclined to receive any representation to which I must give a harsh answer.

"I did not grant my subjects any new liberties, but only confirmed the ancient ones. To show, however, the purity of my intentions, and that I

neither repent of what has been done, nor intend to deviate in any respect from my promise, I declare that such circumstances as those which formerly appeared to trench on your liberties and gave occasion to the Petition of Rights shall, on the word of a king, never again occur. But with respect to tonnage and poundage, I cannot do without it; and you have no more power to take it from me than I have inclination to give it up. In conclusion, I command you all carefully to mark my words, as they contain the true sense and meaning of what I granted you in your Petition of Rights. This is addressed especially to you, the judges, because the interpretation of the laws belongs to you alone, under me; for neither the lords nor the commons, nor both together (whatever new doctrines may be attempted to be set up), have any right whatever to pass or to interpret laws without my assent."

After this speech, which, by the king's order, was entered in the journals of the house of commons, the speaker presented the bill of supply, observing that so large a sum had never before been granted in so short a time. It received, with some other bills, the royal assent; the parliament was then prorogued to the 20th of October, 1628, and afterwards to the 20th of January, 1629.

While the speech of the king and the prorogation of the parliament were approved by only a few persons who thought that the right was on his side, others said that the remonstrance at which the king had taken offence was moderate in its form, and in its substance well founded: its object was by no means to abridge his just rights, but to remove the causes of former injustice and to bring the administration into harmony with the Petition of Right. Nor is the question, whether the crown can do without certain revenues, or whether they shall be refused to it; but that, according to the express words of the Petition of Right, every tax must be granted by parliament. From this ancient and newly confirmed rule the king cannot make arbitrary exceptions, nor are vague words and promises sufficient when the formal consolidation of the law is in question. The parliament well know that it by no means possesses the legislative power without the king, but if the latter claims it for himself alone and the judges who depend upon him, this leads equally to the destruction of the due relation between him and the parliament, and to the establishment of an illegal, arbitrary authority.

While the king hoped to make himself popular by measures against the Roman Catholics and Jesuits, and prohibitions of the sale of Mainwaring's sermon, he, on the other hand, excited alarm by bestowing on the latter, in direct contradiction to the decision of the parliament, a rich living, and on Montagu, who entertained similar opinions, the bishopric of Chichester, and on the detested Laud the bishopric of London. He also caused the Petition of Right to be printed, at first only in a few copies, and then not with the legal parliamentary confirmation but in a mean and equivocal manner with the first answer, which was rejected by the house of commons and subsequently withdrawn by himself.

The produce of the newly granted taxes was employed in equipping a fleet to succour the Protestants in La Rochelle.[d]

THE SIEGE OF LA ROCHELLE AND BUCKINGHAM'S ASSASSINATION (1628 A. D.)

The war with France had assumed the aspect of a trial of strength between Buckingham and Richelieu. Without admitting the very questionable theory that they were rivals for the favour of Anne of Austria, there can be

no doubt that on either side there was more than ordinary political hostility. The war has been called a duel between these two ministers. Never was duel fought with greater inequality. Buckingham's highest praise was that of having such "endowments as made him very capable of being a great favourite to a great king." This opinion which Clarendon[h] formed of him indicates very different qualities than those which are required in a minister to a great nation. This proud, insolent, voluptuous young man, whose "inordinate appetite and passion," according to the same authority, were the main cause of the national calamities, was to be matched against the most calculating and at the same time the boldest statesman of that age. It was the battle of a pigmy and a giant.

Whilst Buckingham was wasting his soldiers by his gross mismanagement in the isle of Rhé, Richelieu was taking a comprehensive view of the position and resources of La Rochelle, and forming a plan for its reduction eminently characteristic of his genius. After Buckingham's inglorious return, a second expedition had gone forth from Plymouth in the spring of 1628, under the duke's brother-in-law, the earl of Denbigh. Having looked at the French fleet in the harbour, he speedily came back to report what he had seen, after the exchange of a few harmless shots. On the 28th of May Charles wrote to the authorities of La Rochelle urging them to hold out to the last, and using these solemn words of assurance to fifteen thousand people, who saw famine slowly but surely approaching: "Be assured that I will never abandon you, and that I will employ all the force of my kingdom for your deliverance." A third fleet was equipped after parliament had granted the subsidies, and in spite of a remonstrance of the commons against the power of Buckingham and his abuse of that power, the duke was again to take the command. Had he sailed, the triumph of Richelieu over the man who had aspired to be his rival would have been complete.

La Rochelle was wholly blockaded on the land side, but the port was open. An English fleet might come to the relief of the town, under better commanders than the rash Buckingham or the timid Denbigh. Richelieu had read in *Quintus Curtius* how Alexander the Great had subdued Tyre by carrying out a mole to interrupt the entrance to the harbour. He caused a great mound to be made fourteen hundred yards across, with a small tideway, and it was nearly completed when a storm destroyed it. He was a man not to be discouraged by one failure, and he caused the work to be begun anew. The tacticians of the army laughed at the extravagant schemes of the priest whom the king had appointed their lieutenant-general. The cardinal persevered; the mole was formed; the fate of La Rochelle was certain. The English fleet might now come. It was getting in readiness to sail from Portsmouth. The great duke had arrived to take the command. That he would have fought to the death for the relief of the beleaguered Huguenots there can be no doubt. Not only was his pride engaged in the quarrel, but his future political existence depended upon the issue of this his last venture. He was not destined to fall before the superior genius of Richelieu. He perished by the tenpenny knife of an assassin.

The duke had been at Portsmouth and its neighbourhood for several weeks. On the 23rd of August he was sitting at breakfast in a lower room of the house which he occupied in the town, and his coach was waiting at the door to convey him to the king, who was staying at a mansion at Southwick. The breakfast-room and the ante-chamber were filled with a crowd of attendants and officers, and amongst them passed in, unobserved, a short dark man, who, having looked upon the company, went back to the dimly

lighted lobby through which the duke would pass to the street. Buckingham stopped to speak to Sir Thomas Fryer, and the short man being behind stabbed the duke in his left side, leaving the knife in the body. The duke, exclaiming "The villain hath killed me!" drew out the knife, and, reeling against a chimney, fell down dead.[1]

The villain was John Felton, a younger brother of a Suffolk family. He had served as lieutenant in the expedition to Rhé; had been disappointed of some promotion; was, says Sir H. Wotton,[o] "of a deep melancholy, silent, and gloomy constitution," and, according to his own dying declaration, was moved to assassinate the duke as "an enemy to the public." "In a bye-cutler's shop on Tower Hill he bought a tenpenny knife, and the sheath thereof he sewed to the lining of his pocket, that he might at any moment draw forth the blade alone with one hand, for he had maimed the other." In his hat was found a paper with the following writing: "That man in my opinion is cowardly and base, and deserveth neither the name of a gentleman nor a soldier, that is unwilling to sacrifice his life for the honour of God and the good of his king and country. Let no man commend for doing it, but rather discommend themselves; for if God had not taken away their hearts for their sins, he had not gone so long unpunished. John Felton."

COURT COSTUME
(Seventeenth Century)

Felton was removed to the Tower of London; was brought to trial on the 27th of November; was sentenced upon his voluntary confession; and was executed on the 29th, acknowledging that he had been guilty of a great crime. Whilst in the Tower "he was at one time there threatened by Sir Edward Sackville, earl of Dorset, that he should be forced upon the rack to confess who were privy with him and consenting to the duke's death. 'I have,' said he, 'already told the truth on that point, upon my salvation; and if I be further questioned by torture, I will accuse you, and you only, my lord of Dorset, to be of conspiracy with me.' "[p]

If Buckingham had escaped the knife of the assassin he would perhaps have fallen by the axe of the executioner. The king, who lay at a private house in the neighbourhood of Portsmouth, received the announcement of this tragic event with a serenity of countenance which, in those who were unacquainted

[1 Buckingham was only thirty-six years old at the time of his death.]

[1628 A.D.]

with his character, excited a suspicion that he was not sorry to be freed from a minister so hateful to the majority of the nation. But Charles lamented his murdered favourite with real affection. If he mastered his feelings in public, he indulged them with greater freedom in private; he carefully marked and remembered the conduct of all around him; he took the widow and children of Buckingham under his special protection; he paid his debts, amounting to sixty-one thousand pounds; he styled him the martyr of his sovereign, and ordered his remains to be deposited among the ashes of the illustrious dead in Westminster Abbey.*p*

The king did what is the best thing to be done under any calamity—he tasked his faculties in active exertion. He applied himself to complete the equipment of the fleet that Buckingham was to have led to La Rochelle.

In twelve days seventy vessels sailed from Portsmouth, and thirty more quickly followed. On the 15th of September the fleet was off the Isle of Rhé. The earl of Lindsey was the admiral. In the town of La Rochelle there was the most intense suffering from famine. The French army surrounded it. The great mole prevented any supply of necessaries from the sea. The English fleet coasted up and down without any fixed purpose. The spirit of national enterprise was gone. Lindsey looked upon the mole, and had no thought of breaking it down. He looked upon the French camp, and had no inclination to land his men for an attack. He sent a fire-ship or two into the port, and he discharged a few cannon. On the 18th of October La Rochelle was surrendered, in despair of receiving any help from the lukewarm or treacherous allies that had stimulated the Protestants to a desperate resistance to their persecutors.

The horrors of this siege of fourteen months exceed most of the miseries recorded of beleaguered towns. Fifteen thousand persons died of hunger and disease. There was not a horse left alive in the town, for they had all been eaten. Cow-hides were a delicacy; and when these were gone, and the supply of dogs and cats was exhausted, leather was in request, so that the household of the duchess of Rohan gladly devoured the animal covering of her coach. Lindsey took his fleet back to Portsmouth; and probably even the courtiers might think that the commons would have some justice on their side if they repeated the words of their remonstrance of the last session, that the conduct of the war had "extremely wasted that stock of honour that was left unto this kingdom, sometime terrible to all other nations, and now declining to contempt beneath the meanest."*f*

VON RANKE'S ESTIMATE OF BUCKINGHAM

Of recent years nothing had surprised foreign visitors to England so greatly as the wide gulf between the administration and the people. On one side they saw the king, the favourite, and his partisans; on the other side everybody else. The king had lost much of his early popularity, but there was an absolute hatred of the despotism of the duke. In spite of this hatred and while the ground trembled beneath him he was planning magnificent schemes. He had dreamed of marrying his daughter to the electoral prince palatine, and possibly to give her higher rank by conquering Jamaica and having himself declared an independent prince in the West Indies.

In any case he had determined to relieve La Rochelle. The condition of the navy promised success. He had increased it from fourteen thousand to twenty-two thousand tons. He wished to turn men's hatred into admiration.

He said he wanted to atone for his youthful errors and follow new paths along the lines of ancient English policies, to bring back good times. The world's destinies seemed to hang on his schemes; he had never seemed so full of strength and enthusiasm. At the crisis of his career he was struck down by a sudden and terrible death. England's standing before the world was immeasurably degraded when La Rochelle fell to Richelieu. The schemes of Buckingham vanished utterly, the ideas of Richelieu became the basis of a new epoch in history.[b]

THE REASSEMBLY AND DISSOLUTION OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT, 1629

On the 20th of January, 1629, the parliament was assembled. During the recess of six months there had been causes of discontent and irritation, besides the calamities of La Rochelle. Tonnage and poundage had been collected, as the king had threatened, without consent of parliament, and goods had been seized when merchants resisted the demand. The king now adopted a less lofty tone. He had enforced these dues, but he was willing to receive them in future by the gift of his people. The judges had decided against the merchants who had refused payment; and the commons were not content to let the matter rest without some marked condemnation of the past violation not only of the ancient statutes, but of the recent Petition of Right. The house was soon again in a controversial attitude, and the questions of civil liberty then became embittered by religious differences.

There were now two distinct parties in the church, the Calvinistic and the Arminian, each taking different views of the doctrines of free will and necessity. The Arminian, or high-church party, the more powerful with the king, was proportionately weak in parliament. The great body of the commons were Puritans—the holders of opinions that had been gradually strengthening from the time when King James insulted their professors. These opinions had become allied with the cause of constitutional freedom; for it was amongst the high-church party that the intemperate assertors of the divine right of kings were to be found.

Laud, translated from the bishopric of Bath and Wells, had become bishop of London in 1628, and was in effect the primate; for Archbishop Abbot, whose principles were not in accordance with those of the court, had been suspended. Under Laud there had been ceremonial observances introduced into the performance of divine worship, which were offensive to those who dreaded a revival of papacy in copes and candlesticks, prayers towards the east, and bowings to the altar. We know a little in the present day of the somewhat unchristian spirit engendered by differences about ceremonies; but we cannot adequately comprehend the strong feelings of the Englishmen of the seventeenth century upon these points, unless we bring to the proper understanding of their struggles a candid and tolerant admission that they were men in earnest. It is an odious blemish upon the narrative of Hume,[q] that whenever he encounters a strong instance of religious zeal in the Puritans he exclaims "Hypocrisy!" It is an almost equal fault of other writers that they regard the desire, however ill-regulated, to invest the performance of religious rites with some of the decent order and even pomp of the earlier churches, as mere superstition and idol-worship.

There was a man who made his first speech in the session of 1629 whom it was once the fashion to regard as the arch-hypocrite of his times—Hume calls him "fanatical hypocrite." He was described by Warwick[r] as he

[1629 A.D.]

appeared in the same house eleven years afterwards as "a gentleman very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor." But this plain gentleman, with "his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable," had, according to the same observer, an "eloquence full of fervour." It was Oliver Cromwell that attracted the attention of the "courtly young gentleman," as Sir Philip Warwick terms himself, in 1640; and in 1629 he was disturbing the complacency of other courtly gentlemen, by a speech thus briefly reported: "That he had heard by relation from one Dr. Beard that Dr. Alabaster had preached flat popery at Paul's Cross, and that the bishop of Winchester had commanded him, as his diocesan, he should preach nothing to the contrary. Mainwaring, so justly censured in this house for his sermons, was by the same bishop's means preferred to a rich living. If these are the steps to church preferment, what are we to expect?"

At present we need not enter into these theological complaints of the commons further than to indicate their nature by this speech. It was a declaration of opinion by one who, though new to public life in 1629, was connected with some of the great parliamentary leaders by family ties and private friendships, and was sent to parliament from Huntingdon, the town in which he dwelt, with the reputation of sagacity and energy in his local relations. The complaints thus briefly reported to be uttered by Cromwell at this time are to be found at much greater length in the speeches of more conspicuous members.

Brief, but ominous, was the session.[f] The king ordered the commons to take the bill for tonnage and poundage into immediate consideration; but the patriots demanded the precedence for grievances—the saints for religion. The last succeeded; and it was resolved that the "business of the king of this earth should give place to the business of the king of heaven." In religion, danger was apprehended from two sources, papacy and Arminianism. Of the growth of papacy an alarming instance had recently appeared. Out of ten individuals arraigned on the charge of having received orders in the church of Rome, only one had been condemned, and even his execution had been respited.[p] In order to defeat resolutions respecting religious matters, or against tax-collectors, who levied taxes which had not been voted, the king had recourse to a prorogation of the parliament, by which, however, those matters were delayed which he wished to have settled, and the reciprocal enmity was increased.

VIOLENCE IN THE HOUSE; THE ARREST AND DEATH OF ELIOT

When the speaker of the house of commons, on the 2nd of March, after a long interruption of the sittings declared that the king ordered a new adjournment till the 10th of March, some members answered, "That such a command could by no means be given to the house of commons, as an adjournment depended upon itself, but as soon as some necessary things were finished it would, however, comply." Hereupon Sir John Eliot read a motion for a representation to the king upon tonnage and poundage, which the speaker, John Finch, in consequence of the king's order, just received, would not suffer to be put to the vote, but was going to leave the chair.

The moment, however, that he rose in order to withdraw, Holles [the son of the earl of Clare] and Valentine came forward, and the first said, "By God, you shall sit still here till we please to close the debate!" Edmunds, and some privy councillors, in vain endeavoured to release the speaker and to support his opinion. Many opposed, and Selden exclaimed, "It is very blamable

that the speaker, a servant of this house, refuses under any pretext to obey. If such obstinacy goes unpunished it will be considered as a precedent, and every speaker may, at any moment, interrupt the business of the house under the pretext of a royal order."

When Finch, notwithstanding this exhortation, refused, with entreaties and tears, to prolong the sitting, his relation and countryman, Peter Hayman, said: "This brings sorrow over our country and disgrace upon our family. For all evil, nay, our ruin, which may ensue, will appear one day as the consequence of your base conduct, and be spoken of only with indignation and contempt. If, however, the speaker persists in not doing his duty, he must be called to account and another chosen."

During this dispute Eliot had drawn up a protest which was read by Holles and adopted by the majority, though not without much noise and confusion. This remonstrance was in substance, "That all who should seek to extend or to introduce Roman Catholicism, Arminianism, or other heretical doctrines, who should advise the levying of tonnage and poundage without consent of parliament, or who should collect or voluntarily pay these taxes, should be considered as an enemy to his country and a betrayer of the liberties of England."

Meantime the king, being informed of the agitation that had taken place, sent an officer again to order the prorogation in due form; he, however, found the doors of the house locked, at which Charles was so incensed that he sent for the guard to force the entrance, but before it arrived the house had broken up. On the 10th of March the king went to the upper house, and when only a part of the house of commons had appeared at the bar, he addressed the lords as follows: "I have never come here on a more disagreeable business, namely, to dissolve this parliament; many will perhaps wonder why I did not give this commission to another, as it is a principle with kings to leave everything unpleasant to their ministers, and to take what is pleasing upon themselves. Considering, however, that justice is executed as much by the punishment of vice as by the recommendation and reward of virtue, I considered it necessary to come here to-day in person, to declare to you, my lords, and to all the world, that the disobedient conduct of the house of commons is the only cause for the dissolution of parliament. Those entirely misconceive me who believe that I lay equal blame on all the members of the house of commons, for I know among them as many dutiful and loyal subjects as any in the world, and am aware that there are only some vipers among them, who have deceived many but not infected all."

Immediately after the dissolution of parliament the king published very circumstantial declarations, in which he endeavoured to prove that the house of commons had, on many occasions, manifested ill-will, had excited unfounded suspicion, raised useless disputes, proposed injurious innovations, and sought to acquire reputation by setting the state in a flame, as Herostratus with the Temple of Diana at Ephesus. Conformably to this declaration, ten members of the house of commons were ordered to be arrested, and their effects to be put under seal, six days before the formal dissolution. Holles, Eliot, Hobart, and Hayman were first summoned before the privy council. Eliot, being questioned respecting his language in the house, answered, "I am ready to account for my words and actions to the house of commons if it calls upon me to do so, but here I am only a private man, and need not answer for anything that I did as member of parliament." Hobart spoke to the same effect, and added, "I should like to know by what legal authority I can be examined here, as no power on earth ever has demanded, or has a right to demand, an account

of what is done in parliament. However, I do not hesitate to confess that by the direction of the house I locked the door and put the key into my pocket."

The sentence of the court was that the accused should be fined from £500 to £2,000, and be imprisoned during the king's pleasure, and not liberated till they should give security for their good behaviour, submit and acknowledge their fault. All the judges except one agreed in this sentence; some of the persons condemned were liberated after paying the fine and giving security; others died in prison because they could not, or would not, comply with the conditions. Eliot, being attacked by severe illness in consequence of the unhealthiness of the prison, wrote a petition to the king requesting permission to enjoy fresh air. The king, however, returned it, saying, "Not humble enough." In all his sufferings Eliot[1] remained courageous, energetic, and undaunted, and would rather suffer death than deny his opinions. He died on the 27th of November, 1632.[d]

"But," says Forster, "revenges there are which death cannot satisfy, and natures that will not drop their hatreds at the grave. The son desired to carry his father's remains to Port Eliot, there to lie with those of his ancestors, and the king was addressed once more. The youth drew up a humble petition that his majesty would be pleased to permit the body of his father to be carried into Cornwall, to be buried there. Whereto was answered at the foot of the petition, 'Lett Sir John Eliot's body be buried in the churche of that parish where he dyed.' And so he was buried in the Tower. No stone marks the spot where he lies, but as long as freedom continues in England he will not be without a monument."[t]

By these declarations and punishments Charles thought that he had gained all the unprejudiced, and frightened all the ill-disposed; but in truth these events were by no means judged of by all alike, and with the differences of opinion were connected the most opposite wishes and hopes. The court party (which liked to be called the legal and conservative) said, in case parliament will not give way, government must be carried on without it, and its dissolution brings relief from senseless zealots and presumptuous fools. At some future time, when the members and the people have become wise, it may be called together again or not; for nobody has the power or the right to compel the king on this point; nay, if we inquire into the highest, the divine right, it knows nothing of parliaments, upper and lower houses, elections, and speakers, but simply orders the people to obey the magistrates. And not merely the clergy, but the judges, laid down the principle that the king can do no wrong, and the parliament could the less limit the king's absolute rights, as he is the source of all right, and may, if it appears necessary, dispense with all laws.

Those who took a different view of the subject answered: whether the king will have the power to govern without a parliament, the future will decide; but that he has no right to do so, is manifest from the clear letter of the laws and the custom of centuries. His rights are inviolable only if he acknowledges and performs his duty, and he is no less subject to the law than any other person. What the parliament politely called a petition of right became, by the royal sanction, a law binding all parties, and he who denies this very

[1 To Eliot belongs the glory of being the first to see plainly that Charles' isolation was a fruitful seed of evil. It was for him to suffer as those suffer who see that which their fellows cannot see. Like the Swiss warrior, he had gathered into his own bosom the spear-points of the adverse host. His countrymen would follow by-and-by through the breach which he had made at the cost of his life.—GARDINER.s]

significantly indicates that still stronger guarantees against the arbitrary will of the king must be found. With respect to religion and eternal salvation, a foreign more than papal despotism can be still less tolerated than unlimited tyranny in the state; lastly, it is quite absurd that officers who violate the plainest laws should be freed by a royal order from all responsibility.

Meantime, very much depended upon the persons whom the king would employ, and how he would govern without a parliament. With respect to the former, Clarendon,[h] a partisan of the court, says in substance: "The lord-keeper Coventry, a prudent, well-informed man, who never went beyond his sphere, sometimes censured as inactive because he would not assist in the innovations, the consequences of which he foresaw. The lord-treasurer Weston, not without talents, but immoderately ambitious, profuse, alternately too forward and too timid, without elevation of character and sentiment, and suspected of Catholicism, only not by the Roman Catholics themselves. The earl of Arundel, the possessor of many antiquities, a humourist, properly speaking ignorant, who in general cared very little about court and public affairs. The earl of Pembroke, able and esteemed, but devoted to all kinds of pleasures, especially to women. The earl of Carlisle, an experienced courtier, and well versed in foreign affairs, but a *bon vivant*, and prodigal in the extreme. The earl of Holland, pliant, and not to be depended upon. The earl of Montgomery, a good judge of dogs and horses."

STRAFFORD AND LAUD

It is evident that all the men here named would not have been capable of directing the affairs of state even in tranquil times, much less at so critical a moment. In fact, two other men soon acquired more decided influence, namely, Thomas Wentworth, afterwards created earl of Strafford, and Laud, who had been raised to the see of Canterbury, after the death of Archbishop Abbot, in August, 1633.

The first was a descendant of the Wentworths who had distinguished themselves in parliament in the reign of Elizabeth, and had himself advocated the rights of the people with energetic vehemence; had supported to the utmost the Petition of Right, and suffered himself to be thrown into prison for refusing to contribute to the loan illegally imposed. Since that time (though not without the fault of the court) indications of more serious designs had appeared among the friends of the popular party, yet nothing had been done to cause a total change of opinions and principles. If, therefore, Strafford, following the honourable invitation of the king, had faithfully united with him, and acted with energy for the preservation of his rights, as well as those of the people, he would merit implicit praise. Instead of this he hurried to the opposite extreme, and thereby proved that his preceding actions rested on no solid foundation, or that he was one of those demagogues who, as is so often the case, are but tyrants in disguise. Whatever his defenders may say, it shows no consistency, no unity of principles and sentiments, for a man to suffer himself to be imprisoned to-day for not paying an unvoted loan, and to-morrow to assist in imprisoning others for refusing to pay the unvoted ship money.

Strafford incontestably possessed great energy of mind and will; from the moment he got the power into his hands he was disposed to make use of it, like the tyrants who sometimes appear in the history of the world, and are, not without reason, celebrated. But while he indiscriminately set aside all the demands of the age for the attainment of this egotistical object, and recognised

[1629 A.D.]

no law but his own will and that of the king, he in a great measure produced the evils which he desired to combat, and blindly plunged himself and his master into the same ruin. A truly great man would have mediated between the two parties in such a manner that they must in the end have acknowledged that their own safety was to be found in his guidance; whereas now, after passion is allayed, all may pity but none can wholly justify him.

Laud acted with respect to the church in the same manner as Strafford in regard to the state. Both were of an equally vehement temper, but Strafford knew very well what was at stake, and yet invited the decisive conflict in too great confidence in his own powers. Laud, who was of a less comprehensive mind, could not at all conceive how any reasonable objection could be made to his ideas and intentions, and though he was himself most obstinate, looked upon all contradiction as criminal obstinacy. He undoubtedly gave his attention to the restoration of the churches, to the appointment of able clergymen, the promotion of learning, and was in his personal concerns well-meaning and blameless. But all these good qualities disappeared when he attempted and was called upon to govern, and yet understood nothing of the times and of the state, and looked at the church in a wholly partial and on that account more tyrannical point of view.[d]

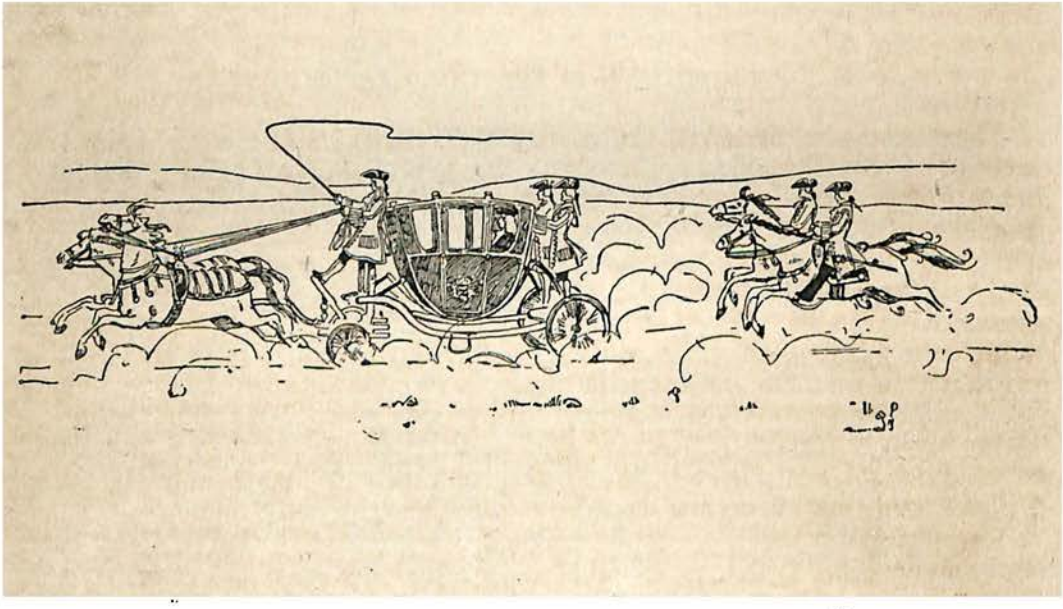
HALLAM'S REVIEW OF THE THIRD PARLIAMENT

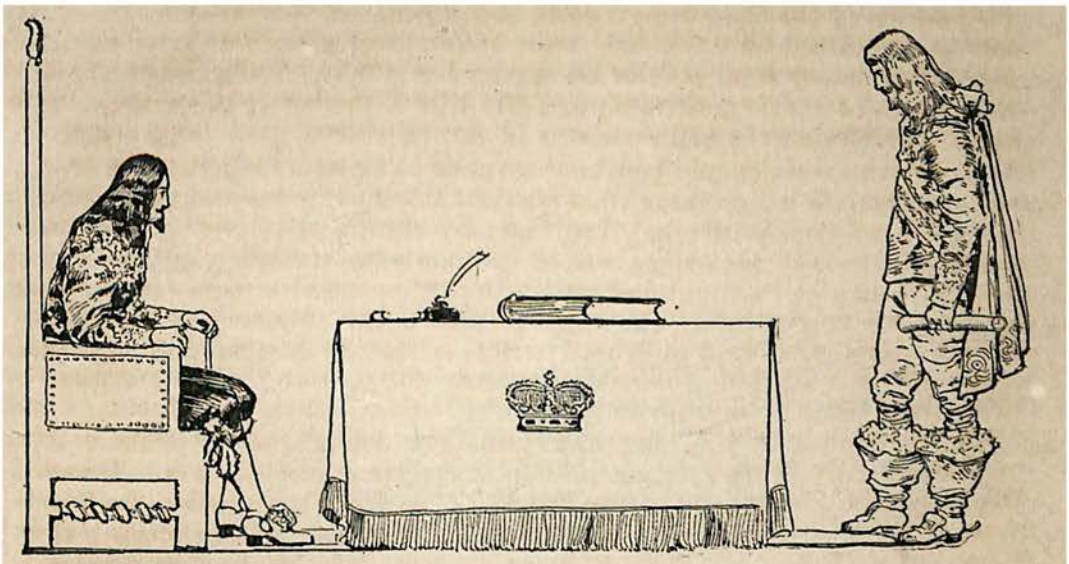
There seems on the whole to be very little ground for censure in the proceedings of this illustrious parliament. I admit that if we believe Charles I to have been a gentle and beneficent monarch, incapable of harbouring any design against the liberties of his people, or those who stood forward in defence of their privileges, wise in the choice of his councillors, and patient in listening to them, the commons may seem to have carried their opposition to an unreasonable length. But if he had shown himself possessed with such notions of his own prerogative, no matter how derived, as could bear no effective control from fixed law, or from the nation's representatives; if he was hasty and violent in temper, yet stooping to low arts of equivocation and insincerity; whatever might be his estimable qualities in other respects, they could act, in the main, not otherwise than by endeavouring to keep him in the power of parliament, lest his power should make parliament but a name.

Every popular assembly truly zealous in a great cause will display more heat and passion than cool-blooded men after the lapse of centuries may wholly approve. But so far were they from encroaching, as our Tory writers pretend, on the just powers of a limited monarch that they do not appear to have conceived, they at least never hinted at, the securities without which all they had obtained or attempted would become ineffectual. No one member of that house in the utmost warmth of debate is recorded to have suggested the abolition of the court of Star Chamber, or any provision for the periodical meeting of parliament.

Though such remedies for the greatest abuses were in reality consonant to the actual unrepealed law of the land, yet, as they implied, in the apprehension of the generality, a retrenchment of the king's prerogative, they had not yet become familiar to their hopes. In asserting the illegality of arbitrary detention, of compulsory loans, of tonnage and poundage levied without consent of parliament, they stood in defence of positive rights won by their fathers, the prescriptive inheritance of Englishmen. Twelve years more of repeated aggressions taught the Long Parliament what a few sagacious men might

perhaps have already suspected, that they must recover more of their ancient constitution from oblivion, that they must sustain its partial weakness by new securities, that in order to render the existence of monarchy compatible with that of freedom they must not only strip it of all it had usurped, but of something that was its own.*1*





CHAPTER XIX

CHARLES I AND STRAFFORD

[1629–1641 A.D.]

His majesty's pleasure was shown in a great many ways besides turning the dungeon key on a parliamentary opponent. He made Wentworth, who was now ennobled, president of the court of York, and never had so much talent been applied to the subjugation of a people as the new-made viscount displayed in his council of the north. The excesses of the Star Chamber were exceeded by the new institution, and it was perceived that Charles had found another Buckingham, with all the baser qualities of that contemptible favourite ennobled almost into virtues; the rashness of unreasoning vanity into the calculating courage of a statesman; the degrading devotion to the king into a sentiment of loyalty and affection; and men recognised in the new director of the royal conduct not the arrogance and frivolity of the late adviser, but a calm and severe dignity of demeanour. A counterpart of Wentworth, but with all his attributes dwarfed and vulgarised, was found in William Laud. To these two Charles committed the helm—an impetuous renegade who hated the principles he had deserted, and a bigoted ecclesiastic who placed equal faith in the efficacy of forms and ceremonies and the truth of dreams.—James White.[b]

Lord Clarendon,[c] in a passage that has been more than once quoted to show how happy a people may be under an absolute government, says that after the dissolution of Charles' third parliament "there quickly followed so excellent a composure through the whole kingdom that the like peace and plenty and universal tranquillity for ten years was never enjoyed by any nation." The great historian, with something like impartiality, then proceeds to detail the exactions and abuses of these ten years. The imposition of duties which the parliament refused to grant; vast sums extorted from "all persons of reasonable condition upon the law of knighthood"—that is, fines for refusing knighthood; monopolies which had been abolished renewed;

new projects of the same sort, "many scandalous, all very grievous," set on foot; the old forest laws revived, under which great fines were imposed; the writ of ship-money framed, "for an everlasting supply on all occasions"; the jurisdictions of the council-table and the Star Chamber enlarged to a vast extent, "and being the same persons in several rooms, grew both courts of law to determine right, and courts of revenue to bring money into the treasury"; proclamations enjoining what was not enjoined by law, and prohibiting that which was not prohibited, "so that any disrespect to any acts of state or to the persons of statesmen was in no time more penal"; and lastly, the abuse of justice at its fountain-head in the enforcement of arbitrary acts of power by the corruption of the judges. This is the catalogue of grievances presented by the eulogist of King Charles—a strange commentary upon his representation of "the excellent composure through the whole kingdom" during these years of unmitigated despotism.

There is, however, a far more unscrupulous defender of arbitrary power than Clarendon. It required something beyond common effrontery in Hume,[d] after he had noticed the oppressive levies of money, the monopolies, the heavy fines and brutal punishments of the Star Chamber, the iniquities of the courts of law, to write thus: "The grievances under which the English laboured, when considered in themselves without regard to the constitution, scarcely deserve the name; nor were they either burdensome on the people's properties, or any way shocking to the natural humanity of mankind." Had this been true instead of being distinctly opposed to truth, it would have been perfectly impossible for any amount of prosperity amongst the people—which prosperity really depended upon their own industrious energies—to make "the so excellent a composure" a real symptom that they had agreed to renounce what Clarendon calls "those foundations of right by which men valued their security"—to accept slavery in the place of freedom.

Wisely has it been said by De Tocqueville,[e] "in the long run freedom ever brings, to those who know how to keep it, ease, comfort, and often wealth; but there are times in which it disturbs for a season the possession of these blessings; there are other times when despotism alone can confer the ephemeral enjoyment of them. The men who prize freedom only for such things as these, are not men who ever long preserved it." The men who lived in England in that fourth decade of the seventeenth century were not seduced from their allegiance to freedom by the vaunted "peace and plenty" of arbitrary power. Nor did their subsequent awful manifestation of their love of freedom suddenly arise out of their impatience of evil government. "They were native and to the manner born." They did not prize freedom solely because, having from very early times enjoyed a larger share of it than other nations, they had found in its enjoyment a larger share than other nations of material blessings. They clung to freedom—to borrow the words of De Tocqueville—for "its native charms independent of its gifts; the pleasure of speaking, acting, and breathing without restraint, under no master but God and the law."

There has been a battle between the crown and the parliament, and the crown keeps the field. There is not the slightest indication of any other collective resistance. The camp of the people is broken up, and there will be no irregular warfare. The timid amongst the Puritans are in despair. The day of the dissolution, with them, was, said D'Ewes,[f] "the most gloomy, sad, and dismal day for England that happened in five hundred years last past." A great branch had indeed been lopped off the tree of liberty, but there stood the old gnarled trunk, and "the splitting wind" could not bend it or disturb its roots. "Be a king," said Henrietta Maria to Charles, "like

the king of France." There were some barriers to be removed, besides that of a parliament, before that wish could be accomplished. France and England were essentially unlike in the whole construction of the machine of government. The local franchises dependent upon general political freedom constituted a powerful barrier against the disposition of an English king to govern like a king of France. The English had been trained, from the very earliest times, to manage their own affairs. The principle of local association was the familiar condition of an Englishman's existence. Parochial vestries, trade guilds, municipal corporations, were the life of the whole social body.

Though parliaments had been suspended by Charles, these remained in their original vigour and perhaps in a more intense activity. This existence of administrative bodies throughout the kingdom rendered it impossible for any amount of absolute power to effect more than a very partial suppression of liberty of speech and action. The proceedings of the guilds and corporations were conducted with the strict order of the highest deliberative assemblies. The entire machinery of representative administration called them together and regulated their debates. There was no parliament at Westminster from 1629 to 1640; but there was a parliament in Guildhall. There was the elective principle in full force. There, the lower house discussed every matter of its franchises with perfect freedom. There was an upper house to which the lower house presented its bills, and with their mutual concurrence they passed into acts. Could this vital representation of two or three hundred thousand inhabitants of London be in daily use, and the higher representation of all England be ultimately put down by the will of the king? To be as a king of France, Charles must have swept away every local franchise, and have governed by one wide-embracing centralisation. That was absolutely impossible in England.[g]

The relations of England with foreign powers had constantly decreased in importance since the death of Elizabeth. It was neither dangerous as an enemy nor important as a friend. If the king intended to govern without a parliament he must above all things put an end to the useless wars which were prosecuted with little vigour. Accordingly peace was concluded with France [by the Treaty of Susa] in May, 1629, and with Spain [by the Treaty of Madrid] in November, 1630, with less difficulty because Charles gave up the original purposes for which he had begun the wars.[i]

One public effort was made for the cause of Protestant liberty in Europe by sending a small force to the aid of Gustavus Adolphus. But this aid was not given in an open and manly way, or for the assertion of a great principle. It was pretended that the force was raised in Scotland as a private undertaking of the marquis of Hamilton. It was ill-equipped, insufficiently provided with provisions, and, says Whitelocke,[h] "mouldered away in a short time," without rendering any service to the Protestant cause in Germany. In truth there was no real affection for the Protestant cause. The majority of the foreign Protestants were regarded by the government, now closely allied with the dominant party in the church, with dislike and distrust. The doctrines of Geneva had become more offensive than the doctrines of Rome.

Charles gave them preferments. The foreign Protestants were fighting, for the most part, for civil as well as religious liberty, and thus they found no real support among the rulers of England. Gustavus Adolphus went his own way to uphold the Reformation. Charles entered into a secret treaty with Spain for the subjugation of the seven united provinces, which, after better consideration, he declined to ratify.[g]

This by no means put an end to his pecuniary embarrassments. As he was, however, convinced that he possessed the right of levying the taxes required for necessary expenses, as he had before told the parliament that if it longer delayed to employ its apparent right of granting money the farce would be ended, he now proceeded in the course which he had before entered, and found in his councillors, whose sentiments were as despotic as his own, willing instruments for his new resolutions.

Without any regard, therefore, to the Petition of Right, which was directly opposed to such measures, tonnage and poundage were levied, a tax on soap, salt, candles, wine, leather, coals, etc., imposed, and the custom-house officers ordered even to search houses for goods which had not paid the duty. Each county was called upon, by an order of the privy council, to raise a certain sum for the subsistence of the troops, and the intolerant laws against the Roman Catholics were suspended, not from a Christian feeling, but for payment in money. Besides this, innumerable monopolies were renewed; the holders of crown lands compelled to pay large sums under the pretext that their titles were defective; money extorted on the strength of a law which never had been applied, from those who had for several years past settled in London; the nobility were ordered under heavy penalties to leave the capital, and the ancient forest laws enforced.

Whoever, appealing to the laws, refused to allow legal validity to new ordinances was severely punished, and such extensive jurisdiction given to the Star Chamber, the court of High Commission, and other extraordinary tribunals, that the usual administration of justice, in many respects, almost entirely ceased. The Star Chamber, in particular, which formerly had often protected the low against the powerful, had drawn upon itself the greatest odium by the tyrannical spirit of the judges and the gain which indirectly accrued to them. Thus, for the alleged unjust possession of royal forest lands, some individuals were fined as much as £20,000 sterling.

SHIP-MONEY AND HAMPDEN'S RESISTANCE (1630 A.D.)

The most general complaints, however, arose when the king, for the purpose of equipping a fleet, as it was said, ordered ship-money to be paid through the whole kingdom. In justification of this measure it was stated, among other grounds, that according to ancient documents discovered in the Tower such a tax had been imposed by the kings as far back as the time of the Danish invasions of England. [It was thence called the Dane-gelt.] But a reference to so ancient and obsolete a practice could the less avail at the moment, because it appeared that since the time of Henry V a new grant of ship-money had been regularly made to every king, and only for his own life. As there was no obligation, no compulsory duty to pay the tax, and James I and Charles had arbitrarily increased the amount, Charles' first parliament wished to grant that tax, like most of the others, for one year only; but the bill did not pass the house of lords. Charles from that time levied ship-money without a grant, by his own authority, and when the house of commons was ready to remonstrate against this it was prorogued, as we have already mentioned, on the 26th of June, 1628.

In order, however, to put an end to the objections and complaints on the propriety and legality of ship-money, Charles proposed the question to the judges of the Star Chamber, who answered: "When the general good and the security of the kingdom are at stake, and the whole kingdom in danger, your

[1630 A.D.]

majesty may command all your subjects to furnish a certain number of ships, with ammunition and provisions, and compel all who refuse to obey. Your majesty alone, too, has to decide whether such danger exists, and when and how it is to be averted." This decision of the judges was everywhere published,[1] and adopted by the authorities as the standard of their conduct.[i]

The counties on the seaside complied with a good grace. It would have been against established custom if they had refused to provide vessels for the defence of the shore, and they compounded for the sums at which they were assessed, instead of furnishing the actual ships. But the inland counties had never been subject to this impost. They had defended the land with archers and horsemen, and the men of Warwickshire, Oxford, or Buckingham had never seen a ship. The collectors, however, went their rounds. When they came to the village of Great Kimble in Buckinghamshire, they discovered that the whole population, two squires, twenty-nine yeomen, clerk of the vestry, beadles, bellman, and all, had refused to advance a farthing, and had written a protest to this effect, signed with their names. The first name to this document was one which afterwards grew very great in England. It was John Hampden, Esquire, of Hampden Manor and many other noble domains near the Chiltern Hills; a man to whom the one pound eleven and sixpence, at which he was assessed, was of no consequence, but to whom the arbitrary exaction of the odd sixpence was of very great consequence indeed.

JOHN HAMPDEN
(1594–1643)

The judges, we are to remember, were either promoted for political subserviency or had bought their places. They were removable by the king, and considered that in representing the majesty of the law they were to attend principally to the personal interests of their master. All England was anxiously on the watch for news of the decision. When it became known that two members of the bench had protested against the verdict which condemned Hampden and established the validity of the hated impost, the adverse decision was attributed to the servility of the majority, and justice and law were believed to have prompted the virtuous pair. But the victory was ostensibly with the court, and Wentworth and Laud were more resolved on their avowed policy of "thorough" than before.

[1 Richard Chambers, who had bravely resisted the illegal levy upon his merchandise, was again imprisoned because he declined to pay his assessment of ship-money. When the case was taken into the courts at Westminster, one of the judges refused to hear counsel, and said there was a rule of law and a rule of government, and that many things which could not be done by the first rule might be done by the other. It is to such that Clarendon [c] alludes when he says "the damage and mischief cannot be expressed that the crown and state sustained by the deserved reproach and infamy that attended the judges, by being made use of in this and like acts of power; there being no possibility to preserve the dignity, reverence, and estimation of the laws themselves but by the integrity and innocency of the judges." Vaughan [j] notes that "Chambers does not deserve less of his country than Hampden."]

There was nothing now to hinder their wildest schemes. The judges had proclaimed the legal fact that this was an absolute monarchy. "The law was only a servant of the king." "You cannot have a king without those royal rights, no, not by act of parliament." "Acts of parliament cannot hinder a king from commanding the subjects, their persons and goods, and, I say, their money too. No acts of parliament can make any difference." Such was the chorus of falsehood and adulation sung by ten out of the twelve judges of England.[b]

Gneist[k] declares that the disloyal treatment of the office of judge was first made clearly evident through the ship-money. He declares that James I introduced the shameless system of the sale of judgeships, thus shattering the honourable repute that the courts of law had gained under the Tudors. The dismissal of the lord chief-justice, Sir Edward Coke, on political grounds was further evidence of the introduction of unworthy motives; and under Charles I, he declares, "this filling up of appointments became a political contrivance."[a]

The whole nation felt what an infinitely important question was involved in this apparently trifling suit, and the great majority took part with the accused. In fact every unprejudiced person must still agree in this view of the case, for only one thing was proved by the court party and granted by its opponents, namely, that the king is the head of the state, and as such has the right, in a moment of sudden and extreme danger, to adopt every means for the security of the kingdom. In this correct sense Elizabeth acted in 1588 and met with universal approbation, but on the present occasion there was no imminent or great danger, and the palpable object was merely to establish a right in the king to levy taxes independently of parliament. But such a right had not only been abolished by law before the time of the Stuarts and Tudors, but had lately been again most clearly annulled by the Petition of Right.

THE TYRANNY OF LAUD

The church presented a counterpart to this confusion in the affairs of the state; the prevailing Episcopal system stigmatised on the one hand Catholicism as superstitious and tyrannical, on the other, the Reformed and Puritans as arbitrary and anarchical. In order to strengthen itself against the attacks of these two parties the church entered into strict alliance with the court and justified the newly founded royal papacy, for which it was gratefully allowed to employ it in many points for its own advantage. Laud, in particular, acted in this spirit with that vehemence which is usually produced by firm conviction and narrow views. The Roman Catholics, pressed on all sides, hoped for the protection of the queen; while the king was not inclined either to offend the Protestants or to violate his coronation oath. And yet this was done, when he dispensed with the Ecclesiastical Laws for money, and endeavoured to secure the assent of the Catholics to his absolute mode of government. For this, the latter became doubly odious, and, besides, were divided among themselves into a Jesuitical and an Antijesuitical party.

When Laud, to make the celebration of divine worship more solemn, caused paintings, crosses, altars, etc., to be restored, he was called a papist, though he certainly never thought of laying his power at the feet of Rome. When he and the king allowed all kinds of diversions on Sunday, this was called promoting the most horrible corruption of morals, though no more was intended than to prevent gloomy austerity and arbitrary condemnation of what was innocent. Laud certainly acted in all respects without tact,

and everything that he did to make the clergy more respected—for instance, conferring many offices upon them—only exposed them to envy, and doubled the reproaches of the Puritans against the worldly mindedness and corruption of the Episcopal church.

Instead of allaying by mildness the violence of opposition, Laud summoned the most distinguished people before him, and inflicted punishment if they had in any manner transgressed the laws of church discipline. He attempted to support morals by means which included an undue tyranny, and were worse than the evils which they were intended to combat: the extent of the ecclesiastical jurisdiction was daily enlarged, all innovations opposed (though Laud himself innovated), the censorship of books made more severe, dissenters removed from their posts, and even laymen refused permission to leave their country and live according to their religious persuasion elsewhere, till they produced an ecclesiastical certificate of their entire agreement with the laws and customs of the church.

As always happens in these cases, intolerance and resistance increased together; nay, the attacks on the Episcopal church soon exceeded all bounds of moderation and decorum—for example, in the writings of Leighton, Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne. They called the archbishop an arch officer of the devil, the bishops, satanical lords, abominable traitors, ravening wolves, unjust assertors of the royal rights, contemners of the Holy Scriptures, promoters of superstition, popery, and impiety, servants of the devil, etc.[i]

Alexander Leighton had written a bitter and fanatical pamphlet against prelacy and priestcraft—a learned man, though crazed, like many of his brethren at that time, on religious subjects. Laud brought him before the Star Chamber, and he was condemned to stand in the pillory, to have his nostrils slit and his ears cut off, to be publicly whipped, and to be branded on the cheeks with a hot iron bearing the letters S. S., for "spreader of sedition." As the man had two nostrils, two ears, and two cheeks, the entertainment was repeated, and he was brought out at the end of a week, after half the sentence had been executed, and underwent the remainder, to the satisfaction of the admirers of uniformity.[b]

In Prynne's *Histriomastix* we read: "Our English shorn and frizzled madams have lost all shame—so many steps in the dance, so many steps towards hell; dancing is the chief honour, plays the chief pleasure of the devil. Within two years forty thousand plays have been sold, better printed and more sought after than Bibles and sermons. Those who attend the playhouse are no better than devils incarnate; at least like those who hunt, play at cards, wear wigs, visit fairs, etc., they are in the high road to damnation. And yet their number is so great that it is proposed to build a sixth chapel to the devil in London; whereas in Rome, in the time of Nero, there were only three."

These and similar expressions gave the greatest offence, because it was supposed that Prynne meant to compare the king with Nero, and to insult the queen, who was fond of balls and masquerades. These ultra-Puritans, it was affirmed, "demand a new church, new laws, new amusements, a new king, and endeavour to excite discontent in the people." Prynne said in his defence "that he intended only to attack abuses and express his conviction, but by no means to offend individuals, and least of all the king and queen, or to compare his majesty's government with that of Nero.

On the 30th of June, 1637, the court sentenced Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton to pay together a fine of £15,000, to lose their ears, to stand in the pillory, to be branded on both cheeks, and imprisoned for an indefinite period.

In the execution of the sentence deliberate cruelty was employed; they were put into the pillory at noon, that their faces might be exposed to the burning heat of the sun; with Prynne's ear, part of the cheek was cut off; their friends were forbidden to visit them in prison, they were allowed neither books nor writing materials, and even those were punished who had hospitably received them. In like manner, Wharton and Lilburne were punished, put in the pillory, whipped, and mutilated. All suffered with the greatest composure, called to mind the sufferings of Christ, and spoke with such energy of enthusiasm and conviction that they excited compassion in all, and in many the persuasion that it was only for truth and right that they could suffer with such courage.

The laws and regulations prove that a false expectation was entertained of making real improvements by the interference of government in petty matters: taxes on wine and other articles, regulations for the weight of wagons, the packing of butter, the number of hackney-coaches,[1] and numberless other things.[i]

The expedients to which the majesty of England was reduced to raise a revenue would have been laughable if they had not brought such misery in their train. His first proceeding was not very severe, but it yielded him a hundred thousand pounds. He threatened every person who held land of the value of forty pounds a year with knighthood. The fine, however, for exemption was very generally paid, and the ridicule of a whole nation of Sir Johns and Sir Thomases was avoided.

His second proceeding was worse. He discovered old definitions of forest bounds on which the neighbouring gentry and freeholders had encroached for hundreds of years. Stately mansions were standing in pastoral regions twenty miles from the limits of the royal chase, as they had been known for ten generations. They were forfeited and released at a high value, or carried to the king's account. A forest of six miles' circuit was increased to sixty, and no man could feel secure that his estate had never been included in some forgotten hunting-ground in the days of the deer-loving kings.

His next was more injurious still. He re-established many monopolies in direct contradiction to the Petition of Rights, and enriched himself with the sale of the sole right to sell or make articles of universal use.[2] In all these actions he was prompted by his legal advisers, Littleton and Noy, who had so lately incurred his displeasure by protesting against the slightest exercise of his prerogative.[b]

He extorted fines for disobedience to proclamations, even when he knew that such proclamations were illegal. In the last reign James had persuaded himself that the contagious maladies which annually visited the metropolis arose from the increase of its size and the density of its population; and to check the evil he repeatedly forbade the erection of additional buildings. But as the judges had declared such proclamations contrary to law, the prohibition was disregarded; new houses annually arose, and the city extended its boundaries in every direction. The rents of these buildings were calculated at one hundred thousand pounds per annum; and Charles appointed commissioners to go through each parish, and summon the owners before them.

[1 Hackney-coaches were forbidden in London under severe penalties, because they incommoded the king, the queen, and the nobility, were the cause of danger, and made hay and straw dear. John Taylor, the Water-poet, said the hackneys impeded the butchers when they drove their cattle through the streets. Sedan chairs, introduced in 1634, now obtained great vogue.]

[2 Thus, for example, the corporation of soap-boilers paid for their patent ten thousand pounds, and engaged to pay a duty of eight pounds on every ton of soap.]

"BABY STUART" (JAMES II)

(From the painting, 1635, of "The Three Children of Charles I," by Anthony Vandyke, in the Royal Gallery at Turin)

[1633-1637 A.D.]

Some were amerced for their presumption, and ordered, under a heavy penalty, to demolish their houses; others obtained permission to compound for the offence by the payment of three years' estimated rent besides an annual fine to the crown forever.

A Mr. Moore, having erected forty-two dwelling-houses, with stables and coach-houses, in the vicinity of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, was fined one thousand pounds, and ordered to pull them down before Easter, under the penalty of another thousand pounds. He disobeyed, and the sheriffs demolished the houses, and levied the money by distress. Other proprietors of houses alarmed at his fate offered to compound; and the entire sum raised by this species of oppression is said to have amounted to one hundred thousand pounds.[1]

AFFAIRS IN SCOTLAND

Such was the condition of things in England; the affairs of Scotland will now claim our attention.

In the year 1633 Charles visited his native kingdom for the first time since his accession. He was received with great affection and loyalty, and crowned with the usual splendour; but Laud, his evil genius, attended him, and the prejudices of the people were shocked by the appearance of an altar with wax tapers and a crucifix, before which the officiating prelates bowed as they passed; and when the archbishop of Glasgow declined wearing the gorgeous habits provided for him, Laud rudely forced him from the side of the king and put Maxwell, bishop of Ross, in his place.

A parliament followed, which gave the king an occasion for displaying his arbitrary temper and served to alienate from him the affections of many of his nobles. He had some years before inflicted a wound, which still rankled, by a measure for the redemption of the church lands and tithes which the nobility and gentry had so ravenously seized at the time of the Reformation.

Charles left Scotland after sowing the seeds of future troubles, and the prosecution of Lord Balmerino shortly after powerfully aided to alienate the nobility. This nobleman, who had been one of the opposition in parliament, happened to have in his possession a copy of an apology for their conduct, which he and his friends intended to present, but were withheld by the fear of exciting the royal displeasure. A transcript of this was surreptitiously obtained by one who was his private enemy, and communicated to the archbishop of St. Andrews, by whom it was conveyed to the king, with an assurance that it had been circulated for signature throughout Scotland, and that it was the nobles who upheld the clergy in their opposition to the surplice.

Balmerino was therefore selected for an example, and he was indicted on the statute of "leasing-making," or causing discord between the king and his people. A jury, with Lord Traquair, one of the ministers, for foreman, was selected to try him; yet so flagrantly iniquitous was the proceeding, that even that jury found him guilty only by the majority of the foreman's casting vote. The people were furious at this decision, and it was resolved in secret consultations that if anything happened to him they would massacre those who had found him guilty. Traquair on learning this hastened up to London, and a pardon was granted to Balmerino; but the impression which his danger had made on the minds of the nobility and people was deep and permanent.

In religion, matters were pushed on in order to bring Scotland to a uniformity with England. The bishops began to appropriate the civil dignities to themselves. Archbishop Spotswood was made chancellor; Maxwell, bishop

of Ross, aspired to the office of lord-treasurer; and of the fourteen prelates, nine were members of the privy council. They had courts with powers similar to those of the court of High Commission in England, and acting under the influence of Laud they proceeded to draw up canons and a liturgy for the church of Scotland. They commenced with the former, sanctioning the latter before it was prepared.

The whole structure of presbytery was dissolved by these canons. Each church was to have a font at the entrance and an altar in the chancel; and various other regulations were made which the people regarded as little better than Roman Catholicism. The liturgy which was compiled was formed on that of the church of England, but came nearer to the mass, of which a report soon spread that it was nothing more than a translation. From the pulpits the clergy declaimed against it; it was reprobated in conversation and in pamphlets. Spotswood and the elder and the more experienced prelates recommended great caution in introducing it; but on its transmission to London and approval by Laud, a royal proclamation was issued enjoining it to be used in every parish church in the kingdom by a certain day.

On the appointed day (July 23rd, 1637) the dean of Edinburgh prepared to officiate according to the liturgy in St. Giles', the bishop of Argyll in the Grey Friars' church; the judges, prelates, and members of the privy council were present in the former, which was thronged with people. The service began, when a woman[1] filled with zeal sprang up and flung the stool she sat on at the dean's head. Another stopped her ears ("lugs") and cried, "Villain! dost thou say the mass at my lug?" A tumult arose, the women rushed to seize the dean, and he escaped with difficulty; the bishop of Edinburgh ascended the pulpit to appease the people; sticks and stones were flung at him, and but for the aid of the magistrates he would have perished on the spot. In the other church the service was interrupted by tears, groans, and lamentations, but there was no violence. Throughout the rest of Scotland the efforts of the prelates were unavailing, and the liturgy was used only at St. Andrews and in three other cathedrals.

The clergy had been directed to purchase two copies of the liturgy for each parish, and the prelates now proceeded to enforce obedience to this mandate. The consequence was an immense accession to the number of the supplications and an organisation of the opponents of the liturgy throughout the kingdom.

THE TABLES; THE COVENANT; THE EPISCOPAL WAR

In the month of October vast numbers of people flocked to Edinburgh to learn the king's reply to the supplications which had been transmitted to him. A proclamation ordered them to disperse; they in return drew up an accusation against the prelates on account of the canons and liturgy, which was rapidly subscribed by the nobility, gentry, clergy, and people all through Scotland. The following month they reassembled in increased force, and having obtained permission of the council to choose representatives to carry on the accusation, they appointed several of the nobility, two gentlemen for each county, and one or more of the clergy and burgesses for each presbytery and borough. Thus were formed the celebrated "Tables," or committees, which, being subdivided and regulated, gave order and consistency

[1 The tradition was that it was Jeanie Geddes' stool that brought on the revolution, but she has lost that glory. Later the stool was accredited to a Mrs. Mein.]

to their union. Their demands now increased; they required the abrogation of the High Commission, the canons and the liturgy. To this neither Laud nor the king could yield without the ruin of their favourite plans, and a proclamation was issued censuring the supplicants, and forbidding them to assemble under the penalties of treason.

This was a fatal measure to the crown; for the Tables forthwith resolved on a renewal of the national covenant, the bond of religious union first adopted by the lords of the congregation, and twice renewed in the reign of James. It took its name and character from the covenants of Israel with Jehovah recorded in the Scriptures, and it also partook much of the nature of the bonds of mutual defence and maintenance which had long prevailed in Scotland. It was now drawn up by Henderson, the leader of the clergy, and by Johnstone of Wariston, a distinguished advocate. It renounced popery and all its doctrines, practices, and claims in the strongest terms; and then, declaring the liturgy and canons to be thus virtually renounced, concluded with an obligation to resist them, to defend each other, and to support the king in preserving religion, liberty, and law.

The supplicants were invited by the Tables to repair to a solemn meeting at Edinburgh; a fast was appointed, and the preachers, as directed, recommended a renewal of the covenant. Accordingly, on the 1st of March, 1638, in the Grey Friars' church, it was solemnly renewed with prayer and spiritual exhortations. The nobility, gentry, clergy, and thousands of all orders, sexes, and ages subscribed it; copies were transmitted to all parts of the kingdom, and it was everywhere subscribed with shouts of joy, or with tears of contrition for their past defections. Within two months all Scotland (Aberdeen excepted) was banded to the covenant. Men saw in it the hand of heaven; the austerity of devotion increased; a religious gloom soon pervaded all the relations of social life, and the fanatic spirit assumed new vigour.

An independent assembly and a free parliament were the demands of the covenanters. The court employed every art to elude them, being secretly resolved to have recourse to arms. With this view all their demands (after Charles had taken sufficient care to convince them of his insincerity) were suddenly conceded, and an assembly was held at Glasgow (November 21st) to regulate the church. The marquis of Hamilton, the king's representative, was instructed to excite jealousies among the members, and if he found it restive, to dissolve it. Seeing he could not manage it, he therefore, under the pretext of its being irregularly chosen, and consequently not competent to the trial of prelates—one of the measures proposed—declared it dissolved, but the members refused to separate; their resolution was approved of by many of the privy council, and the accession to their side of the potent earl of Argyll gave them increased courage. The acts of the six preceding assemblies were forthwith annulled, the canons, liturgy, and High Commission were condemned, and Episcopacy was abolished. Eight of the bishops were excommunicated, four deposed, and two suspended. And thus was prostrated at one blow the fabric which it had occupied two reigns to erect.

It had been Hamilton's advice to the king from the beginning to have recourse to arms, and the necessary preparations had therefore been made. To procure money, loans were required from the nobility; under the influence of Laud the church contributed largely, and the Catholics, at the call of the queen, and well aware that it was their interest to support the crown, from which alone they could expect favour, gave their money for the support of the Episcopal [or First Bishop's] war, as it was denominated. Arms and artillery were provided, the counties were directed to send their trained-bands

or militia, and the peers to lead their retainers in arms to York; a negotiation (which, however, was frustrated) was also entered into with the regency of the Netherlands for the use of six thousand veterans.

The covenanters, on their side, prepared for a defensive war. By means of the numerous Scottish pedlars who hawked their wares through England, they opened a communication with the English Puritans. Richelieu, willing to repay Charles in kind, secretly supplied them with money, and arms and ammunition were purchased on the Continent. The covenant was sent to the Scots in the Swedish service for their subscription, and Alexander Leslie, an officer of great experience in the wars of Germany, was invited over to take the command of the army which was to be raised. Volunteers crowded to the standards and were disciplined by Leslie and his officers; the royal castles were all surprised, and the port of Leith was put into a state of defence. When the Gordons rose under their chief, the earl of Huntly, to maintain the royal cause in the north, the earl of Montrose marched against them[1] and compelled Huntly to come as a hostage to Edinburgh.

COSTUME OF NOBLEMAN IN TIME OF CHARLES I

The king advanced at the head of twenty-three thousand men to Berwick. Leslie took his position at Dunse Law; while Munro, the second in command, was stationed at Kelso. The armies were about equal in number; the king was superior in cavalry, but the Scots, in addition to superior discipline and better officers, were animated by a spirit of fanatic devotion, while the English soldiers were utterly indifferent to the cause in which they were engaged. The Scottish camp continually resounded with psalmody and prayer; morning and evening the men were summoned to their devotions by beat of drum, and two sermons each day kept up their fervour.

Lord Holland, who commanded the English cavalry, advanced to Kelso, but at the sight of the Scottish forces his men turned and fled. The king, who had expected that the Scottish nation would have submitted at once on his appearance at the head of an army, saw his hopes all baffled, and now easily discerned that all who attended him were adverse to a war. Proposals for an accommodation were therefore readily listened to; Scottish commissioners came to the royal camp (June 11th), the king treated with them in person, and it was arranged that a parliament and a general assembly should meet in the month of August to regulate the affairs of church and state. The Scottish army was then disbanded, and the royal castles were restored [by the treaty of Berwick, June 18th, 1639].

The assembly and the parliament met at the appointed time; the former came to the same conclusions respecting Episcopacy and the other matters as that of Glasgow had done; and Traquair, who presided over it, gave the royal assent to them. For this he had the king's permission; who, however, was resolved to revoke, when he should have the power, these, in his mind,

[1 At Turriff, the covenanters had been put to flight in a short attack. The so-called "Trot of Turriff," says Gardiner,[m] "was the first skirmish of the long Civil War."]

unlawful concessions. The parliament not proving manageable was prorogued for six months.

Charles now summoned Lord Wentworth over from Ireland, where he had for some years held the office of lord-deputy. He consulted with him and also with Laud and Hamilton on the affairs of Scotland, and the result of their deliberations was a resolution to reduce the Scots by force of arms. Some other members of the council were then added to them, in order to deliberate on the mode of providing funds for the war; at their instances, Charles agreed to call a parliament.[1] Meantime writs were issued for the second levy of ship-money,[2] and the lords subscribed various sums, Wentworth giving the example by putting down his name for £20,000. It was arranged that the parliament should not be called till the following April, in order to give Wentworth an opportunity of holding a parliament previously in Ireland, to which country he returned with the title of lord-lieutenant; he was also elevated in the English peerage by being created earl of Strafford.

The covenanters had sent the earls of Dunfermline and Loudon, and Sir William Douglas and Mr. Barclay as their commissioners to London, to complain to the king of the prorogation of the parliament and other injuries; they were also instructed to deal with the discontented English.[3] Traquair, however, had got possession of the copy of a letter addressed to the king of France (*au Roi*) and signed by Leslie, Mar, Rothes, Montrose, Montgomery, Loudon, and the secretary Forrester, justifying their cause and asking for aid. The commissioners, therefore, were arrested, and Loudon was committed to the Tower.

THE SHORT PARLIAMENT (1640 A.D.)

The earl of Strafford, having held his parliament in Ireland, where his will was law, and obtained an unconditional grant of money[4] and levied an army of eight thousand men, returned to England, and on the 13th of April, 1640, after an interval of twelve years, a parliament met at Westminster. Though the majority of the members had never sat before, the composition of the house of commons was the same as ever, the Puritan and patriotic party greatly preponderating in it. The king, on the opening of the session, having addressed them in a few brief terms, the lord-keeper related all the proceedings of Scotland, and telling them that "his majesty did not expect advice from them, much less that they should interpose in any office of mediation which would not be grateful to him," required them to grant a supply forthwith, after which they should have time enough given them to represent any grievance, and have a favourable answer.

The commons, having then chosen Sergeant Glanville speaker, prepared to proceed to business, and "whilst men," says Clarendon,[c] "gazed upon each

[1 In homely but vivid phrase Lilly[n] sums up this conflict: "In this war I never heard of so much as one louse killed by either army."]

[2 According to Whitelocke,[h] it was Charles himself who proposed this measure.

[3 "They had great resort to them," says Whitelocke, "and many secret councils held with them by the discontented English, chiefly by those who favoured presbytery and were no friends to bishops, or had suffered in the late censures in the Star Chamber, exchequer, High Commission, and other judicatories. *They also who inclined to a republic* had much correspondence with them, and they courted all, fomented every discontent, and made large and religious promises of future happy times. The earls of Essex, Bedford, Holland, the lord Say, Hampden, Pym, and divers other lords and gentlemen of great interest and quality were deep in with them."

[4 The Catholic members voted liberally in the hope that Charles would in recompense allow freedom of religion in Ireland.]

other, looking who should begin (much the greatest part having never before sat in parliament), Pym, a man of good reputation but much better known afterwards, who had been as long in those assemblies as any man then living, brake the ice." In a speech of two hours' length he enumerated and displayed all the grievances which afflicted the state, under the heads of breach of privilege of parliament, injury to the established religion, and invasion of the subjects' rights of liberty and property. Having then shown that these were as hurtful to the crown as to the people, he proposed that the lords should be invited to join in a petition to the king, and in searching out the causes and remedies of these evils. Other members followed in the same strain; but when one of them termed ship-money an abomination, he was called to the bar and narrowly escaped being reprimanded. Clarendon mentions this "that the temper and sobriety of that house may be taken notice of."

The court being impatient for the money, prevailed on the peers to urge the commons to begin with the supply. This interference was voted to be a high breach of privilege. The king then sent to say that if they would grant him twelve subsidies, to be paid in three years, he would release all his title or pretence to ship-money in future. This matter was debated for two days, when, on the proposal of Hyde that the question of supply simply should be first put, Sir Henry Vane, the treasurer, said that he had authority to state that the king would only accept of it in the manner and proportion proposed in his message. He was followed by the solicitor-general, and it being near five o'clock, the house adjourned. Next day (May 5th) the king dissolved the parliament.[1]

Three members were then committed, and a declaration was published giving the reasons for the dissolution, charging the disaffected members "with attempting to direct the government, and to examine and censure its acts, as if kings were bound to give an account of their regal actions and of their manner of government to their subjects assembled in parliament." Thus abruptly terminated the Short Parliament, as it was named. Contrary to the usual custom, the convocation continued to sit till the end of the month; it passed canons ordering the clergy to teach the people the divine right of kings, and the damnable sin of resistance to their authority, imposing on them the *et cætera* oath,[2] as it was named, and regulating the position of the communion table, and so forth, and finally granting the king a benevolence of four shillings in the pound for six years.

The dissolution was a matter of exultation to Pym and his friends, for they knew that the king must soon call another parliament. Oliver St. John said to Hyde "that all was well, and that it would be worse before it could be better, and that this parliament could never have done what was necessary to be done." Their communications with the Scottish agents now became more frequent, and their future tactics were arranged.[u]

THE SECOND BISHOPS' WAR (1640 A.D.)

When the king prorogued the Scotch parliament, almost at the same time with the English, the former paid no regard to it, but met of its own authority;

[1 Gardiner[m] credits the dissolution to the fact that Charles foresaw an intention to protest against the Scottish war, and desired to forestall such a declaration.]

[2] The oath was to maintain the church as it was. One of the clauses was, "Nor give consent to alter the government of this church by archbishops, bishops, deans, and archdeacons, etc." [The more violent elements made an attempt to storm Laud's palace. They were repulsed, and one ringleader was hanged.]

[1640 A.D.]

in June, 1640, referring to former examples, and proved in polite language the necessity of an immediate discussion of the public affairs. This led to a refutation of all the accusations lately made by the king, to the adoption of almost all the propositions of the preceding year, and a confirmation of the ecclesiastical resolutions. Instead of the clergy, newly elected laymen were admitted into the parliament, arbitrary proclamations declared not to have the force of law, the privy councillors made answerable and dependent on the parliament, taxes imposed for the defence of the country, and the royal authority confided, *ad interim*, to a committee of the estates.

It was further decided that nobody should be declared a rebel or a criminal unless by a resolution of the parliament, or by the sentence of his legitimate judges. Thus the king came at the same time to an open rupture with Scotland and the most serious differences with England, because he obstinately adhered to abstract principles, and never accurately comprehended the state of the ever-changing, agitated world. A just sovereign, as Charles so often calls himself, would have become reconciled to both nations; a prudent one, at least gained the friendship of one of them; at present nobody was on his side except those flatterers who declared arbitrary will to be legal, and most erroneously ascribed to it invincible power.

This disposition to arbitrary proceedings was manifested in contradiction to the king's declaration after the dissolution of parliament, in the levying of soldiers, and taxing all classes by his own authority. He not only had recourse to the old financial measures, which have already been enumerated and censured, but in proportion as the want of money became more urgent proceeded, with a bold disdain of all legal means, to more violent and unjust measures, as the following extracts of the reports of French ambassadors and English statesmen sufficiently prove.

M. de Montreuil [o] writes on the 24th of May, 1640: "Scarcely had the king dissolved the parliament when he found himself embarrassed how to pay the army, and therefore sent on Friday for the mayor and aldermen of London, demanded of them a loan of two millions, and gave them time till Tuesday to consult on the ways and means of raising it. But he sent for them again on Sunday, when the mayor answered him very ingenuously that he was endeavouring by all means to obtain the money, but submitted to his majesty whether it was advisable, in the present state of things, to employ force against the people. Hereupon the king summoned four of the four-and-twenty aldermen of London, and ordered them to give him the names of the richest persons. Instead of this, they answered that this was impossible, because in trade and commerce everything was fluctuating, and it could not be known which merchants were rich and which were poor. This answer displeased the king so much that he caused them to be confined in four different prisons."

On the 14th of June and the 26th of July Montreuil writes: "There are daily disturbances in the counties, chiefly on account of the soldiers. The inhabitants of Kent, Essex, and other places refuse to serve by sea; the militia of Oxford will not serve either by sea or land; the soldiers in Somerset have ill-treated their colonel, Lansfort; the recruits raised in Dorsetshire have thought fit to kill and to hang up by the legs Lieutenant Moore, who treated them rather rigorously; in Suffolk, some soldiers have put on their shirts over their clothes, and represented and ridiculed the archbishop of Canterbury and the court of High Commission. Notwithstanding these symptoms, workmen are daily carried off from their shops and taken on board the fleet destined against Scotland; warlike stores are daily embarked; the soldiers

are sent to the frontiers, and the generals are making preparations for their departure.

"Of the money belonging to private persons and Spanish merchants, which the king had put under sequestration in the Tower, two-thirds have been spent from absolute necessity, and he has only about £40,000 remaining. Of all the injudicious counsels of Strafford this is blamed almost more than any other, because, for the sake of a small temporary advantage, it excited the displeasure of the people and deprived the king of a larger revenue connected with this traffic. But that mildness appears almost more absurd, which so much reduces the original profit, and yet suffers the grounds for complaints and the fear of similar acts of violence to subsist in all their force. It is proposed to coin those £40,000 into money, mixing three-quarters copper, and thus making £160,000; but, not to mention that the people now generally disapprove of what is done, the citizens already declare openly that they will never take such depreciated coin at its full nominal value."

"On Sunday last," writes Montreuil on the 13th of September, "the secretary of state, Cottington, surprised the members of the East India Company, who were assembled to debate on the sale of their pepper, and had resolved to sell it to several private persons for 700,000 francs, payable in four instalments. Cottington said to them that he sequestrated all the pepper in the name of the king, who would take it on the above conditions. He added that the king was not obliged to them for it, but they, on the contrary, owed him thanks because he intended to employ the money produced by this pepper for the preservation of their property, their lives and their liberty, of all which the Scotch wanted to deprive them." From other sources, it appears that the king immediately sold the pepper, purchased on credit, below the purchase price, levied ship-money as before, and dispensed Catholics, on payment of money, from the observance of the laws. All this, however, produced but little.

Notwithstanding this extreme pecuniary distress, such numerous mutinies of the soldiers, such general dissatisfaction at the approaching war, the king caused prayers to be put up in all the churches for the success of his arms. August 20th the Scotch, to the amount of twenty thousand foot and two thousand five hundred horse, entered the English territory, observed at first strict discipline, and met with a friendly reception. But want soon compelled them to live at the expense of the country, whereby the Roman Catholics especially were excessively burdened, nay, plundered. They printed declarations in order to prove that they defended God, religion, and liberty, and that the attack was commenced by the ill-advised king. Soon afterwards they required the confirmation of their previous resolutions, the revocation of the above accusations, and the calling of an English parliament to establish peace between the two kingdoms.

More seemed to depend on the use of arms than on written declarations. Though the soldiers in the Scotch army were for the most part inexperienced, they had good officers, and bore, as a sign of their enthusiasm, the Scotch arms in their standards, with an inscription in letters of gold, "For Christ's crown and the covenant." The earl of Northumberland, the king's commander-in-chief, was generally ill, and Conway, the commander of the cavalry, through unskilfulness and cowardice, suffered himself to be defeated at Newburn.[1]

A chance shot broke the truce. Leslie, the German campaigner, played upon the English foot with his artillery, and when their attention was thus engaged he sent a detachment across the ford. There was no possibility of

resistance, for horse and infantry poured furiously upon the unaccustomed lines of Lord Conway, and a whole troop of Edinburgh lawyers, who had formed themselves into the body-guard of brave old Leslie, thundered among the amazed freeholders of Kent and Warwickshire, and put them to ignominious flight, as if they were serving them with a notice of forcible ejectment. The English fought unwillingly, or not at all. The rout was complete, but the slaughter very inconsiderable, and the covenanters, by taking possession of Newcastle, secured the neutrality of London, for they had it in their power to cut off its supply of coals. Durham yielded next, then Darlington, then Northallerton, and the English army at last drew up, under the eyes of Charles and Strafford themselves, beneath the walls of York.

Every town the Scots entered received them kindly. They preserved exact discipline, and professed themselves faithful subjects of the crown. They began their toasts after dinner with the king's health, and then attended the sermons of their chaplains, who made their ears to tingle with Sisera, and Holofernes, and Saul. Nobody would come forward with life and fortune against such very moderate invaders.[b]

The king's army still amounted to sixteen thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry; but they were nothing less than disinclined to fight, and it was feared that from the impossibility of punctually paying and supporting so great a number for a long time most of them would desert.

In this distress and confusion, says Lord Clarendon,[c] between a proud enemy rendered presumptuous by success, and an army, if not wholly seduced, yet discouraged, in a seditious country inclined to the rebels; amidst reluctant courtiers and officers, and with a treasury entirely empty, the convocation of the lords was resolved on as the nearest resource, by which in fact the summoning of a parliament was likewise decided. Accordingly Charles declared, on the 24th of September, to the lords assembled at York, that he had resolved, by the advice of his queen, to summon a new parliament for the 8th of November, 1640; but that at the present moment they had to decide what answer should be given to the proposals made by the Scots, and how the army should be supported.

After much disputing, an armistice with the Scotch was concluded at Ripon, on the 10th of October, on the condition that £850 daily should be paid to them for two months at least, for the subsistence of their army. Thus the king, who was not able to pay one army of his own, undertook to provide for the subsistence of a second, of the enemy; or rather the fate of the two armies and the terms of the peace to be concluded with the Scotch at London depended entirely on the English parliament, and no longer on the king.[i]

THE LONG PARLIAMENT; THE IMPEACHMENT OF STRAFFORD

The Long Parliament—the most memorable parliament that England ever saw—the parliament which for two centuries had been the theme of the most extravagant hatred and the most exaggerated praise—the parliament, whatever were its merits or its faults, which had the one glory of having rendered it impossible that the monarchy of England could endure except in alliance with representative freedom—this parliament of thirteen years' duration now claims our anxious regard.

In an elaborate engraving of the lower house, in 1623, we see the five hundred members placed in five rows, tier above tier, in that old chapel of St. Stephen's, famous for generations. On the 3rd of November, 1640, there

were sitting on those benches men whose names will endure as long as England is a nation; men whose memories are now venerated in lands then undiscovered or chiefly occupied by barbarous tribes, where the principles of representative government are sustaining the Anglo-Saxon race in their career of liberty, whilst they fill new continents with their language and their arts.

There were men there of many varieties of opinion as to the extent to which reforms of the church and of the state should be carried. But there were very few indeed who did not see that the time was come when a stand was to be made against the arbitrary power which, whether embodied in Strafford or Laud, in Finch or Windebank, had so long and so successfully carried on a warfare "against our fundamental laws—against the excellent constitution of this kingdom, which hath made it appear to strangers rather an idea than a real commonwealth, and produced the honour and happiness of this, as the wonder of every other nation." [1]

Those who opposed the despotic pretensions of Charles and of his father were not the innovators, as some would pretend. When Clarendon[c] tells us of the house of commons that "the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church or state," he correctly represents the general temper of the Long Parliament in its first year.

Charles did not understand the character of this parliament. He conceded much, but in the very act of concession he showed his weakness rather than his sense of right; and there was reasonable fear enough, however exaggerated by popular mistrust, that at the first favourable moment the parliament would be dissolved, and the old arbitrary power resumed with new force. Treacherous schemes on one side, and extravagant demands on the other, rendered almost hopeless any other issue than civil war. Then, necessarily, men chose their sides. Those "who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom" were compelled to draw their swords, friend against friend and brother against brother; and those who had no original design "to make any considerable alteration in the government of church or state," had all to witness, and many to promote, the downfall of the ecclesiastical system which Augustine had founded, and the ruin of the monarchy which Alfred had built up.

On the memorable 3rd of November Charles opened this parliament. He met his people with no cheerful display of royal splendour. "The king himself did not ride with his accustomed equipage, nor in his usual majesty, to Westminster, but went privately in his barge to the parliament stairs," says Clarendon.[c] Charles addressed the houses in a tone of conciliation: "One thing I desire of you, as one of the greatest means to make this a happy parliament, that you on your parts, as I on mine, lay aside all suspicion, one of another."

It was scarcely in the power of the representatives of the people to have hastily accepted the renewal of a broken confidence, even if they had been so willing. The fatal dissolution of parliament six months before had spread a spirit of resistance to the court which was not confined to idle complainings. Sir Thomas Gardiner, the recorder of London, had been designed by the king to fill the office of speaker in the coming parliament. Contrary to all precedent he was rejected by the city, and no influence could procure his election in any other place. On the morning of the meeting of parliament the king was told that his choice was useless. Lenthall was chosen speaker.

[1] Falkland's charge against Finch.

[1640 A.D.]

In a few days there was abundant work for the commons. Troops of horsemen arrived in London craving redress of grievances upon their petitions. From the Fleet Prison came a petition from Alexander Leighton, who had been ten years in confinement, and another from John Lilburne, the sturdy London apprentice who had been whipped and imprisoned for distributing Prynne's books. Lilburne's petition was presented by Oliver Cromwell. From the several distant castles in which they were confined, the petitions of Prynne and Burton and Bastwick reached the house. These prisoners were ordered to be brought to London. Leighton, mutilated, deaf, blind, crept out of the cell in which he expected to die to receive some recompense for his sufferings. Lilburne had a money compensation voted to him. Prynne and one of his fellow-sufferers made a triumphal entry into London.

It was voted that these sufferers should be restored to their callings, and that those who had unjustly sentenced them should pay high damages, as compensation, to each of them. Bastwick returned at the beginning of December, with trumpets sounding and torches burning, and a thousand horse for his convoy. "God is making here a new world," says Baillie.[p]

Some days before the assembling of parliament two remarkable men met in Westminster Hall, and began conferring together upon the state of affairs. Pym told Hyde, who later became the earl of Clarendon, "that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must sweep down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make the country happy—by removing all grievances and pulling up the causes of them by the roots—if all men would do their duties." This was not idle talk of Pym. On the night of Monday, the 9th of November, the earl of Strafford came to London. On the morning of Wednesday, the 11th, Pym rose in his place in the house of commons, and saying that he had matter of the highest importance to propose, desired that strangers should be excluded and the doors of the house be locked.

There was one man more signal than the rest in bringing these miseries upon the nation—"a man who," said Pym, "in the memory of many present, had sate in that house an earnest vindicator of the laws, and a most zealous supporter and champion for the liberties of the people; but long since turned apostate from those good affections, and according to the custom and nature of apostates, was become the greatest enemy to the liberties of his country and the greatest promoter of tyranny that any age had produced." And then he named "the earl of Strafford."

After many hours of bitter investigation into the actions of Strafford, it was moved "that he might be forthwith impeached of high treason, which was no sooner mentioned than it found an universal approbation and consent from the whole house." The doors of the house of commons were thrown open, and Pym, at the head of three hundred members, proceeded to the house of lords, and there, at the bar, in the name of the lower house and of all the commons of England, impeached Thomas, earl of Strafford, of high treason, and required his arrest.

The scene which followed has been spiritedly told by Baillie,[p] the principal of the university of Glasgow, who in his visit to London had leisure to learn more than most men, and had ability to relate well what he learned or saw: "The lords began to consult on that strange and unexpected motion. The word goes in haste to the lord lieutenant, where he was with the king; with speed he comes to the house; he calls rudely at the door. James Maxwell,

keeper of the black rod, opens. His lordship, with a proud glooming countenance, makes towards his place at the board-head; but at once many bid him void the house, so he is forced in confusion to go to door till he was called. After consultation, being called in, he stands, but is commanded to kneel, and on his knees to hear the sentence. Being on his knees he is delivered to the keeper of the black rod to be prisoner till he was cleared of these crimes the house of commons did charge him with. He offered to speak, but was commanded to be gone without a word. This done, he makes through a number of people towards his coach, all gazing, no man capping to him, before whom that morning the greatest of England would have stood discovered, all crying, 'What is the matter?' He said, 'A small matter, I warrant you!' They replied, 'Yes, indeed, high treason is a small matter!' When at last he had found his coach and was entering, James Maxwell told him, 'Your lordship is my prisoner, and must go in my coach'; so he behoved to do."

There were others to be dealt with by the same summary process who had rendered themselves obnoxious to the nation. Strafford had been committed to the Tower on the 25th of November. On the 16th of December the canons which had been passed in convocation after the dissolution of the last parliament were, to use Laud's own words, "condemned in the house of commons as being against the king's prerogative, the fundamental laws of the realm, the liberty and propriety of the subject, and containing other things tending to sedition, and of dangerous consequence." On the 18th, Denzil Holles carried a message to the lords, impeaching the archbishop of high treason. Laud was handed over to the custody of the usher of the black rod.

Ten weeks afterwards he was committed to the Tower. Articles of impeachment were prepared against the lord-keeper Finch, and against Sir Francis Windebank, secretary of state. They both fled the country. "Within less than six weeks," writes Clarendon,[c] "for no more time was yet elapsed, these terrible reformers had caused the two greatest councillors of the kingdom, and whom they most feared, and so hated, to be removed from the king, and imprisoned, under an accusation of high treason; and frighted away the lord-keeper of the great seal of England and one of the principal secretaries of state into foreign lands for fear of the like." But the terrible reformers did not rest here. Five of the judges who had declared ship-money lawful were visited with a just retribution for their servility. They were compelled to give securities to abide the judgment of parliament, whilst the most obnoxious of them, Sir Robert Berkeley, being impeached of high treason, was taken to prison from his judgment-seat in the King's Bench, "which struck," says Whitelocke,[h] "a great terror in the rest of his brethren then sitting in Westminster Hall, and in all his profession."

Whilst the leaders of the parliament were intent upon the re-establishment of civil rights and the punishment of those who had violated them, the great religious party carried out the principles which had covered Scotland with ecclesiastical ruins, by an order that "commissions should be sent into all counties for the defacing, demolishing, and quite taking away of all images, altars, or tables turned altar-wise, crucifixes, superstitious pictures, monuments, and reliques of idolatry, out of all churches and chapels."

During the anxious period between the commitment of the great earl on the 11th of November and his trial on the 22nd of March, the commons had laboured assiduously in the work of legislation as well as in that of punishing the instruments of evil government. Of these legislative labours, which they continued till the close of the session, we shall give a short general view before

[1641 A.D.]

we conclude our narrative of the first session of this memorable parliament. Meanwhile, let us relate, as briefly as the importance of the subject allows, the proceedings in the trial and attainder of "the one supremely able man the king had," to use the words of Carlyle[q]—the man whose acquittal and restoration to power would, in the opinion of most persons, have given the death-blow to the liberties of England. These proceedings have been condemned by many who fully admit with Hallam[r] "that to bring so great a delinquent to justice according to the known process of the law was among the primary duties of the new parliament." But "the known process of the law" having been set aside, it is held that justice was not rightly administered. The proceedings have been defended, even while it is fully admitted, as Macaulay[s] admits, that his "attainder was, in truth, a revolutionary measure"; and in the same spirit they are justified, "by that which alone justifies capital punishment, or any punishment, by that alone which justifies war, by the public danger."

In that Westminster Hall which had witnessed so many memorable scenes; in that hall in which, rebuilt by Richard II, the parliament sat which deposed him, and Bolingbroke placed himself in the marble chair; in that hall where More was condemned, and Henry VIII sentenced a heretic to the fire, and the protector Somerset was doomed to the scaffold; in that hall was to be enacted a scene more strange than any which had gone before, the arraignment of the great minister who was identified with the acts of the sovereign—a virtual trial of strength between the crown and the people.

Of this trial, May,[t] the parliamentary historian, says: "So great it was that we can hardly call it the trial of the earl of Strafford only. The king's affections towards his people and parliament, the future success of this parliament and the hopes of three kingdoms dependent upon it, were all tried when Strafford was arraigned. Three whole kingdoms were his accusers, and eagerly sought in one death a recompense of all their sufferings." May speaks also of "the pompous circumstances and stately manner of the trial itself." The hall was fitted up in a manner quite unusual in any previous state-trial. The king did not occupy the throne, but sat with the queen and his family in a box on the side of the throne. "The trellis, that made them to be secret, the king broke down with his own hand, so they sat in the eye of all," writes Baillie.[p] If in the few resting minutes of this trial the wants of the animal man were supplied after a homely fashion, never was the supremacy of intellect more strikingly put forth to move pity or compel indignation.[g]

In the proceedings which commenced on the 21st of March and continued till the middle of April, Strafford defended himself with so much presence of mind and ability that some of the points of impeachment fell to the ground, and not a single one justified an accusation of high treason. On the other hand it was remarked that a law of Edward I enacted that since every act of treason could not be severally enumerated, that should be punished as such which parliament declared to be so. But independently of the question whether so old and obsolete a law was still valid, a later declaration of parliament could not without injustice be applied to preceding facts. For this reason, greater stress was laid on the assertion that it was undoubtedly treason to endeavour to subvert the fundamental laws of the kingdom; and they invented a kind of cumulative or constructive evidence, by which many single words or actions, in themselves of little or no importance, should, when united, amount to a full proof of treason. At the conclusion of the proceedings Strafford made a general speech in his own defence, from which we extract the following passages:

"It is hard when anybody is called to account on the strength of a law which no person can point out. Where has this fire been so long buried during so many centuries, that no smoke should appear till it burst out at once to consume me and my children? Great wisdom it will be in your lordships, and just providence for yourselves, for your posterity, for the whole kingdom, to cast from you into the fire those bloody and mysterious volumes of arbitrary and constructive treasons, and betake yourselves to the plain letter of the statute; and not seek to be more learned than your ancestors in the art of condemning and killing.

"I am the first, after a lapse of two hundred and forty years, to whom this alleged crime has been attributed. Let us not to our own destruction awake those sleeping lions by rattling up a company of old records which have lain for so many ages neglected and forgotten. To all my afflictions add not this, my lords, that I for my own sins be the means of introducing a precedent so pernicious to the laws and liberties of my native country. For though those gentlemen at the bar say they speak for the commonwealth, yet in fact it is I who defend it, and show the inconveniences and miseries which must ensue from such proceedings. Impose not, my lords, so many dangers and difficulties upon ministers of state, that no wise man, who has any honour or fortune to lose, can serve the country with cheerfulness and safety. If you weigh everything by grains and scruples, no persons will in future engage in public business." The earl concluded by saying, "I thank God I have been, by his blessing, sufficiently instructed in the extreme vanity of all temporary enjoyments compared to the importance of our eternal duration; and so, my lords, I submit with all tranquillity of mind to your judgment; and whether it shall be life or death—*Te Deum laudamus.*"

Whitelocke,[h] who himself presided at the examination, says: "Certainly never any man acted such a part, on such a theatre, with more wisdom, constancy, and eloquence, with greater reason, judgment and temper, and with a better grace in all his words and gestures, than did this great and excellent person; and he moved the hearts of all his auditors, some few excepted, to remorse and pity."[i]

To all who could be moved by natural sympathy towards a man bearing up so bravely in the presence of imminent danger and under the pressure of disease, the majestic periods of Pym's reply would fall dull and cold. Even now Strafford touches the heart, whilst Pym holds the understanding in his powerful grasp. There never was a grander scene in the ancient world of "famous orators"—not when Demosthenes "fulmined" against Philip, and Catiline trembled before Cicero—than when Pym, in the presence of the king of England, proclaimed that treason against the people was treason against the throne, and intimated that the sovereign who abetted such treason was not himself safe from "a miserable end."

"It is God alone," he went on, "who subsists by himself; all other things subsist in a mutual dependence and relation. He was a wise man that said that the king subsisted by the field that is tilled; it is the labour of the people that supports the crown. If you take away the protection of the king, the vigour and cheerfulness of allegiance will be taken away, though the obligation remain. The law is the boundary, the measure, betwixt the king's prerogative and the people's liberty. Whilst these move in their own orbs, they are a support and a security to one another—the prerogative a cover and defence to the liberty of the people; and the people by their liberty enabled to be a foundation to the prerogative. But if these bounds be so removed that they enter into contestation and conflict, one of these mischiefs must ensue:

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if the prerogative of the king overwhelm the people it will be turned into tyranny; if liberty undermine the prerogative, it will grow into anarchy.

"Arbitrary power is dangerous to the king's person and dangerous to his crown. It is apt to cherish ambition, usurpation, and oppression in great men, and to beget sedition and discontent in the people; and both these have been, and in reason must ever be, causes of great trouble and alteration to princes and states. If the histories of those eastern countries be perused, where princes order their affairs according to the mischievous principles of the earl of Strafford, loose and absolved from all rules of government, they will be found to be frequent in combustions, full of massacres, and of the tragical ends of princes. If any man shall look into their own stories, in the times when the laws were most neglected, he shall find them full of commotions, of civil distempers, whereby the kings that then reigned were always kept in want and distress; the people consumed by civil wars; and by such miserable counsels as these some of our princes have been brought to such a miserable end as no honest heart can remember without horror, and an earnest prayer that it may never be so again."[g]

COSTUME OF COURTIER, TIME OF CHARLES I

It is said that when Pym uttered the following words, "If this law hath not been put in execution, as he allegeth, these two hundred and forty years, it was not for want of a law, but that all that time had not bred a man bold enough to commit such crimes as these," Strafford raised his head and looked at him fixedly; Pym became confused, his memory failed him. "To humble the man," says Baillie,[p] "God let his memory fail him a little before the end." He looked at his papers, but they were of no avail. He then briefly said that the solicitor-general, St. John, would on a future day argue some law points before them with learning and abilities much better for that service.[u]

But because, notwithstanding the accumulation and union of single points, the accusation of high treason could not be proved, the form and name were changed, and a bill of attainder was proposed in the lower house. In order to avoid the appearance of partiality, the king had consented that to obtain proofs all the privy councillors should themselves disclose the secrets of their joint deliberations. Nothing of consequence resulted from this; but very great stress was laid on the circumstance that the younger Vane found among his father's papers a statement, according to which Strafford had advised war "against this kingdom."

Though the earl with four others denied this accusation; though several swore that this was not the case, and that every unprejudiced person could see by the context that not England, but Scotland, was meant, many took

advantage of this circumstance to justify their own rigour and to inflame the people against the king. Lord Digby who intended to defend him thought it necessary to say, "Strafford is now hated on account of his actions, and will in future excite terror by his punishment. He is a very dangerous minister to whom God has given rare talents, and the devil a bad application of them." *i*

The commons meantime were proceeding with their bill of attainder. It was read the third time on the 21st of April, only fifty-nine members voting against it in a house of two hundred and sixty-three. The most strenuous opposer of the bill was Lord Digby, son of the earl of Bristol, a member of the committee of impeachment. "I am still the same," said he, "in my opinions and affections as unto the earl of Strafford. I confidently believe him to be the most dangerous minister, the most insupportable to free subjects that can be charactered. I believe him to be still that grand apostate to the commonwealth who must not expect to be pardoned in this world till he be despatched to the other. And yet let me tell you, Mr. Speaker, my hand must not be to that despatch." For this speech Digby was immediately questioned in the house, and when he printed it the house ordered that it should be burned by the hangman, "which," says May,[t] "was the visible cause of his deserting the parliament, and proving so great an actor against it."

The bill was carried up to the lords the same day, and as an inducement to them to pass it, there was added a proviso that it should not be held a precedent for future times. On the 24th of April the tardy peers were called on to appoint a day for reading it, and on the 29th, Strafford being placed at the bar, St. John argued for two hours in proof of the legality of the attainder. Amongst other arguments he employed the following: "He that would not have had others to have had a law, why should he have any law himself? It's true we give laws to hares and deers, because they be beasts of chase; it was never accounted either cruelty or foul play to knock foxes or wolves on the head, as they can be found, because these be beasts of prey. The warrener sets traps for polecats and other vermin, for preservation of the warren." In other words, Strafford must be destroyed, with law or without law.

Two days after (May 1st) the king summoned both houses, and told them that in conscience he could not condemn Strafford of treason, or assent to the bill of attainder; "but for misdemeanours, he is so clear in them that he thinks the earl hereafter not fit to serve him or the commonwealth in any place of trust, no, not so much as a constable"; and he conjured the lords to find out some middle way. Charles by this address, characteristic of his usual want of judgment, only hastened the fate of Strafford, for the commons, seeing their advantage, exclaimed loudly against the breach of privilege committed by the king's interfering with a bill in progress.

Next day being Sunday, the pulpits which were occupied by the Puritan clergy inculcated "the necessity of justice upon some great delinquents now to be acted"; and on the following morning there came a rabble of about six thousand persons, armed with swords, daggers, and clubs, crying for justice on the earl of Strafford, and complaining that "they were undone for the want of execution on him, trading was so decayed thereby." They insulted several of the lords, and they posted up the names of the fifty-nine members of the commons who had voted against the attainder, calling them "Straffordians, or betrayers of their country." When these members complained to the house of being thus proscribed they could get no redress, it being, they were told, the act of a multitude. If it be asked, Where did the mob get their list? the reply will appear in the sequel.

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THE ARMY PLOT

While the mob were shouting outside, Pym took occasion to reveal to the house sundry matters which had come to his knowledge respecting intrigues and designs against the parliament; and on his motion a protestation (borrowed from the covenant) to defend the Protestant church, his majesty's person and power, the privileges of parliament, and the lawful rights and liberties of the people, was taken by all the members. It was transmitted next day to the lords, where it was taken in like manner, the Catholic peers of course declining it, and being thereby prevented from voting on Strafford's attainder. Orders were then given for the protestation to be taken all through England.

The important matter which Pym now communicated to the house was what is called the Army Plot. It is said that he had had a knowledge of it for some time, and had dropped hints of it in order to produce the effects he desired in the city. The matter is involved in great obscurity; the following is what appears to us the most probable account:

The parliament had been very regular in their payments of the money promised to their "dear brethren," as they termed the Scots. On one occasion the latter wrote up, pretending an instant need of £25,000, and the commons, having only £15,000 in hand, took to make up the sum £10,000 from a sum of £50,000 which was to have gone to the English army.

Some of the field-officers of this last, namely, Lord Percy, brother of the earl of Northumberland, Wilmot, son of Lord Wilmot, and colonels Ashburnham, Pollard, and others, were members of the house of commons, and Wilmot rose and said, "that if such papers of the Scots could procure moneys, he doubted not but the officers of the English would soon do the like." Petitioning being now so much in vogue, these officers formed themselves into a *juncto*, as it was called, and prepared a petition to the king and parliament, to be presented from the army, of which the prayer would be the preserving of the bishops' functions and votes, the non-disbanding of the Irish army until that of the Scots was also disbanded, and the settlement of the royal revenue. This was communicated by Percy to the king.

Meantime there was a plot on foot among Henry Jermyn, master of the horse to the queen, Sir John Suckling, George Goring, son of Lord Goring, and others, the object of which was deeper: it being to bring up the army and overawe the parliament. It would appear that not merely the queen, but even the king was acquainted with this design, for he commanded Percy and his friends to communicate with Jermyn and Goring. They had three meetings, and Goring, finding that the more violent courses which he urged were not relished, and seeing also that the command of the army, the object of his ambition, would not be bestowed on him, went and made a discovery to Lord Newport, and then to the parliamentary leaders. Percy, Jermyn, and Suckling, finding the affair discovered, fled to France; the others stood their ground. Percy afterwards (June 14th) wrote a letter to his brother, giving an account (apparently a true one) of the whole affair, and then Wilmot, Ashburnham, and Pollard were committed to custody. Lord Digby, having asserted that Goring was a perjured man, was expelled the house, and Goring was voted to have done nothing contrary to justice and honour.

The king, in his extreme anxiety to save Strafford, may have lent an ear to the wild project of Goring; he also assented to another, of introducing one Captain Billingsley with two hundred men into the Tower for that purpose,

and gave his warrant for it. But Balfour, the lieutenant, a Scotsman, having discovered the object, refused to admit them. It is also said that Balfour was offered a sum of money to let the earl escape, and on his examination he swore that Strafford had offered him for that purpose £20,000, "besides a good marriage for his son."

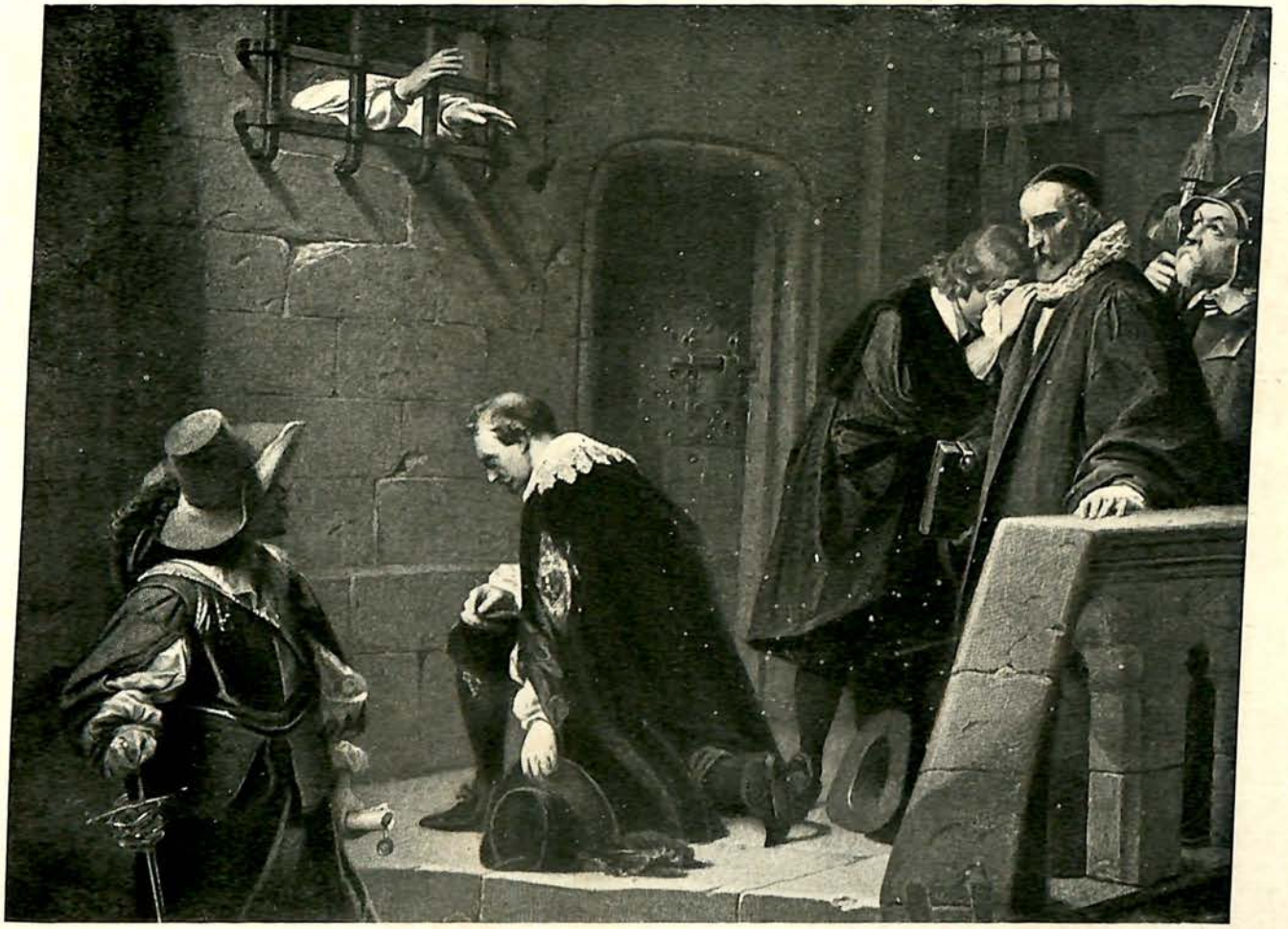
On the 5th a bill was introduced into the commons which virtually dissolved the monarchy. As there was a difficulty in raising money for the pay of the armies, a Lancashire knight engaged to procure £650,000 if the king would pass a bill "not to prorogue, adjourn, or dissolve this parliament without consent of both houses, to endure till the grievances were redressed, and to give the parliament credit to take up moneys." The next day this bill was hurried through all its stages, and sent with that of the attainder up to the other house. The lords wished to limit it to two years, but the commons would not consent, and on the 8th it was passed. The lords at the same time passed the bill of attainder, the judges having previously declared that on two of the articles the earl was guilty of treason. This opinion would be of more weight were it not that the judges had such recent experience of the power of the commons. Various causes concurring to make several of the peers absent themselves, there were but forty-five present when the bill was passed, and of these nineteen voted against it.

The two bills were sent to the king. In his distress of mind he called some of the prelates and privy councillors to his aid. Some urged the authority of the judges; Bishop Williams is said to have drawn a pernicious distinction between a king's private and public conscience, by which in his public capacity he might do an act which he secretly believed to be a crime. Bishop Juxon alone, we are told, honestly advised him to follow his conscience. A letter also came from the earl himself, urging him to pass the bill. "Sir," said he in it, "my consent shall more acquit you herein to God than all the world can do besides. To a willing man there is no injury done." A truly noble mind would have perished sooner than sacrifice such a voluntary victim; Charles, to his ultimate ruin and eternal disgrace, signed a commission to three lords to pass both the bills.

It is probable that Strafford did not look for this result, for when secretary Carleton came from the king to inform him of what he had done, and his motives for it, he could not at first believe it. When satisfied of the truth he stood up, lifted his eyes to heaven, and laying his hand on his heart, said, "Put not your trust in princes, nor in the sons of men, for in them there is no salvation."

THE EXECUTION OF STRAFFORD

Denzil Holles, who was Strafford's brother-in-law, told Burnet that the king sent for him and asked if he knew of any course to save his life. Holles hinted at a reprieve, which would give himself time to use his influence with his friends in the commons. The king would appear to have assented to this course, but, with his usual inconstancy, he adopted another. The day after his assent to the bill (the 11th) he sent a letter by the young prince of Wales, written by himself, to the lords, urging them to join him in prevailing with the commons to consent to his imprisonment for life; "but," he subjoined, "if no less than his life can satisfy my people, I must say *Fiat justitia.*" In a postscript he adds, "If he must die, it were charity to reprieve him till Saturday." This postscript is said to have sealed the earl's doom.



LORD STRAFFORD, ON HIS WAY TO THE SCAFFOLD, RECEIVING THE BLESSING OF ARCHBISHOP LAUD

(From the painting by Paul Delaroche, in Sutherland House, London)

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The following morning (the 12th) was appointed for the execution. The scaffold was erected on Tower Hill; the earl, when ready, left his chamber; Laud, as he had requested, was at his window to give him his blessing as he passed; the feeble old man raised his hands, but was unable to speak, and fell back into the arms of his attendants. The earl moved on; the lieutenant desired him to take coach at the gate, lest the mob should tear him to pieces; he replied that it was equal to him whether he died by the axe or by their fury. The multitudes extended far as the eye could reach; the earl took off his hat several times and saluted them; not a word of insult was heard; "his step and air," says Rushworth,[v] who was present, "were those of a general marching at the head of an army to breathe victory, rather than those of a condemned man to undergo the sentence of death."

From the scaffold he addressed the people, assuring them that he had always had the welfare of his country at heart; it augured ill for their happiness, he told them, to write the commencement of a reformation in letters of blood; he assured them he had never been against parliaments, regarding them as "the best means under God to make the king and his people happy." He turned to take leave of his friends, and seeing his brother weeping, he gently reproached him. "Think," said he, "that you are now accompanying me the fourth time to my marriage-bed. That block shall be my pillow, and here I shall rest from all my labours." He then began to undress, saying, "I do as cheerfully put off my doublet at this time as ever I did when I went to bed." He knelt and prayed, Archbishop Usher and another clergyman kneeling with him. He laid down his head to try the block; then telling the executioner that he would stretch forth his hands as a sign when he was to strike, he laid it finally down, and giving the signal, it was severed at a single blow; and thus in the forty-ninth year of his age perished Thomas earl of Strafford, "who, for natural parts and abilities," says Whitelocke,[h] "and for improvement of knowledge, by experience in the greatest affairs, for wisdom, faithfulness, and gallantry of mind, hath left few behind him that may be ranked equal with him." [u]

It is unnecessary here to enter into the question of the weakness or wickedness of the king in consenting to the sacrifice of Strafford. Charles held it, in the subsequent struggle of his life, as his one great fault—that which was justly punished by Heaven in his misfortunes. The firm yet modest demeanour of the great earl produced little mitigation of the dislike of the people. "In the evening of the day wherein he was executed the greatest demonstrations of joy that possibly could be expressed ran through the whole town and countries hereabout; and many that came up to town on purpose to see the execution rode in triumph back, and with all expressions of joy, through every town they went, crying, 'His head is off! his head is off!'" Warwick,[w] the zealous adherent of the court, tells this "to show how mad the whole people were, especially in and about this then bloody and brutish city, London."[g]

By one party Strafford has been represented as the noblest, most innocent martyr for the purest cause in the world; by the second, as the worst of criminals, whose death was entirely merited and absolutely necessary for the establishment of liberty. An impartial examination confirms neither of these views, but leads to a judgment between the two. Strafford had committed no crime which deserved death according to the laws, and he had justly said, "I see nothing capital in their charge"; and the proceedings against him were carried on with acrimony, and with a violation of many forms. On the other hand, he had behaved, especially in Ireland, in individual cases in the

most arbitrary manner, in order to maintain certain general principles, and his plan, to free the king from all restraint, by an unlimited right of taxation and a standing army, was indeed not treason, according to the letter of the law, but more dangerous and more wicked than much that was designated by that name. For this reason, the popular leaders said that the question here was not the application of the letter of the law to cases which were foreseen, but a new action, nay, a whole series of actions and intentions, for which a new law and a new punishment must be laid down and applied, for the safety of the country. If the existing law was insufficient to avert the most dreadful danger, it ought not to be meanly submitted to, but means to punish such great criminals must be sought and found in the omnipotence of legislation.

As Vaughan *i* says: "If we blame the sentence which was passed upon Strafford, it is not so much on his account as for the sake of the laws which he trampled under foot, and of liberty which he betrayed."

Strafford was the ablest, and in one sense the most faithful, of Charles' councillors, but he undertook a task to which he was not equal, and which he could not have executed without violating all the existing laws. He failed in attaining what Richelieu at that time purposed, and executed with far greater energy, and under very different circumstances; yet a more elevated point of view, and more genuine fidelity to the king, would have happily led in England to a far greater object.

But precisely because the victory over the king's system was so decisive, and he had already granted everything advantageous to real liberty, it appears doubly wrong that the parliament was not satisfied with the fall of Strafford, without violating the existing law, and giving a retrospective power to the newly adopted principle; that, without a sufficient motive, it stained the road to peaceful improvement with blood, and after the king had sacrificed to it his erroneous principles, wantonly inflicted the deepest wound upon his heart. A milder course would have proved a better guarantee for liberty. By Strafford's death, on the contrary, the breach became incurable, all nobler feelings became subordinate to cold calculation, and in order to attain the object nearest at hand, that which was far greater was, in truth, sacrificed. From the moment that the affecting entreaty of Charles for the life of his servant and friend was refused, the very trace of everything pleasing and humane in the relation between king and parliament was lost, without an indemnity being found for it on any other side—nay, without the possibility of ever finding it.

While the rejoicings were taking place in London on the execution of the earl, the windows of those who would not illuminate were broken. Richelieu, on the other hand, said: "The English are mad in cutting off the best head of their country." Digby's speech in favour of Strafford, which was printed, was burned by order of the house of commons, and Taylor expelled, imprisoned, and declared incapable of ever sitting in parliament, because he had called the execution of the earl a judicial murder.*i*

MACAULAY ON STRAFFORD'S EXECUTION

Defeat, universal agitation, financial embarrassments, disorganisation in every part of the government, had compelled Charles again to convene the houses before the close of the same year. Their meeting was one of the great eras in the history of the civilised world. Whatever of political freedom exists either in Europe or in America has sprung directly or indirectly from those

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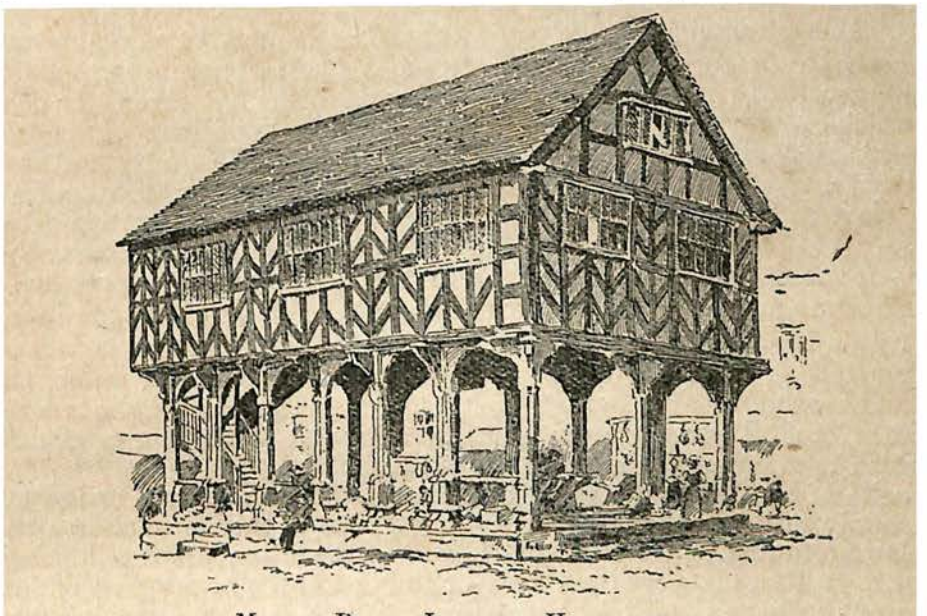
institutions which they secured and reformed. We never turn to the annals of those times without feeling increased admiration of the patriotism, the energy, the decision, the consummate wisdom, which marked the measures of that great parliament, from the day on which it met to the commencement of civil hostilities.

The impeachment of Strafford was the first, and perhaps the greatest blow. The whole conduct of that celebrated man proved that he had formed a deliberate scheme to subvert the fundamental laws of England. Those parts of his correspondence which have been brought to light since his death place the matter beyond a doubt.

It is not strange that a man so careless of the common civil rights, which even despots have generally respected, should treat with scorn the limitations which the constitution imposes on the royal prerogative. We might quote pages, but we will content ourselves with a single specimen: "The debts of



MARKET-PLACE, LEDBURY, HEREFORDSHIRE
(Built Time of Charles I)

the crown being taken off, you may govern as you please; and most resolute I am that may be done without borrowing any help forth of the king's lodgings."

Such was the theory of that thorough reform in the state which Strafford meditated. His whole practice, from the day on which he sold himself to the court, was in strict conformity to his theory. For his accomplices various excuses may be urged—ignorance, imbecility, religious bigotry. But Wentworth had no such plea. His intellect was capacious. His early prepossessions were on the side of popular rights. He knew the whole beauty and value of the system which he attempted to deface. He was the first of the rats, the first of those statesmen whose patriotism has been only the coquetry of political prostitution, and whose profligacy has taught governments to adopt the old maxim of the slave-market, that it is cheaper to buy than to breed, to import defenders from an opposition than to rear them in a ministry. He was the first Englishman to whom a peerage was a sacrament of infamy, a baptism into the communion of corruption. As he was the earliest of the hateful list, so was he also by far the greatest; eloquent, sagacious, adventurous, intrepid,

ready of invention, immutable of purpose, in every talent which exalts or destroys nations pre-eminent, the lost archangel, the Satan of the apostasy. The title for which, at the time of his desertion, he exchanged a name honourably distinguished in the cause of the people, reminds us of the appellation which, from the moment of the first treason, fixed itself on the fallen Son of the Morning,

"Satan—so call him now. His former name
Is heard no more in heaven."

The defection of Strafford from the popular party contributed mainly to draw on him the hatred of his contemporaries. It has since made him an object of peculiar interest to those whose lives have been spent, like his, in proving that there is no malice like the malice of a renegade. Nothing can be more natural or becoming than that one turncoat should eulogise another.

Many enemies of public liberty have been distinguished by their private virtues. But Strafford was the same throughout. As was the statesman, such was the kinsman, and such the lover. His conduct towards Lord Mountmorris is recorded by Clarendon.[c] For a word which can scarcely be called rash, which could not have been made the subject of an ordinary civil action, the lord lieutenant dragged a man of high rank, married to a relative of his wife, that "saint" about whom he whimpered to the peers, before a tribunal of slaves. Sentence of death was passed. Everything but death was inflicted. Yet the treatment which Lord Ely experienced was still more scandalous. That nobleman was thrown into prison in order to compel him to settle his estate in a manner agreeable to his daughter-in-law, whom, as there is every reason to believe, Strafford had debauched. These stories do not rest on vague report. The historians most partial to the minister admit their truth, and censure them in terms which, though too lenient for the occasion, are still severe. These facts are alone sufficient to justify the appellation with which Pym branded him, "the wicked Earl."

In spite of all Strafford's vices, in spite of all his dangerous projects, he was certainly entitled to the benefit of the law; but of the law in all its rigour, of the law according to the utmost strictness of the letter, which killeth. He was not to be torn in pieces by a mob, or stabbed in the back by an assassin. He was not to have punishment meted out to him from his own iniquitous measure. But if justice, in the whole range of its wide armoury, contained one weapon which could pierce him, that weapon his pursuers were bound, before God and man, to employ.

——"If he may
Find mercy in the law, 'tis his; if none,
Let him not seek't of us."

Such was the language which the commons might justly use.

Did, then, the articles against Strafford strictly amount to high treason? Many people, who know neither what the articles were nor what high treason is, will answer in the negative, simply because the accused person, speaking for his life, took that ground of defence. The journals of the lords show that the judges were consulted. They answered, with one accord, that the articles on which the earl was convicted amounted to high treason. This judicial opinion, even if we suppose it to have been erroneous, goes far to justify the parliament. The judgment pronounced in the exchequer chamber has always been urged by the apologists of Charles in defence of his conduct respecting ship-money. Yet on that occasion there was but a bare majority in favour of the party at whose pleasure all the magistrates composing the tribunal

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were removable. The decision in the case of Strafford was unanimous; as far as we can judge, it was unbiassed; and though there may be room for hesitation, we think on the whole that it was reasonable. "It may be remarked," says Hallam,[r] "that the fifteenth article of the impeachment, charging Strafford with raising money by his own authority, and quartering troops on the people of Ireland, in order to compel their obedience to his unlawful requisitions, upon which, and upon one other article, not upon the whole matter, the peers voted him guilty, does at least approach very nearly, if we may not say more, to a substantive treason within the statute of Edward III, as a levying of war against the king." This most sound and just exposition has provoked a very ridiculous reply. "It should seem to be an Irish construction this," says an assailant of Hallam, "which makes the raising money for the king's service, with his knowledge and by his approbation, to come under the head of levying war on the king, and therefore to be high treason." Now, people who undertake to write on points of constitutional law should know, what every attorney's clerk and every forward schoolboy on an upper form knows, that, by a fundamental maxim of our polity, the king can do no wrong; that every court is bound to suppose his conduct and his sentiments to be, on every occasion, such as they ought to be; and that no evidence can be received for the purpose of setting aside this loyal and salutary presumption. The lords, therefore, were bound to take it for granted that the king considered arms which were unlawfully directed against his people as directed against his own throne.

If we had thought that Strafford might be safely suffered to live in France, we should have thought it better that he should continue to live in England than that he should be exiled by a special act. As to degradation, it was not the earl, but the general and the statesman, whom the people had to fear. Essex said on that occasion, with more truth than elegance, "Stone dead hath no fellow." And often during the civil wars the parliament had reason to rejoice that an irreversible law and an impassable barrier protected them from the valour and capacity of Wentworth.

It is remarkable that neither Hyde nor Falkland voted against the bill of attainder. There is, indeed, reason to believe that Falkland spoke in favour of it. In one respect, as Hallam has observed, the proceeding was honourably distinguished from others of the same kind. An act was passed to relieve the children of Strafford from the forfeiture and corruption of blood which were the legal consequences of the sentence. The crown had never shown equal generosity in a case of treason. The liberal conduct of the commons has been fully and most appropriately repaid. The house of Wentworth has since that time been as much distinguished by public spirit as by power and splendour, and may at the present moment boast of members with whom Saye and Hampden would have been proud to act.

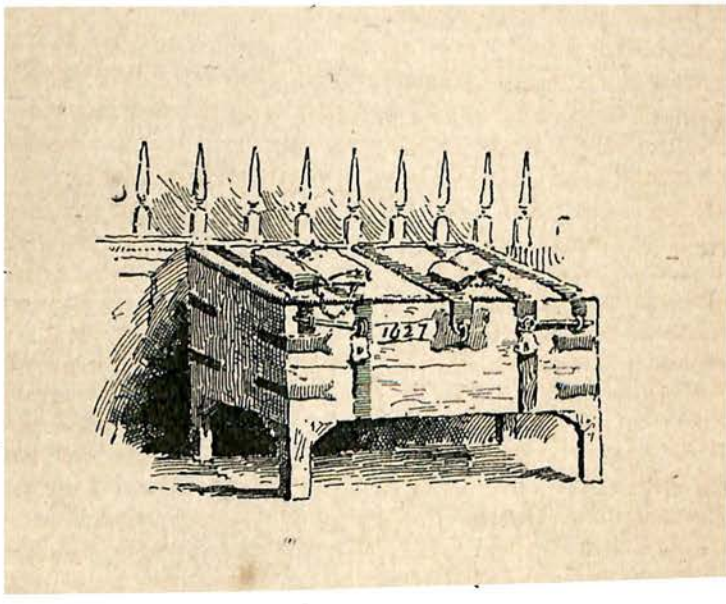
It is somewhat curious that the admirers of Strafford should also be, without a single exception, the admirers of Charles; for whatever we may think of the conduct of the parliament towards the unhappy favourite, there can be no doubt that the treatment which he received from his master was disgraceful. Faithless alike to his people and to his tools, the king did not scruple to play the part of the cowardly approver who hangs his accomplice. It is good that there should be such men as Charles in every league of villainy. It is for such men that the offer of pardon and reward which appears after a murder is intended. They are indemnified, remunerated, and despised. The very magistrate who avails himself of their assistance looks on them as more contemptible than the criminal whom they betray. Was Strafford innocent?

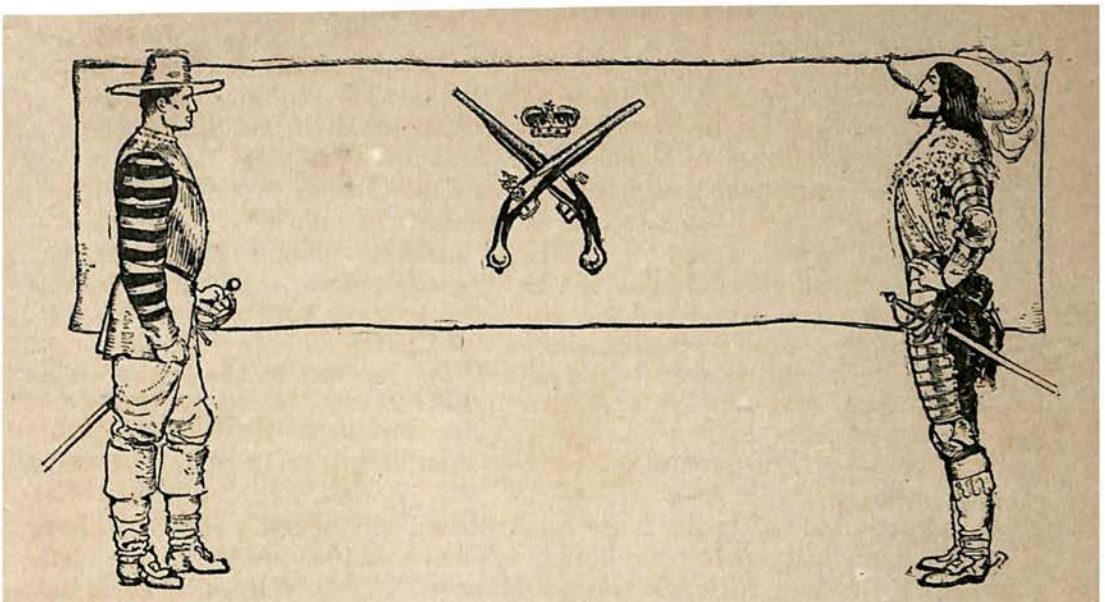
Was he a meritorious servant of the crown? If so, what shall we think of the prince who, having solemnly promised him that not a hair of his head should be hurt, and possessing an unquestioned constitutional right to save him, gave him up to the vengeance of his enemies?

There were some points which we know that Charles would not concede, and for which he was willing to risk the chances of civil war. Ought not a king, who will make a stand for anything, to make a stand for the innocent blood? Was Strafford guilty? Even on this supposition, it is difficult not to feel disdain for the partner of his guilt, the tempter turned punisher. If, indeed, from that time forth, the conduct of Charles had been blameless, it might have been said that his eyes were at last opened to the errors of his former conduct, and that, in sacrificing to the wishes of his parliament a minister whose crime had been a devotion too zealous to the interests of his prerogative, he gave a painful and deeply humiliating proof of the sincerity of his repentance.

It required ever after the most rigid justice and sincerity in the dealings of Charles with his people to vindicate his conduct towards his friend. His subsequent dealings with his people, however, clearly showed that it was not from any respect for the constitution, or from any sense of the deep criminality of the plans in which Strafford and himself had been engaged, that he gave up his minister to the axe. It became evident that he had abandoned a servant who, deeply guilty as to all others, was guiltless to him alone, solely in order to gain time for maturing other schemes of tyranny, and purchasing the aid of other Wentworths. He, who would not avail himself of the power which the laws gave him to save an adherent to whom his honour was pledged, soon showed that he did not scruple to break every law and forfeit every pledge in order to work the ruin of his opponents.

"Put not your trust in princes," was the expression of the fallen minister, when he heard that Charles had consented to his death. The whole history of the times is a sermon on that bitter text. The defence of the Long Parliament is comprised in the dying words of its victim.[x]





CHAPTER XX

COMMONS AGAINST CROWN

[1641–1642 A.D.]

> If ever lesson had been plain to read, it was that which had been given to Charles by his failure to save the life of Strafford. Yet scarcely was Strafford dead when he prepared himself to tread once more the weary round of intrigue which had already cost him so dear. Anything seemed to him to be better than an attempt to come to an understanding with parliament.—S. R. Gardiner.[b]

On the 5th of May, when the lower house was deliberating how the urgent pecuniary embarrassments were to be remedied, a nobleman from Lancaster had, as we have seen, offered to procure the king £650,000, till the actual receipt of the taxes, provided he would promise not to dissolve the parliament till all abuses were done away with, and not without its own consent. This notion was immediately taken up with the greatest zeal by the parliamentary leaders, the bill drawn up, read twice on the same day, contrary to the laws, and for the third time on the day following, pushed with equal rapidity through the upper house, and laid before the king. Since large sums are required, says the preamble, and cannot be obtained without credit, and credit suffers through want of confidence, and none can be found to lend for fear of the dissolution of the parliament, the king will not interrupt, prorogue, or dissolve the two houses, or one of them, without their consent. The privy councillors advised the king to assent to this bill, because otherwise no money was to be obtained, either by grants or loans, and this concession would satisfy the parliament, and produce confidence and moderation. On the 11th of May, the day when Charles signed the sentence for the execution of Strafford, he also gave his assent to that bill which led to his destruction. In the uneasiness and sorrow caused by the loss of the earl, the king and his councillors had not paid due attention to it, and by no means appreciated its importance. Strafford's death and this law, which produced the Long Parliament, form the

culminating point, from which the natural and necessary amelioration of defects changes into a disastrous and violent revolution.[c]

The consent of the king to the bill for the attainder of Strafford, and to the measure which was afterwards called "The Act for the Perpetual Parliament," can scarcely be attributed to any other feeling than a sense of his immediate weakness. Hallam[d] imputes Charles' ready acquiescence in this parliamentary bill to his own shame and the queen's consternation at the discovery of the Army Plot. Lord Clarendon[i] says, "After the passing these two bills, the temper and spirit of the people, both within and without the walls of the two houses, grew marvellous calm and composed." The parliament now went boldly and steadily forward in the work of reform. A subsidy and a poll-tax were granted; but another subsidy of tonnage and poundage was granted for a very limited time, from May 25th to July 15th, so that the commons might exercise the right of renewal, according to circumstances. This subsidy was renewed, by subsequent acts, until July 2nd, 1642. It is difficult to blame them for this excessive jealousy of the designs of the crown. The bill for triennial parliaments was absolutely necessary, to take out of the hands of the king the power to govern again without a parliament.

The queen, under the influence of terror, as some have believed, but more probably with the hope of procuring the interference of foreign powers to restore the absolute authority of Charles, was preparing to leave the country. The princess royal was betrothed to the eldest son of the prince of Orange. A secret article of the treaty stipulated that the prince should assist the king, if the disputes with his parliament came to an open rupture. The queen, a few months later, alleging her ill-health, wished to seek a remedy in the Spa waters. Upon the remonstrance of both houses of parliament she consented to remain in England. Amidst the contradictory and obscure traces of court secrets, one thing is manifest: that there was not the slightest approach to a real union between the king and the parliament for the public good. The royal concessions were made with a sort of recklessness which argues that there was a hope and belief that they might become nugatory under some turn of fortune. The suspicions of the commons were never wholly set at rest.

In the great legislative measures of this session the houses were invariably anxious to rest their reforms upon the ancient foundations of law and liberty. Thus in the statute granting tonnage and poundage, it is declared and enacted "That it is and hath been the ancient right of the subjects of this realm, that no subsidy, custom, impost, or other charge whatsoever ought or may be laid or imposed upon any merchandise, exported or imported by subjects, denizens, or aliens, without common consent in parliament." In "An act for the declaring unlawful and void the late proceedings touching ship-money," it is declared that the writs and judgments thereupon "were and are contrary to and against the laws and statutes of the realm, the right of property, the liberty of the subject, former resolutions in parliament, and the Petition of Right made in the third year of the reign of his majesty that now is." Again and again the principle of arbitrary taxation was made to hear its death-knell.

In the act for dissolving the court of Star Chamber and taking away the whole of its powers, all the ancient statutes, including the Great Charter, which declare that no freeman shall be imprisoned or condemned but by judgment of his peers, or by the law of the land, are recited; and it is affirmed that the authority of the Star Chamber, under the Statute of Henry VII, has been abused, and the decrees of the court have been found "to be an intolerable burthen to the subjects, and the means to introduce an arbitrary power and government." This statute not only abolishes the court of Star

Chamber, but the jurisdiction of the courts of the Marches of Wales, of the Northern Parts, of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of the County Palatine of Chester. Under these arbitrary courts one-third of the people had been deprived of the protection of common law, and were at the mercy of such local despots as Strafford.

In the act for abolishing the court of High Commission, it is maintained that, under the statute of the first of Elizabeth "concerning commissioners for causes ecclesiastical," the commissioners "have to the great and insufferable wrong and oppression of the king's subjects used to fine and imprison them, and to exercise other authority not belonging to ecclesiastical jurisdiction." The act of abolition goes farther, and takes from the ecclesiastical courts the power to inflict temporal penalties for spiritual offences. The "act for the certainty of forests, and of the meres, meets, limits, and bounds of the forests," goes back to the days of Edward I as to ancient boundaries, and, reprehending their real or pretended extension, confines forests within such limits as were recognised in the twentieth year of James I. In "An act for preventing vexatious proceedings touching the order of knighthood," reference is made to an ancient usage that men seized of lands to the yearly value of forty pounds might be compelled to take upon themselves the order of knighthood, or else to make fine; but it declares that many have been put to grievous fines and vexations for declining to receive the same dignity, being wholly unfit for it in estate or quality.

In all these enactments for the removal of great oppressions, constant reference is had to the origin of the abuses. There is no unreasoning pretext for their abolition, as if the subject were to be benefited by arbitrarily curtailing the prerogative of the crown. Clarendon[e] fully admits all the abuses which these enactments swept away; and yet, in the spirit of that ignoble belief which he has done so much to perpetuate, that justice to the subject can only be derived from the favour of the sovereign, he says, of these acts of parliament, that they "will be acknowledged by an uncorrupted posterity to be everlasting monuments of the king's princely and fatherly affection to his people." Much more rationally do we now feel with Hallam[d] that "in by far the greater part of the enactments of 1641 the monarchy lost nothing that it had anciently possessed; and the balance of our constitution might seem rather to have been restored to its former equipoise than to have undergone any fresh change."

It is to the Long Parliament, in this triumphant session, that England owes a new era of civil liberty. If they had rested here in their great work, they would have placed the political rights of Englishmen upon the broad foundation upon which the national greatness and security has been since built up.[f]

THE ATTACK ON THE BISHOPS

After the dissolution of the last parliament, the clergy, as we have seen, continued their deliberations in the convocation, passed resolutions relative to the doctrine and discipline of the church, granted money to the king,[1] drew up a new oath for the unconditional immutability of the existing constitution of the church, and expressed themselves respecting the rights of the king almost entirely on the system of unlimited power and divine right.

Hereupon the loudest complaints were made in parliament, and on the 16th of December, 1640, it was unanimously resolved that the English clergy

[1] It was not till 1664 that the taxation of the clergy by the clergy ceased.

has no right, in any assembly, synod, or convocation, to pass resolutions on the doctrine, constitution, rites, and discipline of the church, without the consent of parliament; the points adopted in 1640, and sanctioned by the king, are therefore not obligatory, are contrary to the rights of the king and the parliament, to the laws of the kingdom, the freedom and property of the subjects, tend to excite dissension and rebellion, and produce the most dangerous consequences. Nay, not contented with thus annihilating a separate legislative authority for the church, the prelates who had attended the convocation were fined in immense sums (from £500 to £20,000) and many matters relative to the church afterwards decided by the commons, without any participation of the clergy. Thus, without consulting the king and the lords, they drew up many directions respecting the placing of the altars, the removal of all crosses and pictures, the abolition of kneeling, etc. Those who did not obey were condemned and punished as favourers of idolatry, and no regard paid to the consideration that, by the indiscriminate application of those directions, many works of art and fine monuments would be destroyed.

At the opening of the parliament there were in it many faithful adherents of the established church, but Presbyterian principles gradually gained ground, and numerous petitions against the bishops and the constitution of the church in general were presented; among others, one on the 11th of December, 1640, from London. All that history, experience, learning and passion offered either for or against was brought forward in parliament, or discussed in printed pamphlets. As early as the 28th of November, 1640, Sir Edward Dering had required that a committee should be appointed to examine into the tyranny of the bishops; which, in connection with the London petition, produced more accusations and increased the zeal against the bishops. A bill was brought in and passed, on May 3rd, 1641, that no bishop should in future fill any other spiritual, temporal, or judicial office. Very remarkable debates took place in the upper house upon this bill. The lords resolved that the archbishops and bishops should retain their seats and votes in the upper house, but should not be members of the privy council, or the Star Chamber, or justices of the peace.

At the moment that the lords were preparing to submit, and to prove to the lower house the reasons for their changes and modifications, the latter, impatient at the delay and opposition, proceeded in its increasing zeal much farther than many of the advocates of the bill had themselves at first desired. Supported by Haslerig, Vane, Cromwell and others, St. John drew up a bill for the total abolition of all bishops, deans, and other officers connected with the Episcopal constitution. It was passed on the 27th of May, by a majority of 139 to 108, and, from its contrast to the first moderate bill, received the name of "the Root and Branch bill." The lords, seeing their conciliatory proposals rejected, hereupon threw out the first bill entirely, on the 7th of June, and on the 12th of the same month Sir Henry Vane defended the second in the lower house.

The Presbyterians, consistently with their view, went farther, and on the 15th of June made a motion for the abolition of all canons and chapters, and endeavoured to support it by many arguments, which we have no room to detail. Benjamin Rudyard said: "One thing disturbs me beyond measure in our important debates, and staggers my reason, namely, that, in contradiction to the wisdom of all ages, the principle is set up—No reformation without destruction."

The question respecting the best constitution of the church was not only

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discussed in parliament, but caused a general excitement in the minds of the people. Shoemakers and tailors contended with the most vehement zeal for and against the bishops, and prayers and fasts were held by many of the godly, especially by the women, that God would no longer delay the destruction of the ungodly Episcopal church. Lord Brook affirmed, in a pamphlet, that the bishops were of too low origin to sit in the same house with the noble lords. In conformity with these views, they were often treated with contempt in the upper house, and never allowed precedence in the public ceremonies; nay, on the 4th of August the thirteen bishops who had latterly taken a share in the debates of the convocation were criminally accused, and on the 23rd of October Pym addressed the house of lords in favor of the bill for abolishing the whole Episcopal system. The animosity against the bishops was so far from being mitigated that it was proposed in the bill that the confiscated lands should be employed for the advancement of piety and learning, and for the support of the persons affected, in so far as they are not sinners and delinquents against the house of commons. Among the latter were reckoned not only those already accused for assisting at the convocation, but other persons were gradually added in an arbitrary manner.

COSTUME IN THE TIME OF CHARLES I

On the 30th of December, 1641, twelve bishops were induced to present the following declaration to the king and the house of lords: "As our right and our duty to appear in the upper house is beyond all doubt, we would wish to take part in the business of the house, and prove that we have no community with popery and malignant parties. But having been several times in our way to parliament insulted, threatened, and attacked by the mob; nay, the last time been put in imminent danger of our lives, without being able to obtain protection and assistance from the house of lords or commons, notwithstanding our complaints, we declare, with the reservation of our rights, that, till measures are taken to prevent such dangers and insults, we will not appear in the upper house, and declare everything null and void that shall be resolved upon during our forced absence."

The complaint of the bishops, of threats, insults, and violence, was perfectly well-founded, nor had anything been done to secure them, or punish the delinquents; but it was ill-advised in them to absent themselves at this moment from the parliament, and abandon the field to their enemies; it was presumptuous to think of entirely checking or annihilating the business of parliament by their opposition. Instead, therefore, of exciting compassion by this declaration, and leading to favourable conclusions, both the upper and lower houses were equally indignant. The latter at least acted consistently on this occasion, but the former precipitately and without foresight. The commons, in particular, were convinced that the object of the bishops, probably in concert with the king, was to effect in this indirect manner a dissolution of parliament. They were therefore accused of high treason on the 30th of

December, 1641, and confined in the Tower.[1] Their friends declared they were not traitors, but fools, who ought to be sent to Bedlam; while their enemies, under apparent anger, concealed a secret joy that they had themselves, by their mistaken conduct, led to their own overthrow, which it would have been difficult to procure by a general law, and had thereby converted into enemies the lords who had before been, for the most part, friendly to them. The king alone was still sincerely attached to them, but a series of various events rendered him every day less able to afford them any competent support; besides which, their expulsion had greatly diminished the number of his adherents in the upper house.

Having thus brought down the course of the ecclesiastical disputes to a remarkable crisis, we have now to resume the narrative of the civil affairs of England, and then the important history of Scotland and Ireland. After the fall of Strafford, Laud, and the other ministers, the king considered it imprudent and unbecoming to intrust the management of affairs to their adversaries; but the insignificant and unpopular persons who surrounded him were unable to stem or to direct the torrent, and when he too late employed eminent patriots, they either required him wholly to submit to the will of the parliament, or lost their popularity as soon as, being placed in a different point, they ceased to consider this as useful or advisable. Consequently the administration, as opposed to the parliament, now suffered by too great weakness, as formerly by illegal power, and, with the increasing attacks on the royal authority, it was not unnatural that the idea suggested itself, whether a support might not be found for it in the army. With this view, officers well affected to the king endeavoured to attain this object, and a petition was drawn up, containing among other points that the king should not be limited in his concessions and resolutions. It may appear doubtful how far Charles and his queen immediately co-operated or assented;[2] but the negotiations were certainly not entirely concealed from them, and some of their pretended friends had perhaps prematurely and purposely made the plan known. While the king affirmed that he had nothing to do with the whole affair, and that it was unimportant, because it had only been talked of, and nothing had been done, others alleged that he had seen the outlines of the petition, and had approved it by affixing a C. R. [Carolus Rex] to it.

However this may be, the commons turned these circumstances to their advantage. On the 3rd of May, 1641, as we have seen, they made a report on the very dangerous intrigues, the object of which was to separate the army from the parliament, and to introduce foreign troops into the country. Actuated by real or partly feigned apprehension, a protest was drawn up, the object of which was to maintain the religion of the country and the union of the three kingdoms, which was sworn to by both houses with very little opposition. At the same time the speaker, having received directions to that effect, satisfied the army by a declaration that it was intended to provide for it, and to act without secondary views, solely for the welfare of the state.

Thus all passed over apparently as an insignificant question, but in fact led to important consequences. In parliament the suspicion gained ground that Charles intended by every possible means to recover his unlimited

[1] They remained in prison till May, 1642, and then gave bail. No legal proceedings ever took place. Wren, bishop of Ely, was imprisoned in September, 1641, and still remained in confinement in 1658, without any reason being alleged.

[2] Gardiner[b] definitely accuses the queen of urging the pope to send her troops, and of bringing the army from Yorkshire to overpower parliament. This was called the Army Plot. Charles had previously planned to seize the Tower and release Strafford by force.]

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authority, from which it was inferred that every means was allowable to avert so great a danger. With this view, Pym laid before the upper house, on the 24th of June, many demands of the commons for the disbanding of the army, the dismissal of evil counsellors, rigorous treatment of the papists, the protection of the country, etc.

SCOTCH AFFAIRS; THE KING'S VISIT

Both the king and the parliament had lost all confidence in the army, and both now wished for a reconciliation with the Scotch, because each party hoped to gain them to its own side. Hence nearly all their demands were acceded to, and in the peace of the 7th of August, 1641, it was stipulated that the acts of the late parliament of Scotland shall be acknowledged as laws. With respect to religion and divine worship, as great a conformity as possible shall be introduced in both kingdoms, and no person censured on account of the Covenant. The Scotch receive from England £300,000 for their friendly services; all the declarations, ordinances, writings, etc., against them are suppressed. No person shall receive an office, or have access to the king, who has been judged incapable by sentence of parliament. No war shall be declared between England, Scotland, and Ireland, without the consent of their respective parliaments.

The king at this moment, no less pressed by the English than formerly by the Scotch, earnestly desired a reconciliation with the latter; nay, if possible, to obtain their assistance against the English. But, for this very reason, his plan of going to Scotland offended the commons, who made a great many objections; as these, however, could not move him from his purpose, the parliament adjourned, after having appointed committees, with great powers, which partly conducted the business in London, and partly accompanied the king to Scotland, and in fact kept him under a strict superintendence.

The Scots had in the mean time opened their parliament on the 11th of June, 1640, without waiting for a royal commissioner; because the king's solemn promise to call it, given at the conclusion of the peace, could not be defeated by continual prorogation. This was accompanied by the following declaration: That the prorogation of parliament without the consent of the estates is contrary to the laws and liberties of the kingdom, without precedent, and in positive contradiction with the conditions of peace. They then proceeded to confirm the Covenant and the new church laws, and in the year 1641, after a further prolongation, a second session of the parliament was opened with similar declarations and reservations. In July Charles caused several proposals and concessions to be laid before it; which measure was the less calculated to attain his end, as he at the same time urged a prorogation, and thereby awakened their former suspicions.

At length, notwithstanding all obstacles and difficulties, he set out for Scotland, and on the 19th of August, 1641, made a speech in parliament. In conformity with his offers and promises, the king successively consented to the following points: The acts of the late parliament have legal force. Every estate chooses its own lords of the articles. All proposals are in future addressed, in the first instance, to the whole parliament, and are referred by it at its pleasure to those lords for examination. There shall be no war between England and Scotland without the consent of their parliaments. In cases of attack or internal troubles, both kingdoms mutually to assist each other. During such time as the parliament is not sitting, special persons shall be

appointed for the preservation of peace. As the king's absence in England prevents him from being thoroughly acquainted with the qualifications of individuals, he will appoint the privy councillors and other important officers according to the proposals of the parliament. The persons appointed are answerable to the parliament and the king.

Agreeably to these legal enactments, the king favoured the most distinguished of the Covenanters, and gave them offices, or pensions and presents —even to Henderson and Gillespie, the latter of whom, notwithstanding, vehemently opposed reconciliation with the king in 1648. These measures diffused the greatest joy, and on the king's departure the estates declared, in a solemn address, that he had given them entire satisfaction with regard to their religion and liberties, and that a contented king left a contented people. He, too, was himself persuaded that he had so entirely gained Scotland, that in case of need it would support him in his disputes with England, or at least remain neutral. On the other side, many of his old Scotch adherents complained that he had sacrificed them and the royal authority, and favoured and exalted enemies who now made great promises, but would keep none of them, and would advance new demands. If he agreed to the abolition and condemnation of the Episcopal system in Scotland, how could he think of maintaining it in England; and if the administration came into the hands of the Scotch parliament by the appointment of officers, how could he resist similar demands from the English house of commons? But an event now occurred, of such importance that everything else became insignificant in comparison, and the position of parties was totally changed, almost entirely to the disadvantage of the king—we mean the rebellion of the Irish Catholics.

THE IRISH REBELLION

In order to place this event, which has in general been partially and falsely represented, in its true light, we must again recur to earlier history. At the conclusion of the reign of Elizabeth, Ireland had been entirely subdued, and a portion of the people had so far been gainers, that the English laws were applied to them, and the former almost unlimited privileges of the chiefs were limited. James I had very decidedly resolved to civilise Ireland and make it happy; and many, referring to the measures adopted by him, have not only confirmed this praise, but have represented the state of Ireland, from 1603 to 1641, as healthy and prosperous, and affirmed that the rebellion had commenced in the last year without ground or occasion, merely from presumption and barbarism. This view, however, may be proved to be in the main false. It must be owned that much was done under James I to promote order and civilisation. The old British laws, by which every crime could be atoned for by fines, were abolished; some other injurious customs annulled; the rights of the lords were more strictly defined; waste lands cultivated, settlers encouraged, etc. But in all this there were partly great evils concealed, and in part others still greater opposed to them.

Hence the Irish had occasion for heavy complaints, which we may sum up as follows: "No Irish parliament has been called since 1587, and our country has never been represented in the English parliament, whose laws bind us.[1] We

[1] The parliaments of 1613 and 1634 were of no importance; nay, by the manner in which the members were chosen, they were hostile to the Roman Catholics. Often, too, Irish titles were given to Englishmen, though they had no estates in Ireland, and they voted by proxy in the upper house.

are still looked upon as savages, and the defence of our religion, customs, and possessions as a crime. We are expected to consider it as a favour that King James, in 1613, granted an amnesty; but, not to mention that we had committed no crime that required a pardon, the law makes innumerable exceptions, and disappoints every hope that was founded upon it. Above all, the cruel immense confiscations of estates are the greatest injustice and the most arbitrary punishment. No title avails, and every legal pretext is taken advantage of to expel the Irish from their possessions and transfer them to strangers. Cunning, fraud, perjury, bribery, are employed with the most shameless effrontery for these shameless purposes; nay, what limits shall be found to such arbitrary proceedings, when, under the pretext of the right of conquest, every title to an estate, as far back as the time of Henry II, was called in question, or, for the alleged fault of a chief, all the innocent vassals were deprived of their property? Did not the English house of commons, on the confiscation of O'Neil's estates in 1583, prove the unlimited right of the kings of England to dispose at their pleasure of all Irish landed property, by the fact that the Irish came from Spain, and their leaders Heberus and Hegemon had submitted to the English king Gurmond! In a similar spirit, King James seized upon 380,000 acres of land, not according to law or justice, not by contract or cession, but on the stress of those foolish fables, and of the still subsisting right of conquest. At the same time the declared object was, that no Irishman should have any part in the new settlements, and that none should remain, even for great sacrifices, in the possession of his hereditary estates. Their expulsion was sought, in order to attract, as it was alleged, a more noble and civilised race of men; though these settlers, in truth, were for the most part rapacious adventurers or indigent rabble. With this political injustice, religious intolerance was intimately connected. Thus all Catholics were in fact excluded from the acquisition of landed property, by the condition imposed upon the settlers of taking the oath of supremacy. None of them obtains a public office of any kind; their churches and chapels are violently closed, their clergy expelled, their children delivered to Protestant guardians. Under innumerable pretences, such as not attending divine service, they are punished, and religion is always alleged as a motive; while both in the temporal and spiritual courts selfishness and intolerance are the sole springs of action."

All these grievances of the Irish were perfectly well-founded, though they very naturally gave sufficient reason to recriminations on their perfidy, ferocity, and intolerance. Language, manners, religion, and the state of civilisation were different; the masters and tenants were diametrically opposed to each other; interests essentially different were everywhere manifested; and nowhere was there any political wisdom, or religious tolerance, to soften and reconcile these contrarieties. The Catholics considered the Protestants as infidels; the latter, on their part, called the former idolaters; each party thought it meritorious not to tolerate the other, but to extirpate it. The priests, attached to Rome and Spain, appeared, besides, to the English as rebels; and because the Protestant clergy were for the most part ignorant of the Irish language, they could exercise no useful influence over the people. In addition to this, they were divided into such as were very rich, who possessed several livings, but attended to none, and in such as were wretchedly poor, who could acquire no respect, and were too easily led to endeavour to improve their circumstances by unjustifiable means.

Such was the state of affairs when Charles I ascended the throne. The Irish readily came forward with an offer to assist him, and to maintain 300

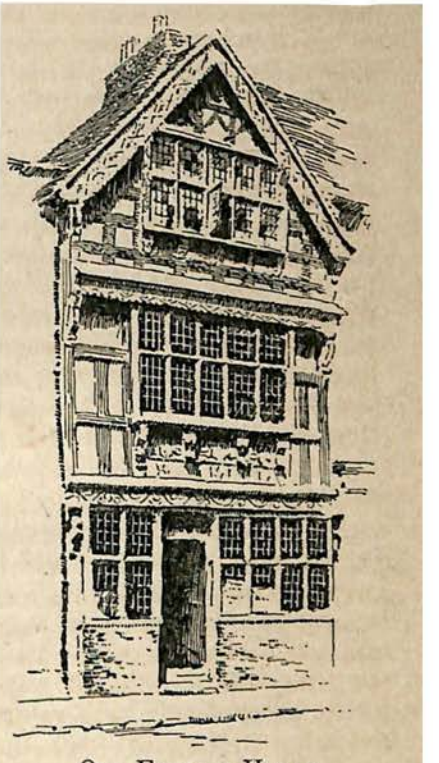
cavalry and 5,000 infantry, if he would grant greater toleration in religious matters; but this proposal was rejected, chiefly through the interference of the bishops. Two years later, in 1628, the king, whose distress became more urgent, was more compliant, and at the earnest request of the Irish caused the Charter of Graces to be drawn up. It contained scarcely anything but urgently necessary and reasonable regulations respecting the billeting of soldiers, the limitation of the military laws to times of war, the pardon of criminals, judicial forms, monopolies, hereditary rights, and the oath of supremacy. In particular, it decreed that sixty years' possession should constitute a legal title, and protect the possessor against all claims from the crown, and from all other persons.

If this humane and just course had been persevered in, the most salutary effects for Ireland must have followed. That this was not done was the fault of the king, and, above all, of the earl of Strafford, whom he had appointed governor in the year 1632. For if, on the one hand, he provided, with correct judgment and laudable energy, for the establishment of schools and of linen manufactories, the extension of trade, the suppression of piracy, etc., yet, here as elsewhere, his will, or his pleasure, was in his opinion the supreme law, and as he acknowledged no public law, how could he acquire real political wisdom? "I found," says Strafford, "the state, the church, and the people of Ireland in a state of perfect dissolution. Nothing was to be effected with kind looks and pleasant smiles; stronger measures were necessary. I have therefore raised and rewarded the worthy, punished and thrown down the perverse, and not changed my conduct till they repented. None but thorough measures can subdue the spirit of the times, and the elevation of the royal power must be the most important—nay, the sole object of my government." Ireland (as in fact every country) undoubtedly required a vigorous and powerful government. To substitute this for the tyranny that had hitherto prevailed, and to connect it with the Charter of Graces, would have been the proper business of the governor. Instead of this, as the above empty words themselves show, he adhered to the notion that the Irish were still too barbarous to be treated according to justice and the laws, and that the kingdom was, in the strictest sense of the word, a conquered country. From these harsh and arbitrary notions he drew the inference, which was defended during his trial, but which in truth was equally foolish and condemnable, that all the Irish, without exception, had forfeited the rights of citizens and of men, and that it depended wholly on the royal favour what and how much should be granted them. But as means were wanting to obtain by force the principal object, that is, supplies of money, the earl did not disdain to employ artifice. He maintained that taxes imposed by royal authority were as valid as parliamentary grants; and at the opening of the parliament said that it was entirely below his master's dignity to bargain every year, with his hat in his hand, whether they would be pleased to do something for their own preservation. When John Talbot made some objections, he was driven out of the house, and arrested till he begged pardon of the governor on his knees.

We will not attempt to decide how far Strafford's threats, or some other means, had any influence; but it is certain that the Irish house of commons cheerfully and voluntarily granted six subsidies, an uncommonly large sum, and now justly expected a solemn confirmation and further development of the Charter of Graces. But Strafford thought that, as he had this time obtained money without granting anything, he might spare the confirmation for another time; nay, he and the king, whose sentiments were similar, were

resolved entirely to evade and defeat it. They therefore now said plainly that some of the concessions in that charter were only occasional and temporary; others no longer necessary; that others required a more accurate investigation, or might be carried into effect by the ordinary officers. Lastly, Strafford positively rejected the most important point, that sixty years' undisputed possession of landed property should constitute a good title, even against the claims of the crown.

Accordingly, innumerable inquiries now began; and, with mild and plausible words about maintaining the laws, the most glaring acts of injustice were committed. Thus almost all the grants of Queen Elizabeth, the clearest documents, were declared null and void, under subtle pretexts, and the possessors expelled, or forced to pay large sums. It appeared from the way of procedure that there was no such thing as landed property in Ireland: as if all title to it should vanish at the discretion of the government or the king. Strafford boasted that the king's power in Ireland was as unlimited as that of any prince in the world, and that the pernicious concessions were now forever lulled to sleep. Because twelve jurymen, in the year 1636, would not, agreeably to his opinion, deprive their fellow-citizens of their land, the governor fined each of them £4,000, imprisoned them till they paid, and compelled them to beg pardon on their knees. The judges received four shillings in the pound of the first year's incomes of all the confiscated lands; and Strafford wrote to the king: "Each of these four shillings paid, once for all, will add four pounds to your majesty's revenue." Instead of disdaining these and other base ways and means, Charles answered, to the complaints that were made, that Strafford's conduct was not harsh, and that he approved of the earl's serving him in this manner; and the latter affirmed (when a strict account was required of him in the sequel) for his justification, that it always had been so and still worse, seeing that, according to the laws of war, innumerable people have been hanged in Ireland without any legal formalities.



OLD ENGLISH HOUSE

It was natural enough that, after Strafford's arrest, the praises which had been extorted from the Irish by fear were changed into loud complaints; and the Irish parliament contrived, by arbitrary regulations, to reduce almost to nothing the former liberal grant of money. The Irish house of commons, encouraged by what was doing in England and Scotland, extended its demands, and the most lively hopes and plans were conceived by the whole people. Even the most prudent and moderate could not but wish, after centuries of oppression, for the independence of the Irish parliament, the appointment of Irishmen to manage the affairs of their own country, free trade, and the exercise of religion, civil rights, and the admission of Roman Catholics to public employments. All these claims, say most authors, have been again justly forfeited for centuries to come by the rebellion of the Irish Catholics in the year 1641.

On the 22nd of October, immediately before the rebellion broke out, MacMahon informed the lords justices of Ireland that a general conspiracy was prepared, according to which the Roman Catholics were on a certain day and hour to make themselves masters of all the fortresses, especially the castle of Dublin, and to massacre all the Protestants without exception. Notwithstanding this information, three hundred thousand Protestants were murdered within a short time in a most dreadful and cruel manner: such is the tenor of the story which has been a hundred times repeated, with the addition that the happy Irish had no grounds for discontent, and had been seduced only by superstitious infuriate priests. This is the accusation: the result of unprejudiced investigation, on the contrary, is, the Irish were impelled by numberless reasons to take advantage of the apparently highly favourable circumstances for the improvement of their civil, religious, and political situation; and thought, if the Scotch have been so commended for their covenant, directed against the king, a union for him, against arrogant subjects, might be still more easily justified. But such a union had not been concluded when MacMahon gave his essentially false and incredible information; nor was there ever any general conspiracy to murder all the Protestants. The troubles which arose in Ulster from local reasons spread slowly and, mostly through the fault of the English magistrates, over the greater part of the country, and the number of the Protestants who perished by violence or in open combat is reduced to about six thousand.[1]

According to Carey,[g] there were not so many Protestants in the country as were said to have perished. Hallam[d] estimates the number of those who perished at eight thousand, of the murdered, etc., at four thousand. Lingard[h] estimates the number of those who perished at from four thousand to eight thousand.

At the head of the Irish government were the lords justices Parsons and Borlace—the former of mean origin and without education, but active, artful, extremely selfish and covetous; Borlace, an old soldier, indolent and entirely subordinate to his colleague. Instead, then, of carefully examining the statements of MacMahon, the two justices, actuated by absurd fears and other secondary views, sent the most exaggerated reports to the king and the parliament, and issued proclamations which took for granted the universal guilt of the people; and, notwithstanding their entire want of military resources, spoke only of coercion and punishment. Yet they did nothing to check the evil. A wish was now generally expressed that the prorogued Irish parliament might be again assembled, most of the members being rich men, who were so extremely interested in the restoration of tranquillity that they would readily grant the means to effect it. But Parsons and Borlace desired to rule alone, and leave the evil to take its own course, that they might have the more ground for accusation and punishment. It was foolish and unjust to manifest suspicion of all the members of parliament at once, nay, to withhold from the whole people the legal means of consulting on the critical state of affairs, and adopting some resolution accordingly. This naturally excited discontent in men who had hitherto been peaceable, and raised the courage of the turbulent; because, without a parliament, means were wanting to oppose them effectually.

In consequence of these reports, the English parliament, in the absence of the king, came to a resolution to prepare everything for an active war against

[1] [Gardiner[b] says that Clarendon's[e] estimate of 40,000 is "ridiculously impossible," and that "the number of those slain in cold blood at the beginning of the rebellion could hardly have much exceeded four or five thousand, while about twice that number may have perished from ill-treatment." This subject will be taken up in more detail in Irish history.]

the Irish, and issued a proclamation to the following effect: That by the treacherous and wicked excitement of Roman Catholic priests and Jesuits, a conspiracy had been formed for the bloody murder of all Protestants and loyal Catholics of English origin, as well as for the total destruction of the royal authority and of the present government. Thus the English parliament went beyond the accusations of the credulous, and increased the number of the guilty by designating everybody as such. Pardon was, it is true, at the same time offered to all such as should repent; but as it was added that no papist should be tolerated in Ireland, the offer of pardon not only signified nothing, but appeared like bitter irony and illegal cruelty.

Unhappily everything concurred—natural rudeness, religious zeal, unlimited thirst of vengeance on the one hand, arrogance, self-interest, and injustice on the other—to give to this Irish contest a character of inhuman severity and ferocity of which there are but few examples in the history of the world. For, whatever may be allowed for exaggeration, however certain it is that blame must be attributed to both parties, there still remains but too much that cannot be denied. But if the follies, the vices, and the crimes of the Long Parliament, if not forgotten, are yet thrown into the background, and judged of with less severity, the same equity should be shown to the Irish, who had more reason for complaints than the English and Scotch of those times, or the Americans and French of a later period; and the more moderate Irish, when the zeal of their countrymen and the measures of the English governors gradually obliged them to take a part in the movement, exerted themselves to the utmost to introduce order and consistency into the whole enterprise. Four-and-twenty men, nobles, clergy, and citizens, placed themselves at the head of affairs, and made use of a seal with the motto: *Pro Deo, pro Rege, et Patria Hibernia.* In the oath of their union, they swore to maintain and defend the rights of the king, the parliament, and the subjects; and in November, 1641, asked nothing but what a reasonable government ought voluntarily to have granted them long before, namely, the abolition of all penalties against Roman Catholics, as they were willing to be obedient subjects, admissibility to offices, the right of acquiring land, which was extremely limited, and amnesty for the past. All these demands were refused by the English house of commons; nay, it was so infatuated or so insincere that it attributed the Irish disturbances wholly to the perfidious and popish counsellors of the king. The Irish asked more justly, "Is it not more legal and pardonable if we conclude a union for the maintenance of our religion, of the royal prerogatives, and of the true liberty of the people, than when others do so in order to have an opportunity and pretext to diminish and undermine the king's lawful authority?" United Irishmen, therefore, recognised the rights and authority of Charles, but rejected the actual governors in Dublin, because they entirely depended on the seditious party in London.

Notwithstanding the preceding arguments and events, many worthy Roman Catholics in Ireland themselves doubted whether the course that had been adopted was fully to be justified and was likely to lead to a happy issue. For this reason, the noble Lord Clanricarde (a half-brother of the earl of Essex), for example, though a Catholic, took arms for the existing order, and for the Protestants.

When faithful subjects of the king, in Ireland, might justly doubt what their duty and conscience demanded, Charles himself was placed by the insurrection in the most unpleasant situation; for, though he had not the smallest share in its breaking out, yet it was believed that he and his counsellors had a

hand in it, in order to maintain unlimited power by means of the Catholics, and to paralyse the efforts of the English and Scotch Protestants in favour of liberty. Nay, it was affirmed, with deliberate falsehood, that on the 1st of October, 1641, he had given instructions to sequestrate the estates of all the Protestants in Ireland, and to arrest them. Because his declarations to the contrary did not meet with entire credit, he, in order to remove all suspicion, left to the English parliament, even while he was still in Scotland, the entire direction of Irish affairs. Accordingly, it resolved, on the 8th of December, 1641, that the Roman Catholic religion should no longer be tolerated in Ireland; it resolved, in February and March, 1642, that two and a half millions of acres of land in Ireland should be confiscated, in order to defray the expenses of the war. On the 23rd of February it ordered, word for word, as follows:

"All rebels, as well as their adherents and favourers, shall be wounded, killed, put to death, and annihilated by all means and ways; all places, towns, and houses, where the rebels abide or have abode, or where they have been protected or assisted, shall be plundered, laid waste, pulled down and burned; all the hay and corn in them shall be destroyed, and all the inhabitants able to bear arms shall be killed!"

It is an almost inconceivable, and surely most humiliating fact, that men who with suspicious anxiety watched for the preservation of their own liberty, and endeavoured by every means to extend it in England and Scotland, should, in mad infatuation and culpable arrogance, have issued for their Irish fellow-citizens ordinances of so barbarous a kind that obedience was impossible and resistance a duty. But before we proceed with the history of Ireland, we must return to that of England and Scotland.

THE GRAND REMONSTRANCE

Though the Irish insurrection was very unwelcome to the king for many reasons, and the remote possibility of one day deriving advantage from it entirely disappeared before the present evils, Charles, when he set out from Edinburgh for London, entertained the most flattering hopes; for Scotland, he believed, was entirely pacified and gained, and England, if moderation and prudence did not entirely vanish, must likewise consider his concessions as sufficient for the foundation and protection of true liberty. And in fact, even before Charles' departure for Scotland, all those evils had been remedied by laws which had been originally and justly complained of; for instance, the Star Chamber, which judged without a jury, and often in a selfish and too rigorous manner; the court of High Commission, the arbitrary levying of taxes, especially of tonnage, poundage, and ship-money, the severe application of the forest laws and feudal customs, the oppressive increase of the army, etc. But, in particular, by the law on triennial parliaments, and the non-dissolution of the one now sitting, the preponderance of power had been so transferred from the king to the two houses, that he might justly say he had already granted so much that there would be no reason to wonder if he now refused something. "I showed," says he in another place, "by confirming those laws, the highest confidence, and hoped that I had forever turned suspicion and jealousy out of doors. But I certainly did not mean to turn out and exclude myself."

In proportion as the king's courage and his popularity, especially in London, increased, the apprehensions of the timid and over-zealous were revived, and

[1641 A.D.]

three days before his return from Scotland, on the 22nd of November, 1641, a struggle on this subject took place of such duration and violence as had never before been seen in parliament. One party wished to address a Petition and Remonstrance to the king, while the other objected to both. In the petition they requested that Charles would draw up all resolutions in a parliamentary form; that he would remove the bishops from the upper house, and all evil-minded, wicked, and suspicious persons from his councils, and employ only those who had the confidence of the parliament; lastly, that he would annex to the crown the estates to be confiscated in Ireland, in order to defray the expenses of the war. The remonstrance contained a circumstantial enumeration of every evil which had been anywhere mentioned or touched upon since Charles' accession to the throne, put together above two hundred grounds of complaint, and affirmed that the king was surrounded by a wicked party, which wished to change the religion, calumniate the parliament, and had been for years the cause of all evils. Sir Edward Dering, otherwise a warm adversary of the court, said on this occasion: "This remonstrance, if it is carried, must make such an impression on the king, the people, and the parliament, our contemporaries, and posterity, that no time can efface it, so long as history shall be written and read. Let us not rashly and inconsiderately resolve on anything that must afterwards be subjected to a long and rigorous examination. In the whole kingdom there is not a single person who requires or expects such a declaration. It is said that by abolishing the Episcopal constitution of the church, knowledge and learning will not be discouraged, but promoted and diffused. Fair words, but I see no deeds! If you could cut up the moon into stars, you would have the same moon in small pieces, but you would have lost its light and its influence."

SKETCH OF VANDYKE'S PAINTING OF CHARLES I

The speech of Sir Edward Dering was afterwards burned, and he himself expelled from the house.

The parliamentary struggle continued from three o'clock in the afternoon till ten o'clock the following morning, with such vehemence that the members were on the point of drawing their swords upon each other. At length the zealots triumphed by a majority of 159 to 108. "It was," says an eye-witness, "the sentence of a faint and exhausted jury"; but what weight the former attached to the remonstrance, and how much they intended thereby to place the king in a very unfavourable situation, and to deprive him of his newly acquired popularity, is evident from the fact that Cromwell, at the end of the sitting, said to Falkland, that if that motion had not been carried, he, with

many who thought like him, would have sold their property and never seen England again.

Sir Richard Gurney, the mayor, and the aldermen of London acted in a directly contrary spirit. As soon as the king had arrived at Whitehall they repaired thither, with many of the principal citizens, to welcome him and invite him to the city. The recorder made, on this occasion, a most cordial and affectionate speech, to which the king immediately replied.

The entry of the king and his family into London took place with the greatest solemnity. The high officers of state, many lords, all the magistrates, and the most distinguished citizens took part in it. The city militia lined the streets, the houses were gaily decorated, and amidst the ringing of the bells and the sound of music were heard uninterrupted shouts of "Long live the king! God bless King Charles and Queen Henrietta Maria!" After a grand entertainment in Guildhall they accompanied the king to his palace of Whitehall, when he embraced the lord mayor, and again returned his cordial thanks to him and to the city.

This harmony between the king and the citizens, and the everywhere increasing attachment to his majesty, increased the anger and the apprehension of the zealots, especially because many affirmed that drawing up and delivering a remonstrance, without the participation of the consent of the house of lords, was dangerous and illegal. Jeffery Palmer, a lawyer, having maintained this assertion with much learning and eloquence, was committed to the Tower as a fomenter of troubles; and even then the principle was laid down that the house of commons represented the whole kingdom, while the peers, on the other hand, were private persons, possessing only private rights; therefore, if they did not do what was necessary for the preservation and safety of the kingdom, the commons must unite with those lords who had more sympathy with them, and directly address the king.

On the 1st of December, 1641, the petition and remonstrance were presented to the king, to which he promised an answer at a future opportunity. On the 2nd of December he went to the house of lords to pass the bill relative to tonnage and poundage.

Meantime the house of commons had, contrary to usual custom, printed the petition and remonstrance before the receipt of the king's answer, which offended him again, but perhaps hastened his reply and refutation.

New alarms and disputes now arose daily. Thus a bill of the lower house respecting the formation of the Irish army met with difficulties in the upper house, because it was stated in it that the king had no right to levy troops unless in cases of war with foreign powers. As Charles was extremely desirous to hasten the armaments, he suffered himself to be persuaded, probably by the malicious advice of the attorney-general St. John, to go to the parliament in person on the 14th of December, to recommend that the bill might be passed as soon as possible, reserving his and their rights. The two houses took no notice of the well-meant objects of the king's proposal, but attending only to the form, declared unanimously that it was a violation of their rights if his majesty took notice of a bill still pending, proposed alterations, or expressed his displeasure against some persons for matters moved in the parliament; and they desired that he would punish those who had wickedly advised him to take such a step. The king, who after what he had experienced on a former similar occasion might and ought to have foreseen this result, declared, on the 20th of December, that he had no intention whatever of infringing the privilege of parliament by his speech of the 14th, but only wished to bring about more speedy resolutions, and to facilitate their agreement with each

other. Neither had he intended to express any displeasure with a member of parliament for his proposals or votes. The question how he had obtained the knowledge of the bill was easily answered, because it was already printed, nor would he ever require a man of honour to be an informer. If they were as little disposed to infringe his right as he was theirs, there would be no further dispute upon that subject. The bill, however, passed without reserving his right, and he gave his assent to it, in order to allay the ferment in people's minds.

At this same time the attacks upon the bishops, which we have above related, occurred, as well as the dispute with the king about the appointment of Lunsford, a debauched ruffian, as governor of the Tower and the guard of the parliament. While the party attached to the king [1] complained that the commons disdained no means by speaking, writing, printing, preaching, etc., to inflame the people, to excite sedition of all kinds, to free the guilty, and to impede and to disturb the magistrates of London in their useful exertions, it was replied, on the part of the commons, that these reproaches were rather merited by the accusers, and that the members of parliament therefore lived in great apprehension. An impartial examination shows that the commons did not agree to the laudable proposals of the upper house for preserving public tranquillity, partly because many believed that they recognised in the voice of the people the voice of God; nay, that others directly favoured those disturbances, and considered the mob as a necessary and useful ally. Even Pym declared: "God forbid that we should deprive our adherents of their courage, at a time when we ought to make use of all friends whatever." The same man had said before, the law makes the difference between good and evil, between just and unjust. If you take away the law, everything falls into confusion, and license, envy, ambition, fear, then take the place of law, whence the most pernicious consequences must ensue. On the other side, as the lawlessness of the people increased, and young noblemen and officers thought it to be their duty to step forward in defence of the king, in which they too, both in words and deeds, went beyond due bounds, the party names of "Cavaliers" and "Roundheads" arose.[2]

On the 28th of December the king issued a serious proclamation against riots and disturbances, and on the following day Smith again brought forward the subject in the commons. He began by saying: "Permit me to draw your attention to some impediments which oppose a more rapid discussion of important affairs. We have received not only sensible petitions of worthy men, but others from idle and ignorant people, which deserve no attention whatever. Still more offensive, however, is the riotous assemblage of the populace that surrounds the house, and wickedly attempts, with outcries and violence, to prescribe to us what we shall do, or not do; whom we shall accuse or not accuse. Our excessive patience encourages and increases this illegal rage, whereas serious measures would easily restore order. These measures ought to be employed by the magistrates, and a guard ought to be formed for us, which, in case of need, might disperse the rioters by force." In conformity with this proposal, the commons presented to the king the following petition: "We, your majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, who are ready to give our lives and property and the last drop of our blood to maintain your throne

[1 "Charles had at last got a party on his side. If only he could have kept quiet he would probably before long have had a majority, even in the house of commons, on his side."—GARDINER.*b*]

[2 The "Roundheads," or Puritans, were so called from cropping their hair close, while the Cavaliers wore theirs in long curls.]

and person in greatness and glory, throw ourselves at your royal feet, to express to your majesty our humble wishes respecting the great apprehensions and just fears occasioned by wicked intrigues and the design of ruining us; for threats have been uttered against single individuals, and attempts made to destroy all. There is a malignant party which is bitterly opposed to us, and which daily gains confidence and strength, and has already dared to imbrue its hands in the blood of your subjects at the gates of your majesty's palace, and in the face and at the doors of the parliament, and has even used threats and insolent language towards the parliament. We therefore petition your majesty immediately to provide a guard for the protection of parliament, under the command of the earl of Essex."

The king, in his answer of the 3rd of January, 1642, complains of the continued suspicions and unfounded apprehensions. That he was wholly ignorant of the grounds of them, and solemnly assured them that, if he had or should obtain any knowledge or reason to believe the least design of violence against them, he would punish it with the same severity and detestation as if it was the most heinous attempt against his crown. He solemnly pledged his royal word that the security of all the members of parliament, and of each of them, from violence, was as much his care as the preservation of himself and his children; and if this general assurance should not suffice to remove their apprehensions, he would command such a guard to wait upon them as he would be responsible for to Him who had charged him with the safety and protection of his subjects.

THE KING TRIES TO ARREST THE FIVE MEMBERS

On the same day in which Charles made this solemn tranquillizing declaration, Sir Edward Herbert, the attorney-general, appeared in the house of peers and acquainted them that the king had commanded him to accuse of high treason Lord Kimbolton and five members of the house of commons, viz., Sir Arthur Haslerig, John Hampden, Denzil Holles, John Pym, and William Strode. They were accused of endeavouring to subvert the constitution; to make the king odious by calumnies; to seduce the army; to excite war at home and abroad; to alarm the parliament by concerted riots, and to govern it at their pleasure. At the moment when deputies from the house of lords gave notice to the commons of this circumstance, Francis, the sergeant-at-arms, appeared and demanded, in the name of the king, the arrest of the persons accused. The commons replied they would immediately take this important affair into their most serious deliberation, and return an answer, in all due submission, as soon as possible, and also take care that the five members should answer every legal accusation. Their arrest was refused, and it was resolved, with the assent of the lords, that the seals which had been affixed by the king's order to the doors and papers of the accused should be immediately removed, and that they themselves should appear in their places in the house as usual. Every arrest of a member of parliament, said they, is illegal and null; however, they will be produced to answer to every just and legal process, as we are all as ready, as in duty bound, to do justice against evil-doers as to defend the rights and liberties of Britons and of parliament.

Not taking warning by this declaration, the king, in his anger, resolved to effect the arrest of the five members himself, in the house of commons, on the following day. But they received information of this secret plan,

[1642 A.D.]

either through the countess of Carlisle[1] or the French ambassador, on which they were ordered by the house to withdraw, in order to prevent any violence being used. Immediately after the king appeared with numerous attendants [about 500 armed men], who, however, stopped at the door, when he went in, seated himself in the speaker's chair, and made the following speech: "I am sorry for this occasion of coming among you. Yesterday I sent a sergeant-at-arms to apprehend some persons accused by my command of high treason, to which I expected obedience, and not a message. And I must declare unto you here, that albeit no king that ever was in England shall be more careful of your privileges than I, yet you must know that in cases of treason no person has a privilege; therefore I am come to know if any of the accused persons are here. For I must tell you that as long as these persons are here, I cannot expect that this house will be in the right way." The king asking the speaker whether the accused were in the house, or where they were, Lenthall fell upon his knees, and answered: "I have in this place neither eyes to see nor a tongue to speak, except what the house, whose servant I am, commands me; and I beg your majesty's pardon that I can give no other answer."

"I see," continued the king, "that the birds are flown, and expect from you that you will send them to me as soon as they return; but I assure you, on the word of a king, that I never did intend any force, but shall proceed against them in a fair and legal way; and as I cannot do what I came for, I think fit to repeat what I have said formerly, that whatever I have done in favour and to the good of my subjects, I intend to maintain it. I will trouble you no more, but tell you that I expect that as soon as they come to the house you will send them to me, otherwise I must take my own course to find them."

At the moment when the king left the house many called after him, "Privilege! privilege!" and were doubly angry when they heard what rash and threatening language his attendants had used in the lobbies. Equally irritated, Charles went on the following day, the 5th of January, to Guildhall, and confiding in the attachment that had been shown to him, hoped to carry his plan by means of the magistrates and citizens. But here too he failed, and on his return from Guildhall he heard on all sides cries that he ought to agree to the parliament and not violate its rights.

On the same day the house passed the following resolution: "Yesterday, the 4th of January, 1642, his majesty came to the house of commons, accompanied by a great number of persons armed with halberts, swords, and pistols, who occupied the doors and avenues of the house, to the great disturbance and terror of the members, who, according to their duty, were there in a peaceable and orderly manner, deliberating on the public affairs. His majesty seated himself in the speaker's chair and required that several members should be given up. This is a gross violation of the rights and privileges of parliament, incompatible with its safety and liberty; wherefore the house declares that it can no longer meet without full satisfaction for that violation of its rights and a guard deserving of confidence, which it had hitherto requested in vain." Hereupon the commons adjourned till the 11th of April, and appointed a committee for the further management of this affair in particular.

Almost at the same time the city of London presented a petition to the king, to the effect that he would give aid to the Protestants in Ireland; place the Tower in the hands of persons worthy of confidence; remove suspicious persons from court; grant a guard to the parliament; and not proceed against

[1] She had been the mistress of Strafford, and was now in liaison with Pym. The queen is believed to have told her of the plan of arrest.]

the five members, except according to the legal forms. In his justification the king issued a declaration, and ordered the arrest of the five members, who, he said, conscious of their guilt, had absconded and would not surrender to justice. But in the mean time the members had defended themselves at length before the house of commons, which, in increasing animosity, now likewise printed a narrative of the transaction and a counter-declaration. The king, it says, appeared with more than 500 armed men, who pushed aside the door-keepers, and used very offensive and threatening expressions, for instance, "The plague take the house of commons! let them come and hang themselves—when will the word be given?" etc. If this word had been given, they would have fallen upon us and cut our throats. All this proves treacherous plans against the king and parliament. The accused have indeed withdrawn, to avoid many inconveniences, with the consent of the house of commons, but not in consciousness of their guilt. They can now again appear in the house, and everyone may harbour and receive them, under the protection of the parliament. On the other hand, a declaration which has been published respecting these matters, is false, scandalous, and illegal.

As the attorney-general Herbert confessed that he had merely executed the king's commands, though he possessed and knew no proofs of the accusation, a criminal prosecution was instituted against him, and he with his associates was declared an enemy to the country. The king on his part again affirmed that he had no intention of violating the rights of parliament, nay, that he was ready to let the whole accusation drop, and to proclaim a general pardon. He was answered that the innocent needed no pardon, but that the guilty authors must be named and punished.

THE KING LEAVES LONDON

Thus pressed on every side, blamed by all, and alarmed by the tumults which took place even in the vicinity of his palace, the king resolved to leave London till the ferment should be allayed. In fact he abandoned the field to his adversaries, and did not see his capital again till he was brought to it as a prisoner. On the following day, the 11th of January, the five members were brought back to parliament in triumph.

All these highly important events have been judged of in very different ways. The defenders of the king say: It was his duty to seize the chiefs of his opponents, and thereby to set bounds to the spread of the revolution; if this plan had succeeded, he would have received, instead of reproaches, the greatest praise; the house of commons did not hesitate to act against Strafford and the bishops in the manner which was now imputed to the king as a crime, as if the sovereign was not permitted to do what the subjects considered as an honour. On the other side, the king's adversaries saw in his conduct the greatest want of faith, and entertained no doubt that, if he recovered his power, he would revoke all his concessions, and cruelly punish all the friends of the people.[c]

MACAULAY ON THE ATTEMPT ON THE FIVE MEMBERS

The attempt to seize the five members was undoubtedly the real cause of the war. From that moment the loyal confidence with which most of the popular party were beginning to regard the king was turned into hatred and

incurable suspicion. From that moment the parliament was compelled to surround itself with defensive arms. From that moment the city assumed the appearance of a garrison. From that moment, in the phrase of Clarendon,[e] the carriage of Hampden became fiercer, that he drew the sword and threw away the scabbard. For from that moment it must have been evident to every impartial observer that, in the midst of professions, oaths, and smiles, the tyrant was constantly looking forward to an absolute sway and to a bloody revenge.

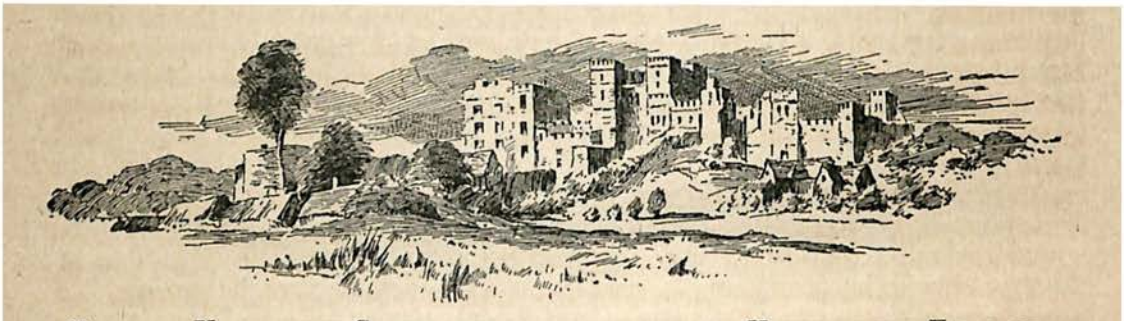
The advocates of Charles have very dexterously contrived to conceal from their readers the real nature of this transaction. By making concessions apparently candid and ample, they elude the great accusation. They allow that the measure was weak and even frantic, an absurd caprice of Lord Digby, absurdly adopted by the king. And thus they save their client from the full penalty of his transgression, by entering a plea of guilty to the minor offence. To us his conduct appears at this day as at the time it appeared to the parliament and the city. We think it by no means so foolish as it pleases his friends to represent it, and far more wicked.

In the first place, the transaction was illegal from beginning to end. The impeachment was illegal. The process was illegal. The service was illegal. If Charles wished to prosecute the five members for treason, a bill against them should have been sent to a grand jury. That a commoner cannot be tried for high treason by the lords, at the suit of the crown, is part of the very alphabet of our law. That no man can be arrested by the king in person is equally clear. This was an established maxim of our jurisprudence even in the time of Edward IV. "A subject," said Chief Justice Markham to that prince, "may arrest for treason: the king cannot; for, if the arrest be illegal, the party has no remedy against the king."

The time at which Charles took this step also deserves consideration. We have already said that the ardour which the parliament had displayed at the time of its first meeting had considerably abated, that the leading opponents of the court were desponding, and that their followers were in general inclined to milder and more temperate measures than those which had hitherto been pursued. In every country, and in none more than in England, there is a disposition to take the part of those who are unmercifully run down and who seem destitute of all means of defence. Every man who has observed the ebb and flow of public feeling in our own time will easily recall examples to illustrate this remark. An English statesman ought to pay assiduous worship to Nemesis, to be most apprehensive of ruin when he is at the height of power and popularity, and to dread his enemy most when most completely prostrated. The fate of the coalition ministry in 1784 is perhaps the strongest instance in our history of the operation of this principle. A few weeks turned the ablest and most extended ministry that ever existed into a feeble opposition, and raised a king who was talking of retiring to Hanover to a height of power which none of his predecessors had enjoyed since the revolution. A crisis of this description was evidently approaching in 1642. At such a crisis, a prince of a really honest and generous nature, who had erred, who had seen his error, who had regretted the lost affections of his people, who rejoiced in the dawning hope of regaining them, would be peculiarly careful to take no step which could give occasion of offence even to the unreasonable. On the other hand, a tyrant whose whole life was a lie, who hated the constitution the more because he had been compelled to feign respect for it, and to whom his own honour and the love of his people were as nothing, would select such a crisis for some appalling violation of law, for some stroke which might remove the chiefs of

an opposition and intimidate the herd. This Charles attempted. He missed his blow, but so narrowly, that it would have been mere madness in those at whom it was aimed to trust him again.

It deserves to be remarked that the king had, a short time before, promised the most respectable royalists in the house of commons, Falkland, Colepeper, and Hyde, that he would take no measure in which that house was concerned without consulting them. On this occasion he did not consult them. His conduct astonished them more than any other members of the assembly. Clarendon[e] says that they were deeply hurt by this want of confidence, and the more hurt because, if they had been consulted, they would have done their utmost to dissuade Charles from so improper a proceeding. Did it never occur to Clarendon, will it not at least occur to men less partial, that there was good reason for this? When the danger to the throne seemed imminent, the king was ready to put himself for a time into the hands of those who, though they disapproved of his past conduct, thought that the remedies had now become worse than the distempers. But we believe that in his heart he regarded both the parties in the parliament with feelings of aversion which differed only in the degree of their intensity, and that the awful warning which



RUINS OF KENILWORTH CASTLE, WHICH PASSED INTO THE HANDS OF THE EARLS OF CLARENDON IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

he proposed to give, by immolating the principal supporters of the remonstrance, was partly intended for the instruction of those who had concurred in censuring the ship-money and in abolishing the Star Chamber.

The commons informed the king that their members should be forthcoming to answer any charge legally brought against them. The lords refused to assume the unconstitutional office with which he attempted to invest them. And what was then his conduct? He went, attended by hundreds of armed men, to seize the objects of his hatred in the house itself. The party opposed to him more than insinuated that his purpose was of the most atrocious kind. We will not condemn him merely on their suspicions. We will not hold him answerable for the sanguinary expressions of the loose brawlers who composed his train. We will judge of his act by itself alone. And we say, without hesitation, that it is impossible to acquit him of having meditated violence, and violence which might probably end in blood. He knew that the legality of his proceedings was denied. He must have known that some of the accused members were men not likely to submit peaceably to an illegal arrest. There was every reason to expect that he would find them in their places, that they would refuse to obey his summons, and that the house would support them in their refusal. What course would then have been left to him?

Unless we suppose that he went on this expedition for the sole purpose of making himself ridiculous, we must believe that he would have had recourse

to force. There would have been a scuffle; and it might not, under such circumstances, have been in his power, even if it had been in his inclination, to prevent a scuffle from ending in a massacre. Fortunately for his fame, unfortunately perhaps for what he prized far more, the interests of his hatred and his ambition, the affair ended differently. The birds, as he said, were flown, and his plan was disconcerted. Posterity is not extreme to mark abortive crimes; and thus the king's advocates have found it easy to represent a step which, but for a trivial accident, might have filled England with mourning and dismay, as a mere error of judgment, wild and foolish, but perfectly innocent. Such was not, however, at the time the opinion of any party. The most zealous royalists were so much disgusted and ashamed that they suspended their opposition to the popular party, and, silently at least, concurred in measures of precaution so strong as almost to amount to resistance.

From that day, whatever of confidence and loyal attachment had survived the misrule of seventeen years was, in the great body of the people, extinguished, and extinguished forever. As soon as the outrage had failed, the hypocrisy recommenced. Down to the very eve of this flagitious attempt, Charles had been talking of his respect for the privileges of parliament and the liberties of his people. He began again in the same style on the morrow; but it was too late. To trust him now would have been, not moderation, but insanity. What common security would suffice against a prince who was evidently watching his season with that cold and patient hatred which, in the long run, tires out every other passion? *i*

BILL AGAINST THE BISHOPS; CONTEST FOR THE MILITIA

The king now, in consequence of his unfavourable position, publicly assumed a very different tone, and on the 20th of January sent a message to parliament, desiring them to comprehend all their grievances and wishes at once in one representation, that he might understand them all, that suspicions and calumnies might cease, and he might show how ready he was to exceed the greatest examples of the most indulgent princes in their acts of grace and favour to the people.

This offer of the king excited the greatest joy, and the house of commons, in the petition of the 19th of February, stated most of its demands: That the king would appoint to offices only persons whom the parliament proposed to him, and remove all others; that he would not listen to the advice of the queen respecting the affairs of the state or the church, and would lay before her an oath drawn up for the purpose; not conclude a marriage of a prince or princes without the consent of parliament, would not go out of the country, would punish Catholic priests according to the laws, exclude the Catholic lords from the upper house, sell no offices, and nominate no peer without the consent of the house. Not to mention that the granting of these demands would have placed almost the whole administration in the hands of the house of commons, they interfered in the personal and family affairs of the king. About the same time a letter from Lord Digby to the queen was opened by order of parliament, and an accusation of treason brought against him in consequence. The queen wrote very politely that she left the letter and the judgment to the house of commons, and only requested a copy. The house, in its answer, laid indeed all the blame upon the lord, but begged her not to listen to him and others of the same opinion. After such experience, the queen set sail without delay (lest a prohibition might be given), with her daughter Mary, for the Nether-

lands, and took the crown jewels and other valuables with her, in order, in case of need, to use them for hostile purposes.

Meantime the attacks against the constitution and the church were renewed with the greatest warmth. Already, on the 4th of February, a brewer's wife, in the name of many gentlewomen, merchants' wives, and other females, presented a petition against the bloodthirsty papists and prelates. They said they had a right to give their opinion in these matters, because Christ had redeemed them as well as the men, as they shared in all the sufferings of the state as well as the church, and that Esther and other women were to be considered as their models. Pym answered, in the name of the house of commons: "Good women, your petition, with the annexed arguments, has been read; it has been received with thanks, and found seasonable." In general, many petitions were received at this time, with increasing demands from different parts of the country, which parliament readily received when they coincided with its views, otherwise rejected them with censure. Petitions from apprentices, sailors, and porters against Catholics and prelates were readily listened to; offensive songs against them were publicly sung, and dogs with black and white heads were called bishops.

On the 5th of February the bill against the bishops (that is, the first, not the Root and Branch bill) was passed by the upper house, only three of them having formally opposed it; and when Charles did not immediately grant the assent which they required, an urgent application of the parliament was made, on the 8th of February, to hasten so necessary and important a business, for the exclusion of the bishops from the upper house and from civil offices. Charles gave his assent to the bill, on the 13th of February, without, however, attaining his object or gaining general approbation; for, while he did not convert any adversary, he lost many adherents, and gave ground for the belief that there was no security for the latter, because everything was to be obtained from him, and he aided in covering what was extorted by force with the appearance of legality.

Still more important in their consequences than this bill against the bishops were the demands and disputes respecting the army and the militia. Only two days after the departure of the king from London, the house of commons issued orders to the governors of the Tower and of the town of Hull not to do anything without the command of parliament; and on the 25th of January, though the lords, after a long interchange of notes, refused their consent, it requested that the king would place the fortresses and the militia in the hands of persons in whom the parliament confided. On the 7th of February, the king declared that he would give the chief command to the persons whom the parliament recommended.

On the 9th of February, 1642, a new bill on the militia was passed, and two days afterwards a lord lieutenant appointed by the house of commons for each county, whose commission is in the following terms: As a most dangerous and desperate plan has lately been formed, in consequence of the sanguinary counsels of the papists and other evil-disposed persons, and as in consequence of the Irish Rebellion, and for other reasons, sedition and war are to be apprehended, therefore, for the safety of the king, the parliament, and the kingdom, power is hereby given to ——— by the king and both houses, to call together all his majesty's subjects in the county to arms, exercise them, and to appoint or dismiss officers. He is to expect further orders from the king and both houses, and his power shall continue till it be otherwise ordered or declared by both houses of parliament (the king is not mentioned here), and no longer.

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When these resolutions were submitted to the king for his approbation, he answered, on the 28th of February, in substance as follows: The preamble, which speaks of dangerous and desperate designs against the house of commons, contains a reproach upon my conduct and appearance in parliament, respecting which I have already sufficiently declared myself. I consider it as not advisable to put such great power in the hands of any other person for an indefinite time.

After receiving his answer, both houses resolved that it contained an absolute denial of all their proposals; that it put peace and security to hazard, unless a remedy was provided by the wisdom and authority of parliament; all who had advised it were enemies to the king and kingdom.

Disregarding his objections, the bill on the militia passed both houses of parliament, with the addition that it should have legal validity without the king's assent. One of the lords expressing a doubt whether this was not contrary to the oath of allegiance, it was read, and the question resolved in the negative. No attention was paid to a protest of sixteen lords, or to the objections of Hyde and other prudent men in the lower house. Two days later, both houses represented to the king the grounds of their suspicion and fears, in a declaration which recalls to mind the former Remonstrance. They mention danger to the Protestant church, the influence of the Jesuits, the negotiations of the queen in Rome, the war against Scotland, rebellion in Ireland, endeavours to gain the army and to employ it against the parliament, the unjust accusation of the five members, the refusal to name the authors of it or to prove its truth, the ill-conduct of the royalists towards peaceable citizens, the reinforcement of the royal guard, and the refusal of a guard to the parliament; manifold advertisements from letters that had been opened, accounts from Rome, Venice, and Paris of violent designs, extraordinary levies, calumnies of the parliament, the retirement of the king from London, and preparations for internal war. "An easy and safe way is open to the king to happiness, honour, greatness, plenty and security, if he will sincerely join with the parliament and his faithful subjects in defence of religion and the public good. This, with his necessary and salutary return to London, is all that we ask and request of him."

When this declaration was laid before the king at Newmarket, he said, with very animated gestures: "The declaration of the parliament is no means to induce me to return, and in the whole rhetoric of Aristotle there is no argument of this kind. The affairs of Ireland cannot be put in order by four hundred persons, but must be confided to one; and, though I am myself a beggar, I will procure the means to do it, and accomplish the work." The earl of Pembroke asking what he required, Charles answered, a schoolboy must be whipped who cannot answer that question. Being then asked by the earl whether he would grant the militia, as was required by the parliament, for a time, he answered, "No, not for an hour; it is a thing with which I would not trust my wife and children."

Three days after this conversation the king sent a message to both houses, in which he said that he was resolved to observe all the laws, and to require obedience to them from his subjects, but that no law could be valid or have authority without his assent. In reply to this, the commons voted that those who had advised the king to send this message, and to keep at a distance from London, were enemies to their country; that when the two houses declared anything to be law, to have this not only questioned and controverted, but contradicted, and a command that it should not be obeyed, is a high breach of the privilege of parliament.

The parliament, in its excessive zeal, would not observe that the king's declaration was conformable to custom, to law, and to reason; theirs, on the other hand, abolished the constitution in one of its most essential points, and was just as unreasonable as the demand of Charles, which had formerly been so severely censured, that his proclamations should pass as laws without the consent of parliament. But if the house of commons went too far, there was the more reason to expect that the upper house would put a check upon its proceedings, as it had before disapproved of the demand respecting the militia. On this account Pym concluded a much-admired speech, on the 25th of January, with the words: "If the upper house holds back, the lower house must do its duty. Then history will testify how it was compelled to save the kingdom alone, and the house of peers have no part in the honour." Intimidated by these and similar expressions, and blind to its own real advantage, the house of lords acceded to those resolutions relative to the legislation.

THE KING SHUT OUT AT HULL

During this correspondence, in spite of all the violent language, nothing serious was done to suppress the Irish insurrection, which was becoming more and more general. For which reason, the king proposed, on the 11th of April, to go himself to Ireland and put an end to the troubles. But the parliament, fearing that Charles would form and gain over a Protestant army, or would reconcile himself with the Catholics on advantageous terms, sought for all kinds of specious reasons to decline the proposal. The king, they said, exposes himself without necessity to danger, and encourages the rebels, who boast of his support; encourages suspicion, increases expense, and interrupts the course of business. Therefore no levy, carrying on of war, or appointment by the king must be approved or tolerated; but the kingdom must be governed with, and according to, the advice and regulations of the parliament.

About the same time an event took place which necessarily afforded Charles grounds for new complaint. As far back as the 12th of January the house of commons had ordered that the town of Hull, which was amply provided with military stores, should not be delivered up to any person without an order from the king, given to the governor through parliament. This resolution was communicated to the king for his information, without his having been previously consulted; and on the 15th of April written orders were sent to Sir John Hotham in Hull, and in the same manner to all the sheriffs and officers in the country, to obey only the commands of the parliament. Charles hereupon appointed the earl of Newcastle governor of Hull in the room of Hotham, but he was not received; nay, the king himself was, contrary to all example, refused admittance at the gates. On the 26th of April a message from him was presented to the parliament, stating that on the 23rd of April he desired to see the stores at Hull, and dispose of them for the public service in the north of England and Ireland; but that Hotham, though he was unable to produce any written order from parliament, had refused to admit him and only twenty attendants; that, on account of such conduct to his king and master, Hotham had been declared a traitor.

This account agrees in all the essential points with that of Hotham. The latter declared on his knees from the rampart that he could not admit anybody without breach of the confidence placed in him by parliament. For, though the king was not named in its orders, there could be no doubt whatever of their sense and object. Hotham, too, was certainly in great embarrassment

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when the mayor and citizens appeared on the rampart, contrary to his orders; and it was apprehended that the king might persuade them by his friendly language.

Far from appeasing Charles' just anger, by giving a plausible turn to the affair, and trying to effect a reconciliation, the parliament, immediately on receiving the royal message, declared that Hotham and the citizens of Hull deserved commendation for their conduct, which tended to the preservation of peace; it promised rewards to the soldiers, and ordered a copperplate to be burned by the hangman which represented Hotham triumphant on horseback upon the rampart, and the king on the outside begging for admittance, on foot. The parliament wrote to the king that he should not see in Hotham's conduct any violation of his authority, but a just cause to unite with his parliament for the preservation of peace, and the suppression of a wicked and malignant party, which is the cause of all the dangers and misfortunes.

Proceeding in the same course, the parliament passed, in May, 1642, the following resolutions: "The bill on the militia shall be law, without the consent of the king. He is not entitled to summon a free man, and he who takes arms by his orders shall be considered as committing a breach of the peace. No person henceforth raised by the king to the peerage shall have a seat and vote in the upper house. Charles' plan to levy war against the parliament is a breach of the confidence placed in him by the people, as well as of his coronation oath, and aims at the subversion of the constitution. Every person supporting him in it is a traitor. The king, like his predecessors, must confide only in the fidelity and affection of his subjects, and give up all violent plans, otherwise we think ourselves bound to maintain justice, peace, and order by all the means in our power." All these violent proposals and resolutions were not only approved of by the lords, but some of the most violent even originated with them.

The king did not delay replying to the complaints that were made, but wrote to the parliament an answer, in which are the following passages: "You consider everything as a breach of your privileges; nothing as an infringement of my rights. You declare everybody, previous to all proof, at your own discretion, a traitor; I, on the other hand, am expected to be silent to the most notorious faults. Were your apprehensions just, which they are not, they could not dispense with and destroy the laws. Give up at length indefinite accusations, name those whom you call evil counsellors, and prove that they are such. You tell me I ought to cherish no suspicion of the great council of parliament. I cherish no more against you than you against me your king. If the majority of the members of parliament might, by a mere declaration, set up anything as incontrovertible right, what security would there be for any right already existing? I therefore conclude my justification with the words of Pym, which ought to be duly taken to heart by you: 'If the king's prerogative overcomes the liberty of the people, tyranny ensues; and when the king's prerogatives are undermined, anarchy follows.' "

THE DECLARATIONS OF PARLIAMENT AND THE NINETEEN PROPOSITIONS

The result of the debates was two declarations from the parliament of the 21st and 26th of May. The former says: If the king denies the existence of evil counsellors, we must impute the blame of what has been done to him, which would be as contrary to the laws as to the feelings of our hearts; the kingdom ought never to be destitute of the means of its preservation, and

to procure these is the business of the king and the parliament. But as the former, being an individual, is more liable to the accidents of nature and of chance, and the multitude must not be left without rule and guide, parliament has been furnished with power to supply that which is wanting on the part of the king; and when both houses have declared that such a state of things exists, this declaration requires no further confirmation, and cannot be revoked or abolished by any other. It is therefore to be wished and hoped that the king will not suffer himself to be guided by his own judgment in public affairs, but by the great council of the nation—the two houses of parliament, which are the two eyes of the nation.

The second declaration of the 26th of May relates chiefly to the events at Hull. They say the king speaks improperly of his city, his magazines, his ammunition, etc. They no more belong to him than to the whole kingdom. From this fundamental error, that kingdoms are the property of kings, arises all tyranny. But if the king, or others, had such a right to any town, etc., the parliament may, however, take such measures respecting it that no danger may accrue to the country from such claims. The king is bound by his conscience, justice, and his coronation oath, to sanction every bill laid before him, for he is to remedy all the grievances of the kingdom; but, to decide what are grievances, and whether new laws are necessary, the representatives of the whole nation are the fittest, and the form of rejecting a bill, *le Roi s'avisera*, does not imply an absolute refusal, but only a delay, which must yield on the repeated demands of the parliament. It is here the judge between the king and the people; the king therefore was wrong in endeavouring to take possession of Hull, without the knowledge and contrary to the will of the parliament; and what Hotham did was for the advantage of the king himself, and also right, inasmuch as it was agreeable to the laws. On the other hand, it was unjust to declare Hotham a traitor without observing the legal forms, whence an opinion originates that all those who gave him orders or approved his proceedings were traitors also. Treason may doubtless be committed against the king as king; but treason against the kingdom is more than treason against the person of the king merely. Nor can the levying of war for the maintenance of the laws be considered as war against the king; but it is contrary to the oath of allegiance for anyone to serve the king against the country.

A few days afterwards, in the beginning of June, the parliament laid before the king nineteen propositions, upon which it was ready to be reconciled with him. Ministers, privy councillors, tutors to the royal princes, and all high officers of state shall be appointed with the approbation of parliament, and all those removed of whom it does not approve. The same consent is necessary to the marriage of members of the royal family. The laws against the papists, Jesuits, etc., shall not only be enforced but made more rigorous, and the children of the former be intrusted to Protestants for their education. Catholic lords shall lose their votes in the upper house. The king approves beforehand the reformation of all abuses in the church. The king recalls his declaration respecting the militia, and confirms that of the parliament. All judges and civil officers hold their places only during good behaviour; members of parliament who have lost offices shall be restored to them, or indemnified. Every person appointed to an office takes a new oath, drawn up in conformity to the new legislation. All persons cited by either house must appear, and abide its censure. It determines what exceptions are to be made to the amnesty offered by the king. The king shall dismiss his military guard, and not appoint any commander without the approbation of parlia-

ment. Levies of troops to be made only according to law, in case of rebellion or of hostile invasion. No lord to be admitted into the upper house without the consent of the commons. The king consents that the five members shall be cleared by an act of parliament, so that we may be secured in future against such proceedings.

Not to mention that the above conditions were extremely intolerant in respect to religion, and required beforehand the sanction of future resolutions which were then entirely unknown, they undoubtedly annihilated the royal authority in many essential points, destroyed the intended balance of the legislative powers, and gave a decisive preponderance to the parliament. Yet some zealous royalists advised concession, because the king had no arms and no money, and the hope of gaining the fleet was wholly delusive on account of the sentiments of the principal officers. Notwithstanding these arguments, Charles would the less resolve to accept those oppressive terms, as he had promised the queen not to take any final resolutions without her knowledge and consent. It was her wish that the blessings of peace might be restored through her mediation, and that the people's dislike to her might be removed. Charles, too, hoped to effect a change in the tempers of the people by a new and clear statement of his views and his rights. He first answered the declarations of parliament on the 26th of May, in the following manner: "No person who reads this writing will think that we have much reason to be satisfied with it; it is forged in a hotter oven than others. Yet we must praise the openness and sincerity of the authors, who will no longer suffer us to be mocked by saying, 'We will make you a great and glorious king,' while they with the greatest dexterity plague us into distress and want; or 'We will make you beloved at home and feared abroad,' while every means is adopted to make us odious to our subjects and contemptible to foreign princes.

"On the contrary, they now say to us in plain English, We have done you no wrong, for no wrong can be done to the king. We have taken nothing from you, because you possess nothing that could be taken. Everyone who is not of their opinion they class among a malignant and wicked party, and believe, placing themselves above us, that they may do everything that they may think fit. But what then is tyranny, except recognising no law but one's own will; and in Athens that of the thirty tyrants was the most oppressive. If a party accidentally obtains the majority or the preponderance, and then outlaws its opponents and abolishes the laws themselves, is that, in form or in substance, right? The paramount right of the king does not abolish the property of individuals, and he may certainly have a right to Hull without violating private property. If an office was trusted to Hotham, a much higher one is intrusted to the king; or do they understand our office so that we shall be entitled only to destroy our own rights and our government? The parliament then considers itself alone as infallible and unlimited, and says, like the Irish rebels, we do everything for the good of the king and the kingdom. The authors of that declaration endeavour in every way to make the king odious. The people, however, will in the sequel feel the burdens and the misery which these pretended deliverers bring upon them. All evil, according to them, comes from evil counsellors, whom they do not name; from conspiracies, which nobody discovers; from suspicions, which nobody understands. But, indeed, he who thinks that Hotham's conduct to the king is a proof of affection and loyalty, might also affirm that the papists, or even the Turks, drove us from London; he might in the same affectionate and loyal manner bow us entirely out of the kingdom. According to the notion of the parliament, none of its members could be accused of theft or murder till inquiry was made at London

whether it was agreeable to all the others. The principles of the innovations are: the parliament has the unlimited and sole right of declaring the laws, and what it declares is right. No law or custom can limit its omnipotent will, and the king's assent to the laws is not necessary. He has no veto, but is subject to the commands of the parliament. If it does the utmost that other parliaments attempted, this is no violation of moderation and duty; that is to say, as some already openly proclaim, they may depose the king without deserving blame on that account. After such language and with such principles, which cannot be carried to a greater height, we may justly expect the most culpable actions."

By this declaration, and various accounts which were received, the parliament was still more embittered, accepted voluntary contributions, and ordered loans for the preservation of the Protestant religion, of the king, as well as of his rights and dignities, of the laws, of peace, and of the privileges of parliament. Nine lords and sixty-five members of the house of commons, who disapproved the resolutions, and most of whom had joined the king, were accused and excluded from parliament. But Charles issued, on the 13th of June, a new declaration, to the effect that he required no obedience or assistance except according to the laws of the land; he would esteem everybody who would render him services in this sense, for the preservation of religion and the constitution. He would not commence war, nor raise men for that purpose, but only in case of an unjust attack to defend himself and his friends.

Two days later the king again declared before God and the world that he abhorred all thoughts of war, and called upon his counsellors, and the numerous lords assembled about him, to testify that he had the most serious wish for peace. Hereupon they declared: We are fully convinced that his majesty has no hostile intentions, nor do we know of any councils or preparations that might excite a belief of such plans; on the contrary, the king desires to maintain religion, justice, liberty, and the laws. Disregarding these testimonies, which the parliament assumed to be partial, surreptitious, or false, it declared everybody guilty who should obey the king's commands respecting the militia, prohibited any payments of money being made to him, and at length, on the 12th of July, resolved that an army should be raised for the security of the king's person, for the defence of the parliament, the preservation of religion, the laws, liberty, and peace.

In this moment of mad infatuation, when many considered a civil war, that most dreadful of all evils, as fortunate, or as a deliverance from evils, some at least shuddered at the abyss before them, and warned against the danger with all the energy of their heart and understanding. Thus Whitelocke, though otherwise a zealous adherent of the parliament, says: "Our misery is the joy of our enemies, and the Catholics, who call us heretics, impel us towards it by all kinds of means and arts, well knowing that nothing can extend their dominion so much as our disunion. We were blessed by a long and happy peace; but, instead of enjoying with moderation and gratitude the many blessings given us by God, we have become proud and luxurious, so that God suffers us to punish ourselves by a civil war. It is surprising how we have gradually and imperceptibly drawn nearer to this war, and were, as if unconscious, borne along by the waves. From a paper war, we have come, through declarations, representations, remonstrances, resolutions, messages, answers, and replies, to the levy of a military force and the appointment of generals and commanders.

"We must place our laws and liberties, our property and lives, in the hands of insolent mercenaries, whose violence and fury will then command us and all

we possess; reason, honour, and justice will abandon our country, the base will command the noble, vice prevail over virtue, and wickedness over piety. From being a powerful people, we shall become weak and be the instruments of our own destruction."

Benjamin Rudyard spoke to the same effect: "That we may the better understand the situation in which we are, let us look back three years. Would anyone at that time have thought it possible that the queen, for whatever reason, would go to Holland, the king leave London and his parliament, such a dreadful insurrection break out in Ireland, and such disputes and disorders in church and state? On the other hand, if anyone had said: In consequence of new laws, the parliament will be assembled every three years; ship-money, monopolies, the court of High Commission and the Star Chamber be abolished; the bishops removed from the upper house, the forests limited, nay, that we should possess a parliament which cannot be dissolved without its own consent —who would not have considered this as a dream of happiness? But now that we possess and enjoy all this, we think only of future securities and guarantees, as if they were not included in the possession of these things, which mutually support and maintain each other. Let us not, for the sake of a precarious future security, risk everything, or fancy that we possess nothing because we have not everything that we wish. Everyone is bound to the utmost of his power to hinder bloodshed; for blood cries to heaven, and defiles the country. Let us therefore secure liberty and property, but in such a manner that we do not at the same time lose our own souls."

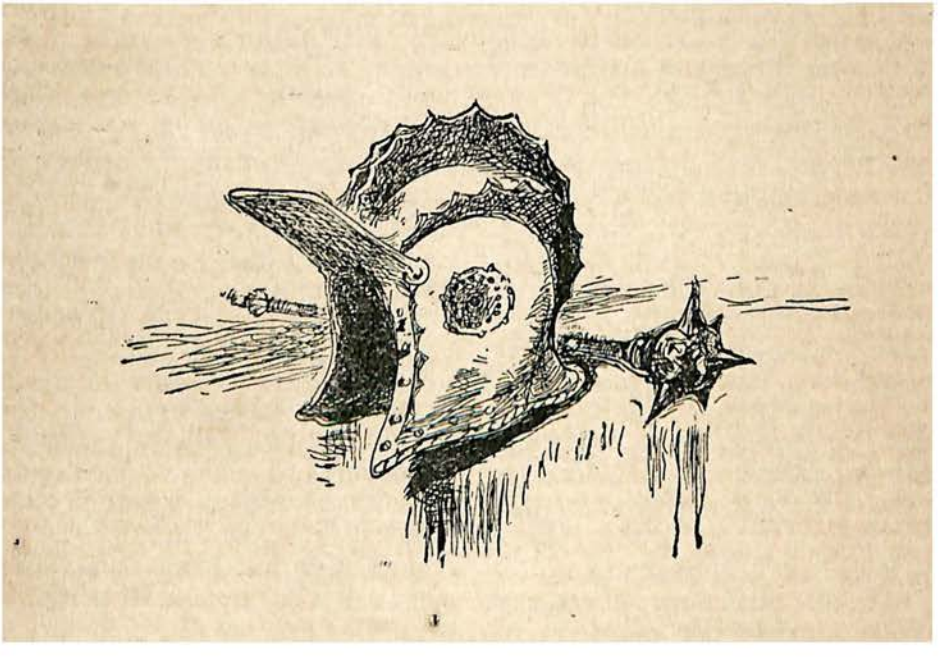
PREPARATIONS FOR WAR

These eloquent warnings so far produced an effect that the parliament again sent a petition to the king respecting peace. After an introduction on the dangers of the times, on the armaments made by Charles, and his erroneous ideas of deciding everything by force, it demanded that he disband all troops, suspend all levies, and repair to parliament, which was ready, on those terms, to desist from all preparations for war, to regulate military affairs by a new and suitable bill, and to prove that the members valued the king's welfare, safety, honour, and greatness much more than their own happiness and lives, which they would most heartily and willingly devote to his support and preservation. The king replied, that it was no proof of moderation and love of peace that the preamble to their petition laid all the blame upon him, and that at the same time Essex was appointed commander, and the mayor of London arrested because he had obeyed the king's commands. Then follows a repeated justification of his conduct, with the remark that the parliament had armed and caused force to be employed against him at Hull, at a time when not a single man had been raised by him; and yet it was certainly for the king, in case of undoubted danger, to be the first to adopt defensive measures. He therefore called upon them to prevent disorders, duly to punish the authors of seditious publications, and to designate as delinquents only such as violated the laws, and not the faithful servants of the king. If Hull were delivered to him, the persons named by him placed over the fleet, the military preparations stopped, the parliament removed to a place of safety, and if it were acknowledged that his assent was necessary to general laws, he would pardon and forget all that was past, cease armaments and levies, and give his royal word before God that he did not and would not think of any hostilities.

The parliament answered, at the end of July, that till the causes which had led to the present state of things were all removed, their duty to the king and kingdom forbade them to accept the above proposals. On the 2nd of August it detailed at length the causes for which recourse was had to arms. A wicked and impious party, they said, had attempted to overthrow the constitution in church and state, and now required that they should give themselves up, unarmed, to their will and pleasure. But the lords and commons were resolved to risk their lives and fortunes for the defence and preservation of true religion, of the king's person, honour, and dignity, of the power and rights of parliament, and the liberty of all the subjects. Everyone, therefore, who had any sense of piety and honour, and was bound by his duties to God, the king, and the country, was called upon to hasten to their defence.

At the same time, the house of commons declared those lords who had repaired to the king to be incapable of sitting in the upper house, accused them as traitors, and ordered them to be imprisoned. It commanded new taxes, such as tonnage and poundage, to be levied; levied recruits with increased activity, dismissed and arrested Gurney, the mayor of London, who would not second these measures, and swore to live and to die with the earl of Essex, the new general. The king had before called upon the earls of Essex and Holland to attend him as officers of his court; but they replied that they were more necessary in parliament, where they could do him better service. Hereupon the king, on the 11th of August, declared the earl of Essex and his followers to be rebels; and, on the other side, the parliament gave the same name to all the adherents of the king.

After the struggle had been thus begun by both sides, in word and deed, it seems merely a symbol that the king, on the 25th of August, 1642, caused the royal standard to be raised at Nottingham. It bore a hand pointing to a crown, with the motto, "Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's." In the first night a dreadful storm threw down the standard from the eminence on which it had been erected, so that it could not be replaced till two days afterwards. This accident was considered by many as a bad omen.[c]



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CHAPTER XI. THE LAST DAYS OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS (1578–1587 A.D.)

b A. LANG, *The Mystery of Mary Stuart.*—*c* MICHEL DE CASTELNAU, *Mémoires.*—*d* T. KEIGHTLEY, *History of England.*—*e* J. LINGARD, *History of England.*—*f* H. HALLAM, *Constitutional History of England.*—*g* C. KNIGHT, *Popular History of England.*—*h* A. C. SWINBURNE, article on "Mary" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—*i* F. H. EGERTON, *Life of Lord Egerton.*—*j* D. HUME, *History of England.*—*k* F. A. M. MIGNET, *Marie Stuart.*—*l* J. A. FROUDE, *History of England.*—*m* L. VON RANKE, *Englische Geschichte.*—*n* W. CAMDEN, *Annales.*

CHAPTER XII. THE SPANISH ARMADA (1588 A.D.)

b S. R. GARDINER, *Students' History of England.*—*c* C. KNIGHT, *Popular History of England.*—*d* L. VON RANKE, *Englische Geschichte.*—*e* W. CAMDEN, *Annales.*—*f* J. LINGARD, *History of England.*—*g* E. VAN METEREN, *Belgische of Nederlandsche Historie.*—*h* P. C. BOR, *Oorsproongk, begin ende verfolg der Nederlantscher Oorlogen.*—*i* FAMIANUS STRADA, *De Bello Belgico.*—*j* CARLOS CALOMA, *Las Guerras de los estados Baxos.*—*k* J. STOW, *Annales.*—*l* C. MACFARLANE AND T. THOMSON, *Comprehensive History of England.*—*m* J. L. MOTLEY, *History of the United Netherlands.*—*n* J. WHITE, *History of England.*

CHAPTER XIII. THE LAST YEARS OF ELIZABETH (1589–1603 A.D.)

b JOHN R. GREEN, *Short History of the English People.*—*c* E. LODGE, *Illustrations of British History.*—*d* J. LINGARD, *History of England.*—*e* T. KEIGHTLEY, *History of England.*—*f* S. R. GARDINER, article on "Raleigh" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica.*—*g* S. R. GARDINER, *Students' History of England.*—*h* W. CAMDEN, *Annales.*—*i* D. HUME, *History of England.*—*j* HENRY WOTTON, *Reliquiæ Wottonianæ.*—*k* BEAUMONT, *MS. Letters.*—*l* F. VON RAUMER, *Political History of England.*—*m* JOHN HARINGTON, *Nugæ Antiquæ.*—*n* PAUL HENTZNER, *Journey Through Germany, France, Italy, etc.*—*o* FRANCIS OSBORNE, *Memoirs.*—*p* FAUNT, quoted in Birch's *Court and Times of James I.*—*q* R. NAUNTON, *Fragmenta Regalia.*—*r* M. CREIGHTON, *Queen Elizabeth.*—*s* LORD BACON, *In Felicem Memoriam Elizabethiæ.*

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Chapter XIX. Charles I and Strafford (1629–1641 A.D.)

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CHAPTER XX. COMMONS AGAINST CROWN (1641–1642 A.D.)

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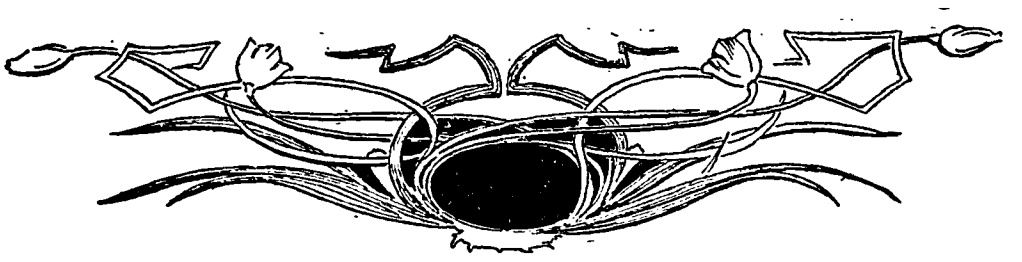

CHRONOLOGICAL SUMMARY OF THE HISTORY OF ENGLAND

FROM 1485 TO 1642 A.D.

1485 Death of Queen Anne. Richard proposes to marry his niece, Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV. Henry Tudor, earl of Richmond, lands at Milford Haven. Richard marches to meet him, and is defeated and slain at Bosworth. Parliament declares for Richmond, who becomes king as **Henry VII.**

1486 Henry marries Elizabeth of York. The uprising of Lord Lovel is suppressed.

1487 Lambert Simnel, calling himself the earl of Warwick, is made the centre of a revolt in Ireland supported by the earls of Kildare and Lincoln and Lord Lovel. The rebels cross to England, and are defeated by Henry at Stoke. Lincoln is killed. The court of Star Chamber is established.

1492 Perkin Warbeck, who calls himself Richard of York, lands in Ireland. Henry invades France, but abandons the war, and concludes a treaty of peace at Etaples.

1494 Poyning's Act is passed by the Irish parliament.

1495 Perkin Warbeck makes his first landing in England.

1496 James IV of Scotland invades England in behalf of Perkin Warbeck.

1497 Perkin Warbeck is overcome and captured in Cornwall. Henry sends the Cabots on a voyage to America.

1499 Perkin Warbeck and the earl of Warwick are executed.

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

1501 Arthur, prince of Wales, marries Catherine of Aragon.

1502 Prince Arthur dies. Catherine is contracted to Prince Henry.

1503 Princess Margaret marries James IV of Scotland.

1509 Henry dies.

1509 Accession of **Henry VIII.** Junction of houses of York and Lancaster. Henry VIII's marriage to Catherine of Aragon. Execution of Empson and Dudley on charge of threatened conspiracy for carrying off the king.

1511 Henry, having arranged domestic affairs, engages in European politics. Pope Julius establishes the Holy League to protect Italy against designs of Louis XII. Henry VIII joins the League.

1512 English army sent to co-operate with Ferdinand of Spain in south of France. Disorganisation of English army, which returns under Dorset in same year. At sea an indecisive battle fought off the coast of Brittany between England and France. The French are worsted in Italy and driven from the pope's domains. Death of Pope Julius.

1513 Accession of Pope Leo X. Henry VIII arranges a combined attack with Maximilian against France. The combined army besieges Terouanne (Thérouanne). Battle of the Spurs (August 16th); panic of the French soldiery before the allied troops. The fall of Terouanne and capture of Tournay by the English. Execution of Suffolk after seven years' imprisonment. James IV of Scotland quarrels with English. Invasion of England (August). Battle of Flodden Field (September 9th). Defeat of the Scotch. Death of James and of many of the Scotch nobility.

1514 The dissolution of the Holy League is followed by the conclusion of peace with France. Henry VIII receives in exchange for peace terms large payments of money. The peace is ratified by the marriage of Mary, sister of Henry VIII, to Louis of France. Louis dies three months later.

1515 Wolsey made archbishop of York by Henry, and the pope creates him a cardinal. He then becomes chancellor, with control of the entire government business. His aspiration after peace as symbol of the national greatness. Francis I, successor to Louis XII of France, attempts to reconquer the Milanese from Maxmilian Sforza. Milan is occupied by the French. A confederacy formed between England, France, and Spain against foreign aggression, and followed by a treaty (1518).

1516 Death of Ferdinand of Spain. Succession of his grandson Charles. Francis I of France and Charles become the rivals for supremacy on the Continent. Growing power of Wolsey. His primary object, to uphold the supremacy of the church. He enters on a course of arbitrary rule and provokes the dislike of both the nobility and commonalty. Birth of the princess Mary.

1515–1518 Wolsey and the Renaissance. Wolsey's peace aspirations reflected the spirit of his age. Internal peace being secured, men now sought some nobler object than merely their self-preservation. An outburst of intellectual vigour, receiving its impulse from Italy, characterises this period of Wolsey's pre-eminence. While Wolsey's own vision was turned towards the growing political importance of England, on the Continent great artists and poets arose who were not content with this, but sought to express in colour, and verse, and tone the new feeling of admiration for human action and human beauty. The spirit of the Renaissance reached England slowly. The invention of printing brought literature within reach of the uninitiated. In the English Renaissance there was no such breach with the old religious faith as in Italy. The Oxford reformers (1510) endeavour to introduce study of Greek into the University. St. Paul's School founded by Colet. Thomas More among its scholars. His *Utopia* (1515–1516) a satire on the defects of English government by picturing an imaginary ideal government.

1518 More, the author of *Utopia* (1515), is knighted and becomes privy councillor.

1519 Death of the emperor Maximilian (January). His grandson Charles succeeds as king of Spain. A struggle inevitable between Charles and Francis of France. Both sovereigns candidates for the empire, and Charles is chosen Emperor Charles V. An English alliance is sought by both Charles and Francis, and a personal meeting is arranged between Francis and Henry VIII.

1520 The meeting of the Field of the Cloth of Gold. Henry interviews Charles subsequently. Through Wolsey's scheming, England becomes pledged to the interest of Charles. Wolsey, arbitrating on their respective claims in certain grievances, pronounces against the French. Wolsey's aspiration for the papacy and promise of Charles' support. Death of the pope and election of Adrian of Utrecht as his successor.

1521 Execution of the duke of Buckingham on charge of high treason. Quarrel of Luther with Henry VIII. Henry receives from the pope title of Defender of the Faith for having written a work against Luther.

1522 Francis attempts to excite disaffection against England in Ireland and Scotland. The attempt proves ineffectual.

1522–1523 Expeditions sent by England under command of Surrey and Suffolk against France. Charles of Spain joins the English forces. The combined attack, however, proves a failure.

1523 Wolsey summons a parliament (the first since 1515) and demands a grant of £800,000 for war purposes, which parliament refuses. Wolsey again disappointed in hopes of papacy. Election of Clement VII to succeed Adrian.

1524 Wolsey abandons warlike preparations and enters into pacific relations with court of France. Defeat of the French by the Imperialists near Romagnano. The French evacuate Italy. Another decisive battle follows, resulting in the French defeat at Pavia and capture of Francis. Wolsey dissolves several small monasteries.

1525 Henry proposes invasion of France in conjunction with Charles of Spain. Charles declines proposal. Wolsey then transfers his support to Francis. He upholds the pope against the enemies of the church, which he identifies with the cause of Charles. Henry endeavours through Wolsey to raise a forced loan. Meets with great opposition throughout the country, and finally abandons the attempt. Treaty of peace signed between England and France in autumn of 1525.

1526 Negotiations with France are continued, and in following year Wolsey visits France with proposal for marriage of Princess Mary to son of the French king. The question of the legitimacy of the princess is raised.

1527 Henry questions the legitimacy of his marriage with Catherine, and submits the case to the pope. Wolsey supports Henry in his wish for a divorce.

1528 Pope Clement appoints Wolsey and Cardinal Campeggio his legates to adjudicate on the question of the validity of Henry's marriage. Finally he annuls the proceedings in England, and calls the cause to Rome.

1529 The failure of these negotiations, combined with the growing unpopularity of Wolsey in the country, bring about the latter's downfall. The king strips him of his offices, and in the following year orders his arrest on charge of high treason. Sir Thomas More becomes chancellor. Meeting for the first time of the Seven Years' Parliament (November 3rd) which carried through the final severance from Rome.

1530 Death of Wolsey at Leicester. Cromwell attracts the king's notice and is raised to office. Henry renews the divorce question by consulting the universities of Europe as to the legality of his marriage. The decision indecisive. Growing dissatisfaction with the church in England. The king allies himself with national party, who desire the

independence of England in ecclesiastical matters from the supremacy of Rome. In December, 1529, parliament passes enactment regulating conduct and status of English clergy. In 1530 Henry demands that the clergy acknowledge him supreme head of the Church of England.

1531 The clergy incurring the penalty of præmunire, submit to Henry's demands, and address him as "Head of the Church and Clergy so far as the law of Christ will allow." Involves threat to the pope. Convocation makes proposal to limit the pope's power by petitioning the king and parliament to abolish payment of annates to the pope. Spread of Protestantism. Men embrace the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith.

1532 Parliament continues its attack on the clergy. The Mortmain Act, forbidding corporations to leave property to the clergy, is confirmed in its provisions. Parliament reforms the spiritual courts. The clergy itself continues the attack upon the power of Rome. Sir Thomas More dissents from the subordination of ecclesiasticism to the temporal power and resigns the chancellorship.

1533 Cranmer succeeds Warham as archbishop of Canterbury. Marriage of Henry to Anne Boleyn. Cranmer declares marriage with Catherine of Aragon void, and that with Anne legal. The pope opposes the divorce.

1533–1534 *Completion of breach of English Church with Rome:* Before 1533 Henry appealed from pope to a general council. When parliament met in 1534 Henry procured from it three acts: (1) A second act of Annates, giving him various additional powers. (2) An act concerning Peter's Pence, etc. (3) An act confirming the submission of the clergy to Henry and annulling the pope's intervention. These acts finally effected the separation from Rome. But though nominally the English ecclesiastical authorities became more independent, in practice they were entirely subservient to Henry's bidding. In theory and sentiment the Church of England was still a branch of the Catholic Church; practically, it was now a national church, ready to drift from its moorings and to accept new counsels.

1534 New measures introduced against the pope. All forms of tribute to Rome abolished; his authority to be transferred to the crown. The succession to the throne settled on the children of Anne Boleyn by act of parliament. Sir T. More, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, refusing acquiescence in this, are sent to the Tower. The supplementary acts against the pope's authority completed the severance of the English and Roman churches. The jurisdiction of the pope in special appeals is abolished. Finally an act is passed abolishing the authority of the pope in England. The convocations of Canterbury and York declare that "the bishop of Rome has no greater jurisdiction conferred on him by God in the kingdom of England than any other foreign bishop." Execution of the Nun of Kent.

1535 Latimer is made bishop of Worcester. Act of Supremacy passed, by which Henry assumed title of "Supreme Head of the Church of England." Persecutions follow the passing of the act among the monastic orders. Fisher and More are executed for refusing to swear to the acts of Succession (1534) and Supremacy. Cromwell is appointed king's vicar-general in ecclesiastical matters and pushes his agitation against the friars.

1536 Cromwell extends his religious campaign in direction of abolishing the lesser monasteries. Parliament acquiesces. The property of all monasteries having incomes of less than £200 a year now passes to the crown. Dissolution of parliament follows. Death of Catherine of Aragon. Benefit of clergy is now restricted by act of parliament; thenceforth in the matter of jurisdiction clergy and laymen are on an equality. Anne Boleyn executed on a charge of adultery (May 19th). The following day Henry marries Jane Seymour. Mary and Elizabeth are declared illegitimate by act of parliament. An English translation of the Bible is set up in the churches. Convocation draws up the Ten Articles, 1536, intended to promote unity of belief.

1537 These changes responsible for insurrections amongst lower orders in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (called in Yorkshire "the Pilgrimage of Grace"). Many executions follow. The "council of the north" instituted to keep order. Jane Seymour gives birth to a prince (afterwards Edward VI), but dies a few days later.

1537–1538 *Progress of the Reformation:* In 1536 Henry published the Ten Articles; the old doctrines are stripped of much that had given offence, and reasonable explanations are given of the doctrines and practices enforced. They showed a strict advance in direction of Lutheranism. Next, each church is supplied with a copy of the English Bible, until now forbidden. Then follows the dissolution of the greater abbeys and monasteries; the great popular relics and shrines are thus destroyed. In 1539, parliament allows the king to extend the dissolution to all the monasteries yet remaining. With the revenues, new ecclesiastical and educational objects are projected.

1538 Insurrection in the west. Lady Salisbury, mother of Cardinal Pole, is imprisoned. The marquis of Exeter and others are executed for treason. Beginning of the attack on the greater monasteries. Many executions of abbots and friars as implicated

in the Pilgrimage of Grace. All monasteries are now dissolved, and their property granted to the king. Relics and images in the churches are destroyed. Lambert is condemned and burned for heresy.

1539 Bill of Six Articles passed by parliament. The chief points of the Catholic religion are now laid down. Severe penalties are inflicted for disobedience. Completion of the suppression of monasteries. *Temporary check to Reformation:* The disclosure of priestly deceptions excites derision among lower classes. The Sacrament becomes object of ridicule. This disorder is repugnant to Henry's disposition. He promotes in parliament the Bill of Six Articles (1539), laying down chief points of Catholic religion. Arrests and executions follow.

1540 Henry marries Anne of Cleves (January 6th). Consequent fall of Cromwell. Execution of Cromwell by Bill of Attainder (July 28th) without being heard in his own defence. On July 24th the king's marriage with Anne of Cleves is abrogated by act of parliament. Henry marries Catherine Howard (July 28th).

1541 Execution of the countess of Salisbury.

1542 Henry takes the title of king in place of lord of Ireland. Catherine Howard executed on a charge of immorality. Panic and flight of the Scots at Solway Moss (November 25th).

1543 Henry marries his sixth and last wife, Catherine Parr. Treaty for the marriage of Prince Edward and Mary, Queen of Scots, is arranged with Scotland. The Geraldine Rebellion. The Fitzgeralds are put to death.

1544 Invasion of Scotland by Henry under Lord Hertford and Lord Lisle. Scotland is mercilessly ravaged. Henry invades France in person. The capture of Boulogne. The Peace of Crépy or Crespy signed, 1544. An act is passed, releasing the king from his debts.

1544–1545 *The Litany and the Primer:* In 1544 Cranmer, in directing that prayers be offered for Henry's success at Boulogne, ordered them to be said in English. This litany was the foundation-stone of the future Book of Common Prayer. A primer, or book of private prayer, also issued in English. In public services, the Creed, Lord's Prayer, and Ten Commandments were to be English, the remainder in Latin.

1546 Peace of Boulogne. The duke of Norfolk and the earl of Surrey (his son) are committed to the Tower for treason. Lord Leonard Grey becomes lord-deputy of Ireland.

1547 Execution of earl of Surrey. Death of Henry VIII (January). Accession of **Edward VI.** *Progress of Reformation:* Somerset, full of revolutionary ardour, presses forward reformation. Destructive violence used. Images of saints pulled down; the purification of churches enjoined. Ridley preaches violent sermons. Picture, and window, and statues alike forbidden. The English liturgy enforced by a royal commission. The Book of Homilies issued under Cranmer's directions. Many old customs and holy days are suppressed (1548). Cranmer endeavours to preserve the historical continuity of the church; he accepts present doctrines and practices till tested and found wanting, but the more advanced Protestants attempted a violent cleavage from the past. Edward VI's First Prayer-Book issued in English (1549). Act of parliament permitting marriage of clergy (1549).

1547 Hertford (now created duke of Somerset) is made protector. His anxiety to carry out reforms. He pushes forward the Reformation. The purification of churches is ordered. Somerset invades Scotland to enforce the treaty of marriage of 1543, and defeats the Scots at the battle of Pinkie (September 10th). The Scots ally with Henry II of France, and the young queen marries the dauphin Francis. Somerset opens war with France. The use of English in services is ordered and the pulling down of images. Bonner and Gardiner protest and are imprisoned. The newly made treasons of Henry VIII are repealed; a reversal of Henry's arbitrary policy. Acts against vagrancy are passed in parliament. Execution of Lord Seymour.

1549 A complete English Service-Book is approved by parliament, called the First Prayer-Book of Edward VI. The first act of uniformity is passed. Act passed permitting the marriage of the clergy. Somerset introduces popular measures to check the growing evils, industrial and agricultural, of the poor. Somerset's revolutionary tendencies give rise to outbreaks. Insurrection in the west. Somerset's brother, Lord Seymour, is condemned for treason by attainder, without being heard in his own defence, and beheaded. Ket, a tanner, organises a rebellion in the east, especially directed against the nobles who had enclosed the common land. The rebellion is suppressed by the earl of Warwick, and Ket and other leaders are executed. War declared against France (September). Fall of Somerset. His failures discredit him and he resigns protectorship. Dudley, earl of Warwick, gains chief influence in the council, and continues Somerset's policy.

1550 The council makes peace with France and Scotland and restores Boulogne. Latimer declaims against the vices of the age. The depreciation of the coinage.

1551 Advance of the Reformation. Protestants are given the new appointments. The princess Mary forbidden use of the mass. Warwick becomes duke of Northumberland.

Somerset is charged with high treason and sent to the Tower. European affairs prevent the interference of Charles. *Rapid and disorderly advance of Reformation:* Imprisonment of non-conforming church dignitaries (Gardiner, Bonner, etc.). The new appointments are all Protestants (Ridley, Ponet, Hooper). Statues, figures, images, to be removed from churches; all service-books except prayer-book to be destroyed. Church property seized. Appointments to livings are made without reference to the bishops in authority. This removal of religious restraint provokes unbridled license in all directions. Parodies of the mass, desecration of sacraments, abuse of Catholics. Bishops become large pluralists, absorbing the revenues of the parishes.

1552 A revised prayer-book issued by parliament. Composed under the influence of the Swiss reformers. John Knox a leading participator—subsequently the father of the Scottish Reformation. Calvinistic doctrines replace the earlier orthodox creeds. The Forty-two Articles have a Calvinistic colouring. England becomes a refuge for the persecuted reformers of other lands. Somerset is tried and beheaded. Second Prayer-Book of Edward VI issued. Second Act of Uniformity passed. Parliament amends law of treason.

1553 The Forty-two Articles of Faith set forth. Warwick aims at changing succession to Lady Jane Grey. Illness of Edward VI; dies in July. Lady Jane Grey is proclaimed queen. Flight of Mary. The nation rallies round Mary. Northumberland's army deserts him. He fails in Norfolk. **Mary** proclaimed. Lady Jane Grey and Northumberland are committed to the Tower. Execution of Northumberland. Mary restores the mass. Bonner made bishop of London, and Gardiner lord chancellor. Gradual restoration of the Roman church. The laws concerning religion passed in Edward's reign are annulled in parliament. Negotiations opened for marriage of Mary to Philip of Spain.

1553 *Reaction towards Rome:* Bonner appointed to the council and Gardiner made chancellor. Mary's impetuosity towards Rome is checked by Simon Renard of Spain. She, however, replaces the displaced bishops and restores the mass. Protestant preachers and foreigners are expelled and imprisoned. In August, Mary refused to recognise the marriage of the clergy. The bishops are deposed.

1554 Unpopularity of Mary's marriage. Consequent risings in different parts of country. Wyatt's rebellion; it fails. Wyatt, Lady Jane Grey, her husband, father, and uncle are executed (February 12th). Princess Elizabeth sent to Tower. Marriage with Philip (July). Second parliament authorises the Spanish marriage. *The submission to Rome:* England accepts the papal absolution. All statutes against the pope since the twentieth year of Henry VIII are repealed. Parliament re-enacts statutes for burning the heretics and agrees to reconciliation of church of England to the see of Rome. Cardinal Pole, sent to England as pope's legate, receives the submission of England. England accepts the papal absolution. Mary begins her efforts to root out the heretics.

1555 Persecuting statutes re-enacted and put in force (January). Ridley and Latimer burned, also Hooper and Rogers. Thirty-seven members of the commons secede from parliament. Philip leaves England.

1556 Confession and death of Cranmer. Cardinal Pole is made archbishop of Canterbury. The Dudley conspiracy in behalf of Elizabeth fails. The conspiracy followed by increased persecution. Two hundred and seventy-seven persons suffer. Pole made archbishop of Canterbury. He presses forward the persecutions.

1557 France supports the English exiles. Strafford's attempt upon Scarborough with French help fails. Philip embroils England in war with France. England and Spain defeat France at St. Quentin.

1558 Calais is besieged and captured by the French under the duke of Guise. The French are defeated at Gravelines by the Spanish, who are assisted by the English fleet. Negotiations for a European peace. Death of Mary and Cardinal Pole.

1558 Accession of **Elizabeth.** She retains Mary's council, adding Sir William Cecil to their number. Difficult conditions at opening of her reign. She forbids unlicensed preaching, and allows part of the liturgy to be used in English. A new prayer-book is prepared. Gradual establishment of the English church. Elizabeth declines Philip's offer of marriage. The threatened danger from France.

1559 Parliament passes the Act of Supremacy, with penalties for refusing it. The Act of Uniformity is passed establishing the revised prayer-book. Peace with France and Treaty of Cateau-Cambrésis. Death of Henry II of France. Parker made archbishop of Canterbury. *Establishment of English Church:* Elizabeth becomes the champion of European Protestantism. Cecil moves cautiously in introducing Protestant measures. The elevations of the host at mass is forbidden; a committee of divines appointed to revise and correct the English liturgy of Edward VI. The parliament of 25th of January proceeds with religious reform. The Supremacy and Uniformity Acts. New bishops take the place of the recusants. Spread of Calvinism

by returning exiles. Antagonism between Scotch and French. Rise of the lords of the congregation. The Reformation in Scotland.

1560 Elizabeth assists the Scottish rebels. The regent of Scotland dies, and by the Treaty of Edinburgh it is agreed that the French troops shall leave Scotland. Protestantism established by the Estates. Queen Mary returns to Scotland.

1561 Rise of Dudley, earl of Leicester. Beginning of the religious wars in France.

1562 Elizabeth sends help to the French Huguenots. English disaster at Havre. Mary's demands to be acknowledged Elizabeth's successor refused. A severe act passed against the Roman Catholics.

1563 The Thirty-nine Articles are drawn up and signed by convocation.

1564 Archbishop Parker and the queen enforce uniformity. Supported by Dudley, earl of Leicester, many of the London clergy refuse to obey and leave the church.

1565 Marriage of Mary Queen of Scots to Darnley. Insurrection in Ulster.

1566 Murder of Rizzio. Peace is made with France. The commons resolves to petition the queen to marry.

Spread of Calvinism: The English Puritans contend for purity of worship, the rejection of the rites and vestments of the Roman church.

1567 The murder of Darnley. Deposition and flight of Mary Queen of Scots.

1568 Mary escapes to England. Her case investigated by English commissioners at a conference at York. She remains a prisoner at Tutbury. Elizabeth's difficulties increased by affairs in the Netherlands and the rise of the Puritans. Marriage suggested with the archduke of Austria.

1569 Cecil tries to draw queen into war with Spain. Philip adopts Mary's cause. Norfolk committed to the Tower for proposing to marry Mary. Insurrection in behalf of Mary under Northumberland and Westmoreland in the northern counties. Suppressed with great cruelty. Insurrection in Munster.

1570 The two earls escape to Scotland. Consequent complications with Scotland. Murray assassinated. Pope Pius V excommunicates Elizabeth and absolves her subjects from their allegiance. Marriage proposed between Elizabeth and the duke of Anjou (afterwards king of France). Cartwright, a Puritan leader, expelled from professorship at Cambridge.

1571 The Ridolfi plot in favour of Mary. Parliament introduces many bills of Puritan tendency and against the introduction of papal bulls. Alterations in religion proposed by Puritans in parliament. Alençon proposed as queen's husband.

1572 Norfolk executed. Francis Drake's voyage to Panama. Seizure of Briel by exiles from Netherlands. The queen's duplicity. Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Parliament proposes an attainder against Mary, but is forbidden by the queen to proceed. Colonisation of Ulster by Essex.

1575 The Netherlands offer the sovereignty of Holland and Zealand to Elizabeth, who declines.

1576 Grindal succeeds Parker as archbishop of Canterbury.

1577 Drake's voyage to the Pacific. Insurrection in Ireland under the Burkes of Connaught.

1579 Elizabeth's intention to marry duke of Anjou; unpopularity of marriage. Insurgents in Ireland. Fitzmaurice is defeated.

1580 At Smerwick, Lord Grey defeats combined Spaniards and Italians. Two Jesuits, Campion and Parsons, land in England to reconvert country to papacy. Suppression of riot insurrection.

1581 Parliament passes the Recusancy laws. Campion arrested and executed. Intended joint rule of Mary and James in Scotland.

1582 Plots for assassination of Elizabeth.

1583 Arrest of Francis Throcmorton for complicity in plot. Whitgift succeeds Grindal as archbishop of Canterbury and persecutes the Puritans. The high commission court is placed on permanent footing.

1584 Association formed to defend the queen. Breach with Spain. Mary Queen of Scots deserted by her son James. Growth of Philip of Spain's power. Assassination of prince of Orange. Armada gathers in the Tagus.

1585 Elizabeth determines to assist the Netherlands and sends Leicester with that object.

1586 Drake returns laden with spoils from West Indies. Elizabeth negotiates with Spaniards. Leicester returns with mission unaccomplished. Babington's conspiracy detected. Trial of Mary Stuart. Battle of Zütphen and death of Sir Philip Sidney.

1587 Popular feeling against Mary Queen of Scots. Mary's execution at Fotheringay; its effect on European politics. Philip's preparations for invasion. Drake burns Spanish fleet at Cadiz. Pope Sestus V proclaims crusade against Elizabeth. Circulation of the Martin Marprelate tracts. English preparations for defence.

1588 Approach of the Armada. Its equipment. The English equipment. Defeat of Armada. The victory a national one. Leicester made general-in-chief. His death.

1589 Philip's designs against France. France and England ally against Spain. Expedition to Portugal to support Antonio against Philip of Spain. Drake plunders Corunna or the Groyne.

1590 Death of Walsingham. Publication of the *Faerie Queene.*
1591 Essex sent with English troops to assist Henry IV of France.
1592 A second expedition sent to help Henry IV.
1593 Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis.*
1594 Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity.*
1595 Death of Drake. Tyrone rebels and is assisted by Philip of Spain.
1590 *Expedition against Spain:* The commons press for war to be carried into Philip's own country. Yearly expeditions against Spain. Attack on Cadiz by Essex in 1596.
Effects of Armada: It definitely settled the religion of England and the claims of Spain upon it.
1590–1598 The war of religions is now transferred to France. Elizabeth makes treaty of alliance with Henry IV of France.
Elizabeth and parliament: Her arbitrary demands of large sums for personal expenditure. Her parliaments treated with scant respect. She curtails liberty of speech. The incident of Mr. Maurice (1593). Parliament acquires considerably more importance during this period. Puritanism developed independence of character; members bring high qualities to bear on their administrative duties.
In ecclesiastical matters, the same arbitrariness shown by Elizabeth, tenacious of her supremacy. The church becomes Protestant and Elizabeth fills vacant livings with Puritan divines. Her contempt for the bishops, whom she treated as creatures of her will. The divine origin of Episcopacy not yet distinctly asserted in English church. Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* rests the authority of the bishops upon political grounds.
1570–1583 *The Puritans:* Indignant at the abuses in the church, they raise the claims of Presbyterianism as a divine institution. Cartwright's admonition (published 1572) implies superiority of church to state. But the great mass of Puritans accepted queen's supremacy and acknowledged the Established Church. The advanced Puritans (under Whitgift's administration) are persecuted for their republican views. In 1583 the court of high commission attained full powers, and its proceedings were characterised by much arbitrariness.
1590 *Growth of the High Church Party:* The church of England asserts its highest pretentions after Armada. Catholics now enter the national church. The high church party is formed, and the divine right of Episcopacy formulated. The Puritans are impelled to a more organised opposition. In 1590 associations formed for introducing all the apparatus of Presbyterianism (synods and classes). The Star Chamber is brought into requisition, but without detracting from the spread of Puritanism.
1588–1596 *Increasing prosperity in England:* Trade grew together with piracy and war. Increase of manufactures. Corn extensively grown by landed proprietors. The gorgeous court attire. Rise in general standard of comfort. Improvement in Elizabethan buildings over those of Middle Ages. Windows and glass introduced, where previously men lived in fortified castles. Manor-houses take the place of the old castles. Chimneys are now introduced. Comfortable bedding takes the place of the straw pallet or bag of chaff. Pewter platters and tin spoons replace wooden ones. The quest after wealth accompanies the introduction of greater luxury.
1588–1595 *Literary development:* Hooker (*Eccles. Polity*) introduces elegant prose style; attention to form as well as matter. Spenser and Shakespeare are affected by the spirit of the age. Their reverence for the reign of law. Spenser's cardinal virtues as enumerated in *Faerie Queene*—the laws of purity, temperance, and justice. Shakespeare's moral in his plays, the retribution which follows close on the heels of the transgression of law, whether moral or physical. Francis Bacon begins to dream of a larger science than known hitherto—a science based on a reverent inquiry into the laws of nature.
1596 Rise of Raleigh of Essex. Expedition to Cadiz under Essex and Howard.
1597 Failure of expedition of Essex and Raleigh against Spain. Essex loses the queen's favour. Philip makes proposals of peace.
1598 Death of Philip II of Spain. O'Neil of Ireland defeats English army. Death of Sir John Norris. Death of Burghley. Robert Cecil succeeds.
1599 Essex sent to conquer Ireland. He fails, returns without permission and is imprisoned.
1600 Essex's intrigues with James of Scotland, and with Romanists and Puritans.

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

1601 Essex plans rebellion and seeks partisans among the disaffected. His trial and death. Spaniards land in Ireland. The first regular Poor Law passed. The withdrawal of monopolies.
1603 Submission and pardon of O'Neil. Reconquest of Ireland. Death of Elizabeth.
1603–1604 Accession of **James I.** Peace with Spain entered into. The Millenary Petition presented by Puritan element; imprisonment of petitioners. Discovery of the main

plot to change the government and the Rye plot to obtain toleration. Imprisonment of Sir Walter Raleigh.

1604 Hampton Court conference. Triumph of high church party. The project for authorized version of Bible. First parliament of James. Its Puritan temper. To appease parliament, James persecutes the Catholics. New body of canons drawn up. Parliament claims to deal with both church and state. Death of Whitgift. Bancroft succeeds as archbishop of Canterbury. Peace concluded with Spain. Gunpowder plot projected against James and parliament.

1605 Gunpowder plot discovered. Flight of conspirators. Their capture and execution. Bacon's *Advancement of Learning.*

1606 The post-rate. Naturalisation of James' Scottish subjects. Disaffection in Ireland. Parliament increases severity of laws against Catholics.

1607 Cecil's impositions in attempting to raise money. Bates case. Bill for union of England and Scotland rejected in the commons. The enclosure of commons leads to disturbances.

1608 A new book of rates issued, largely increasing customs.

1610 The Great Contract. The commons remonstrate against the court of high commission, the Royal Proclamations, and "Impositions." Parliament's petition of grievances. Plantation of Ulster. Bancroft dies. Abbot succeeds as archbishop of Canterbury. He increases the severity of court of High Commission.

1611 James dissolves parliament. James institutes the order of baronets. Arabella Stuart imprisoned in Tower for marrying William Seymour.

1612 Death of Salisbury. Princess Elizabeth betrothed to elector palatine. Robert Carr becomes James' chief adviser. The treasury is placed in commission. Death of Prince Henry (November 6th).

1613 Carr created earl of Somerset. Marriage of the elector palatine.

1614 The Addled Parliament meets. James' first quarrels with parliament. Parliament refuses supplies bill till it has dealt with James' imposition of customs. It is dissolved. Several members imprisoned.

1615 Rise of Villiers.

1616 Raleigh, released from the Tower, is allowed to go to South America. Trial of the earl and countess of Somerset. Dismissal of Chief Justice Coke. Death of Shakespeare. Villiers becomes chief favourite of James.

1617 Raleigh's last voyage to Guiana. Bacon made lord-keeper. Proposals for the Spanish marriage. The Declaration of Sports.

1618 Execution of Raleigh. Beginning of Thirty Years' War.

1619 James refuses to assist his son-in-law, the elector palatine, who has been elected king of Bohemia. Sympathy in England with the Protestant side in the dispute.

1620 Invasion of the Palatinate. Negotiations with Spain concerning the marriage of Prince Charles. Landing of the Pilgrim fathers in New England.

1621 James' third parliament meets. The commons impeach Bacon, lord chancellor, and deprive him of the great seal. Impeachment of Mompesson for holding monopolies. Behaviour of James. He tears up the protestation of the commons. Bacon's *Novum Organum.* Digby's mission and the dissolution of parliament.

1622 The loss of the Palatinate. Coke, Pym, Selden and others are imprisoned.

1623 Prince Charles and Buckingham go to Spain. On their return, Buckingham procures the breaking off of the match. Buckingham's consequent popularity.

1624 Resolve of war against Spain. Last parliament of James I. Votes supplies against Spain. Monopolies finally declared illegal. The lord treasurer is impeached and condemned for bribery. Mansfield's expedition to go to the Palatinate. Projected marriage of Prince Charles arranged with France.

1625 Death of James.

1625 Accession of **Charles I.** First parliament dissolved, after granting two subsidies. Marriage of Charles to Henrietta of France. Failure of expedition against Cadiz. Dislike of Buckingham. Loan of ships to Richelieu.

1626 Second parliament meets and appoints three committees—for privileges, for religion, and for the state of the kingdom. Impeachment of Buckingham by Sir John Eliot. Parliament dissolved to save him. Levy of forced loans. Tonnage and poundage illegally levied.

1627 War between France and England. Drs. Sibthorp and Mainwaring preach in favour of the king's prerogative.

War funds collected by forced laws. Unpopularity of Buckingham. The Five Knights' case: their case decided against them. Poor men are pressed for army and navy under martial law and billeted on the refractory knights. Danger of a Catholic reaction.

1628 Third parliament meets. Commons blame Buckingham for their grievances. Mainwaring's sermons are condemned by proclamation, at request of the commons. Petition of Right drawn up, after conferences with the lords and commons. Charles assents to it. Parliament grants five subsidies and is prorogued. Laud becomes

bishop of London and the king's chief ecclesiastical adviser. Preparations made for a second expedition against France. Wentworth is made president of the council of the north. Assassination of Buckingham (August). Chambers declines to pay tonnage and poundage duties. He is imprisoned.

1629 Reassembling of parliament. Resolution passed that they who make innovations in religion or who exact or pay subsidies not granted by parliament are enemies of the realm. The king dissolves parliament—the last for eleven years. Breach between the king and commons. Sir John Eliot and others are sent to the Tower.

1630 Charles launches various financial schemes. Large sums collected from the gentry by distraint of knighthood. Peace is made with France and Spain. The Star Chamber directs its powers against the king's enemies. Dr. Leighton is imprisoned for writing against prelates. Puritan emigration to New England. Laud upholds uniformity.

1632 Sir John Eliot dies in the Tower.

1633 Inquiry by Lord Holland into extent of royal forests and alleged encroachments. The grant of monopolies to certain countries irritates the merchant class. The king is crowned in Scotland. Wentworth appointed lord deputy in Ireland. Laud becomes archbishop of Canterbury. Prynne's *Histriomastix:* an attack on the existing drama. Milton's *Allegro* and *Penseroso.*

1634 Milton's *Comus.* Noy draws up a writ for "ship-money," on pretext of defending coast against pirates. It is assented to. Antagonism to Laud.

1635-1636 Financial pressure. Additional impositions laid on commerce and established corporations. New writ of ship-money issued, extending the tax to inland towns and countries. Laud holds a visitation, and gives greater prominence than before to ritual. Juxon becomes lord treasurer. Book of Canons and Common Prayer issued for Scotland. Hampden refuses to pay ship-money.

1637 Charles consults the judges about ship-money, who declare the king's right to do what was necessary for the defence of the realm in time of danger. Judgment is given against John Hampden by a majority of the judges. Charles continued to levy ship-money. Unpopular action of the high church party in inflicting exorbitant fines. Opposition arises. Leighton, Prynne, Bastwick, and Burton write condemnatory theses. They are condemned by Star Chamber. Revolt of Edinburgh.

1638 Milton's *Lycidas.* The Scotch covenant, binding its signatories to recover the purity and liberty of the gospel.

1639 Charles advances to Berwick. A bloodless war with the Scots is terminated by the pacification of Berwick.

1640 The Short Parliament meets. Pym lays before it the grievances of the nation. Charles, rather than abandon the war with Scotland, dissolves parliament (May 5th). The Second Bishops' War. Great council of peers at York. Convocation passes canons asserting the divine right of bishops. The Treaty of Ripon (October). High commission court sits for last time (October 22nd). Meeting of Long Parliament. Pym leader of the commons. Impeachment and trial of Strafford. Charles consents to the Bill of Attainder. Impeachment of Finch, the lord chancellor, and of Laud.

1641 Execution of Strafford. Impeachment of Laud. Constitutional reforms: acts abolishing courts of star chamber and high commission. Root and Branch Bill. Ship-money declared illegal. Triennial Bill passed (parties formed on church questions). Bill against dissolving parliament passed. Charles visits Scotland. He organises the royalist party. The Irish insurrection. The Irish massacres in Ulster. Bill to exclude bishops from house of lords. Commons issue the Grand Remonstrance. Impeachment of the bishops. Riots in London. The names "Roundhead" and "Cavalier" coined. The English and Scottish armies are disbanded.

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ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE
At Accession of Henry II., the first Plantagenet, 1154
English Possessions
French Possessions
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 150
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
London
Southampton
Dover
Plymouth
Calais
Guisnes
Amiens
Rouen
Rheims
Paris
Caen
NORMANDY
BRITTANY
MAINE
Chartres
Brétigny
Troyes
Orleans
Langres
Vannes
Angers
Tours
Loire
Chinon
POITOU
Poitiers
Chalon
La Rochelle
MARCHE
Clermont
Lyons
Bordeaux
Dordogne
Cahors
Valence
Albret
Rodez
Bayonne
Nimes
Béziers
Rhine
Meuse
Moselle
Saone
Rhone

ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE
After the First English Invasion and the "Great Peace" of Brétigny, 1360
English Possessions
French Kingdom
French Fiefs
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 150
ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
ATLANTIC OCEAN
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
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Dover
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Calais
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FLANDERS
PONTHIEU
Amiens
Rouen
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Paris
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MAINE
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GUIENNE
Dordogne
Cahors
Valence
Albret
Rodez
Bayonne
Nimes
Béziers
Rhine
Meuse
Moselle
Saone
Rhone

ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE
After the Second Invasion and the Peace of Troyes and the deaths of Henry V. and Charles VI., 1422
English Possessions
Dauphin's Territory
English Allies
SCALE OF MILES
0 25 50 100 150
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ENGLISH CHANNEL
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MEDITERRANEAN SEA
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Guisnes
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Rheims
Paris
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BRITTANY
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Brétigny
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Bayonne
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Béziers
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West
0° Longitude from Greenwich 4°
East

ENGLISH POSSESSIONS IN FRANCE
1453 - 1558
After Joan of Arc and the Hundred Years' War
English Possessions
French Possessions
French Allies
SCALE OF MILES
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ENGLAND
ENGLISH CHANNEL
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Chinon
DUCHY OF BURGUNDY
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Poitiers
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Clermont
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FRANCE
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